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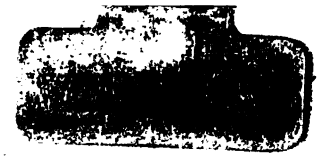
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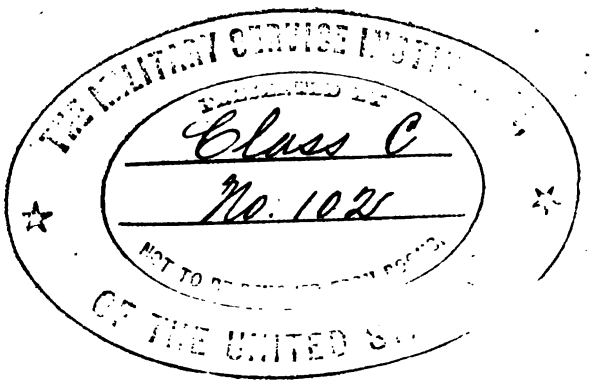
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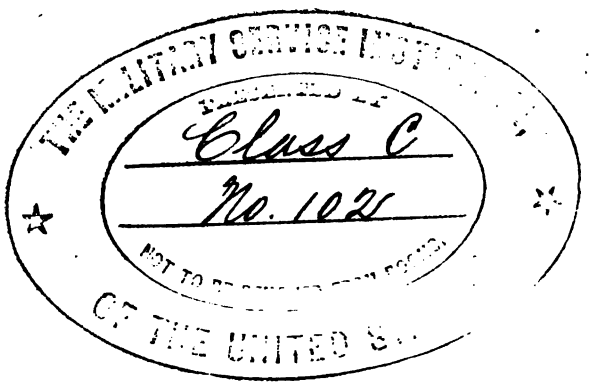




Harte

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE

OF

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,

KING of SWEDEN,

Sirnamed The GREAT.

VOLUME II.

By the Reverend WALTER HARTE, M.A.
Canon of WINDSOR.



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J. Watts de Peyster:

LL. D.

MASTER OF ARTS, COLUMBIA COLLEGE, OF NEW YORK, 1673.
ROSE HILL, in the TOWNSHIP of RED HOOK, near TIVOLI P. O., DUCHESS CO., N. Y.

May, 1883.

JUDGE-ADVOCATE, with the rank of MAJOR, 1845.
COLONEL, N. Y. S. M., 1846; unaffected by "*Meritorious Conduct*," 1919.
BRIGADIER-GENERAL for "*Important Service*" (1st appointment—in N. Y. State—by that rank, hitherto elective) 1858—N. P. S. N. Y.
ADJUTANT-GENERAL, S. N. Y., 1855.
BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL, S. N. Y., for "*Meritorious Services*,"
[first up-town General officer receiving such an honor (the highest) from S. N. Y., and the only officer *thus* brevetted (Major-General) in the United States.]
by "*Special Act*," or "*Concurrent Resolution*," *New York State Legislature*, April, 1866:

LAWS OF NEW YORK, Vol. 2.—89th Session, 1866. Page 2142.

Concurrent Resolution requesting the Governor to Confer upon Brigadier-General J. WATTS DE PUYSTER, [de Peyster] the brevet rank of Major-[General] in the National Guard of New York.

Resolved, (if the State concur,) That it being a grateful duty to acknowledge in a suitable manner the services of a distinguished citizen of this State, rendered to the National Guard and to the United States prior to and during the Rebellion, the Governor be and he is hereby authorized and requested to confer upon Brigadier-General J. WATTS DE PUYSTER [de Peyster] the *brevet rank* of *Major-General* in the National Guard of New York, for meritorious services, which mark of honor shall be stated in the Commission conferred.

STATE OF NEW YORK, *In Assembly*, April 9th, 1866.
The foregoing Resolution was duly passed. *By order of the Assembly.*
J. B. CUSHMAN, Clerk.

STATE OF NEW YORK, *In Senate*, April 20th, 1866.
The foregoing Resolution was duly passed. *By order of the Senate.*
**So in original.* JAS. TERWILLIGER, Clerk.

MILITARY AGENT, S. N. Y., (in Europe,) 1851–'3.
HONORARY MEMBER, THIRD CLASS, of the MILITARY ORDER of the LOYAL LEGION of the U. S.
FIRST HONORARY MEMBER Third Army of the Potomac) Corps Union.
HONORARY MEMBER of the CLARENDON HISTORICAL SOCIETY of Edinburgh, Scotland, and of the NEW BRUNSWICK (Canada) HISTORICAL SOCIETY (of St. John).
MEMBER—10th June, 1872, DIRECTOR—of the GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. and VICE PRESIDENT of the SARATOGA [Battlefield] MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.
MEMBER of the NETHERLANDISH LITERARY ASSOCIATION
[*Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*] at Leyden, Holland.
RECIPIENT, 1856, of *Three Silver Medals* from H. R. M. OSCAR, King of Sweden and Norway, &c., for a Military Biography of LEONARD TORSTENSON, Field Marshal, Generalissimo; of a *Gold Medal* in 1852, from WASHINGTON HUNT, [Governor S. N. Y.,] for "Efforts to Improve the Military System of New York," &c., &c., and Suggestions for a Paid Fire Department with Steam Fire Engines, &c., &c.;
of a *Gold Medal*, only similar distinction ever ordered and directed, and conferred by the supreme military authority of the State of New York, by a Special Order, dated 8th September, 851, of WASHINGTON HUNT, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Military Forces (S. N. Y.), authorized to be worn in attest of "*Zeal, Devotion and Meritorious Service*,"
of a *Gold Medal*, in 1852, from the FIELD and STAFF OFFICERS of his Command, 9th Brig., 3d Div., N. Y. S. Troops, "In testimony of their Esteem and Appreciation of his Efforts towards the Establishment of an efficient Militia," &c.;
in 1870, of a Magnificent *Badge*, *Medal* and *Clasps* voted at the Annual Meeting of the Third Corps (Army of the Potomac) Union held at Boston Mass., Thursday, May 26th 1870, when
A Resolution was adopted to present a *Gold Medal*, of the value of $500, to Gen. J WATTS DE PEYSTER, of New York, as a testimonial of the appreciation by the Corps of his *eminent services* in placing upon record the true history of its achievements, and in defending its commanders and their men from written abuse and misrepresentation;"
and of several other Badges, Medals, &c., for services in connection with the military service of the State of New York.
HONORARY MEMBER of the NEW JERSEY and of the MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, and of the PHRENOKOSMIAN SOCIETY of PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE, *Gettysburg*; of the PHILOSOPHIAN SOCIETY, *Missionary Institute, Selin's Grove*, and of the KETEREAN SOCIETY, *Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania*, and of the GERMAN LITERARY SOCIETY, of *Nebraska College, Nebraska City*.
HONORARY MEMBER of the LYCEUM SOCIETY, in *Cazenovia, Madison Co., N. Y.*; and HONORARY MEMBER FOR LIFE of the AMERICAN RIFLE ASSOCIATION, to which Gen. DE PEYSTER presented the most original, exquisite and unique *Gold Badge* and *Clasp*, to be shot for at the Annual Tests of Marksmanship.
HONORARY MEMBER of the N. Y. BURNS CLUB.
(BURNS was a member of the *Dumfries Volunteers*, of which Col. ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER, 8th or King's Foot, B. A., was Colonel, to whom the "National Bard of Scotland" addressed just before his death, in 1796, his "POEM ON LIFE,") and
LIFE MEMBER of the ST. NICHOLAS SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.
(of which city JOHANNES DE PEYSTER, *first of the name in the New World*, was *Schepen*, 1655, *Alderman*, 1666, *Burgomaster*, 1673, *Deputy Mayor*, 1677. *Mayoralty offered and refused*).
MEMBER
of the NEW YORK, of the RHODE ISLAND (Newport) and of the PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETIES and of the MILITARY ASSOCIATION of the STATE of NEW YORK, and of the CENTURY CLUB, New York City.
LIFE MEMBER
of the HISTORICAL SOCIETY of MICHIGAN, of the NEW YORK GALLERY OF FINE ARTS, of the ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE, in the City of New York, and Director of the N. Y. INSTITUTION for the INSTRUCTION of the DEAF and DUMB, and of the AMERICAN NUMISMATIC and ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY of NEW YORK.
LIFE MEMBER or FELLOW of the AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY; of the ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN; of the NUMISMATIC AND ARCHAOLOGICAL SOCIETY of New York; PATRON of the ASSOCIATION for the BENEFIT of COLORED ORPHANS, and of the NEW YORK DISPENSARY; LIFE DIRECTOR of the AMERICAN TRACT and LIFE
MEMBER of the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY, N. Y.
CORRESPONDING MEMBER
of the STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES of MAINE, VERMONT, of RHODE ISLAND, (Providence,) of CONNECTICUT, and of WISCONSIN; of the LONG ISLAND, of the BUFFALO, and of ONEIDA COUNTY [S. N. Y.] HISTORICAL SOCIETIES; of the NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY; of the QUEBEC LITERARY and HISTORICAL SOCIETY; of the NUMISMATIC and ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY of PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania;
etc., etc., etc.

ERRATA.

VOL. II.

Page 13. line 26. for 2008, read 2016. P. 22. l. 27. embarked at Torſtenſon, dele *at*. P. 51. Note. l. ult. for Cæſari, read *Cæſaris*. P. 124. l. 10. for Ritzingen, read *Kitzingen*. P. 131. l. 15. for Rayſerſheim, read *Kaiſerſheim*. P. 193. l. 5. for Imperialliſts, read *Imperialiſts*. P. 199. l. ult. for 1630, read 1637. P. 207. l. 28. for Scharaliſki, read *Schevaliſki*. P. 210. l. 24. for le, read *les*. P. 218. l. 32. for Radnitz, read *Rednitz*. P. 222. l. 23. inſtead of, for having, dele *for*. P. 285. l. 5. for generals, read *general*. Ibid. l. 7. for the colonel, read *a colonel*. Ibid. l. 15. for off a ſcaffold, read *on*. P. 298. l. 1. for picked out, read *pieced out*. P. 301. l. 12. ſtates of his allies, dele *of*. P. 305. for Nurenberg, twice, read *Naumburgh*. P. 308. Note, for ELLIOT, read ELIOT. Ibid. for large train, read *no contemptible train*. P. 326. Note, for plans II. read *plan*. P. 336. for Hoſkirk's, twice, read *Hoffkirck's*. P. 344. l. 28. for ſubſiſied, read *ſubſiſted*. P. 338. l. 5. for Brenner, read *Brüner*. P. 347. for courtiers, read *couriers*. P. 349, Note, l. 1. for ſingularita, read *ſingolarità*.

PRINCES COTEMPORARY *with* GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS; *and concerned with him, or againſt him.*

EMPERORS.

MATTHIAS ——— 1612—1619
FERDINAND II. ——— 1619—1637

POPES.

PAUL V. ——— 1605—1621
GREGORY XV. ——— 1621—1623
URBAN VIII. ——— 1623—1644

KING of FRANCE.

LOUIS XIII. ——— 1610—1643

KINGS of SPAIN.

PHILIP III. ——— 1598—1621
PHILIP IV. ——— 1621—1665

KINGS of ENGLAND.

JAMES I. ——— 1603—1625
CHARLES I. ——— 1625—1648

KING of DENMARK.

CHRISTIAN IV. ——— 1588—1648

KING of POLAND.

SIGISMOND III. ——— 1587—1632

ELECTORS of MENTZ.

JOHN SCHWEICKARD of Cronenberg } 1604—1626
G. FREDERIC of Grieffenclau } —1626—1629
ANSELM CASIMIR WAMBOLD of Umſtadt } 1629—1647

ELECTORS of TRYERS.

LOTHARIO of Metternich ——— } 1599—1623
PHILIP CHRISTOPHER Van SOETTERN ——— } 1623—1652

ELECTOR of COLOGN.

FERDINAND, Duke of Bavaria ——— } 1612—1650

ELECTOR of BAVARIA.

MAXIMILIAN ——— 1623—1651

ELECTOR of SAXONY.

JOHN GEORGE ——— 1611—1656

ELECTORS of BRANDENBURG.

JOHN SIGISMOND ——— 1572—1619
GEORGE WILLIAM ——— 1619—1640

ELECTOR PALATIN.

FREDERIC V. ——— 1617—1632
Choſen King of Bohemia 1619

PRINCES, &c. of TRANSYLVANIA.

GABRIEL BETHLEM — 1603—1629
CATHARINA of Brandenburg, who reſigned } 1629—1631
GEORGE RAGOTZKI — 1631—1648

The BOOKBINDER is to place this fronting the beginning of the Hiſtory, Vol. II.

THE HISTORY OF The LIFE of Guſtavus Adolphus.

HAVING finiſhed the preceding part of our Hiſtory with ſome important tranſactions between England and Sweden; the reader may now be pleaſed to recollect, that we left Tilly at Alvede, where he had aſſembled to himſelf hardly more than 8000 men, out of all thoſe victorious bands, which had fought under him at the battle of Leipſic. Thence he wrote to the elector of Cologn, aſcribing his late misfortune, firſt, to the undue eagerneſs of Pappenheim; and, ſecondly, to a ſubſequent want of firmneſs in the Croatian horſe; beſeeching him, at the ſame time, to diſpatch to him a ſtrong re-inforcement, in order to raiſe the ſpirits of his dejected army. Upon which, the elector ſent him a ſecond ſupply of cavalry, and a conſiderable body of infantry. Tilly then having deputed Gronsfelt to protect the banks of the Weſer, where George, duke of Lunenburg, 1631.

1631. and the archbiſhop of Bremen * gave indications of eſpouſing the cauſe of Guſtavus, paſſed his army from the dioceſe of Paderborn, over a bridge of boats at Corvey †; and ſtrengthening his train of artillery with twelve large battering pieces, taken from the town of Hamelen, directed his ſteps to Warburg. Soon after he invaded Heſſe, and having joined himſelf with Aldringer, Fugger, and Manſfelt, advanced (whilſt his majeſty inveſted Marienberg) as far as Fulda, in order to ſuccour the biſhop of Wurtzburg, and ſhelter the electors of Cologn, Mentz, and Triers. But in ſhort, this great commander, in the preſent conjuncture, hardly knew what ſteps to take: mortified with misfortune, and piqued to the heart upon having made a ſhipwreck of one half of his glory, he was quite bewildered in his own ideas, having nothing certain to reſolve upon, except it was to regain his character by ſome ſervice of a deſperate nature. And this, it is manifeſt, he ought to have attempted; but the Lorrainers did not join him quite ſo ‡ ſoon as he wiſhed, and when that junction was formed at Miltenberg, he fell ſuddenly into a kind of deſpondence, for he did not like the aſpects of his new aſſiſtants.

And here it may be neceſſary, once for all, to give the reader a clear idea of this romantic expedition of Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, from the beginning to the concluſion; who, for a mixture of courage and ir-

* This prelate had adhered firmly to the houſe of Auſtria through the former part of the thirty years wars; inſomuch, that the king of Denmark, by way of revenge, when peace was concluded at Lubec, ſtill kept the iſle of Femor to himſelf, although it was a part of the archbiſhop's patrimony. But when this eccleſiaſtic began to conſider ſeriouſly the drift and intentions of the edict of reſtitution; he then ſaw, without the gift of divination, that archduke Leopold, the emperor's ſon, would annex the dioceſe of Bremen to thoſe of Magdeburg, Halberſtadt, &c. and allow the true owner a ſmall annual ſtipend; not ſo much by way of right acknowledged, as under the appearance of an act of compaſſion. It was upon this account therefore, that he kept up a correſpondence with Guſtavus ever ſince the year 1629, and entered into a private agreement, offenſive and defenſive, with the famous Salvius, ſome months antecedent to the battle of Leipſic (for an abſtract of the articles then concluded, ſee Chemnitius, Tom. i. p. 214.) And this was the true reaſon (which Burnet knew nothing of, or no way cared to own) why the king intended, *bona fide*, to land the Britiſh troops at Bremen, in order to protect his new ally from the inſults of the Imperialiſts. *Chemnitz. ibid.* where it is made plainly appear, that the marquis of Hamilton contravened the king's intentions.

† This abby, famous for its convent of Benedictins, ſtands between the duchy of Brunſwic and the biſhopric of Paderborn. In its library is the only manuſcript of the annals of Tacitus.

‡ Not till October 17, nine days after Wurtzburg and Marienberg were taken.

reſolution,

resolution, hardiness to undertake, and inconstancy to execute, seems to 1631.
have been the epitome of all mankind in those several passions and qualities. The duke of Bavaria proposed immediate and remote advantages from introducing this hero, who was his nephew, upon the grand theatre of action: he greatly wanted a support for Tilly, and to re-establish, if possible, the reputation of the league; having an inclination, likewise, to alarm France, with so powerful an armament on her confines; and hoping, by means of free passage through Lorrain (in case success should attend the catholic armies in Germany) to have the power of entering the *three* bishoprics, which had already began *to change their livery*, if I may be allowed to make use of Spanheim's expression on the occasion *. France, of course, took umbrage at the armament, which this prince was preparing; and insisted, that he should either disband his troops, or declare the object of their destination †. Charles (whether conformably to his first intentions, or not, cannot be said,) thought it necessary, however, to pacify so intermeddling and capricious a neighbour; but being allured by the promise of an electoral bonnet (for the emperor had privately threatened to proscribe the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg) he marched an army of 17,000 vigorous men, all well furnished with apparel and arms, in order to support Tilly in his present exigencies. For as, on the one hand, his imagination was flattered with the recent extinction of one protestant elector; so it was suggested to him by his new allies, on the other hand, that as the promised electorate would make him a principal member of the empire; of course, the whole empire would be obliged to support him against the encroachments of his most Christian neighbour: insinuating likewise, at the same time, that a prince of Lorrain was really and truly a part of the Germanic body, by virtue of an incorporation, subsisting antecedently, even to those connections we have above specified. For these reasons, he chose to shelter himself under the wings of the Austrian eagle; and animated with romantic hopes, passed the Rhine over a bridge of boats at Worms, where the bishop of Wurtzburg made his application to him immediately, and offered him all the treasure contained in his capital, upon

* Memoires d'Electrice Palatine, p. 300. † Memoires de Beauvau, 8°. p. 16, &c.

1631. condition he could ſucceed in raiſing the ſiege. But the induſtry and bravery of the aſſailants prevented this ſcheme from taking effect, though Charles made long marches to join Tilly, and reſtore the ſpirits of his ſhattered troops, by ſo conſiderable a re-inforcement as that, which he conducted. Aldringer alſo (in conjunction with Fugger) had haſtened with all poſſible expedition to meet them, leading under his command thoſe veteran troops, which had performed ſuch wonders at the ſiege of Mantua. The whole three bodies, when united, were ſuppoſed to make 50,000 men, and their train of artillery was a very good one. Nevertheleſs, whether it was that the Imperial troops had not recovered their aſtoniſhment ſince the battle of Leipſic, or whether the elector of Bavaria (who in effect was generaliſſimo over the generaliſſimo) allowed himſelf to be ſeduced by St. Etienne, the French ambaſſador, (having hampered himſelf by the proſpect of a clandeſtine treaty:) or whether he waited to make a better market with the emperor, and therefore choſe not to hazard his troops; or whether orders had been diſpatched from Vienna, commanding Tilly to hold himſelf upon the cautious and defenſive part, and run no riſques in ſo critical a conjuncture, (all which reaſons appear to me more or leſs probable and cogent) ſure it is, and certain upon the whole, that though his Swediſh majeſty, at that time, conducted only an army of about 25,000 effective men, yet nothing conſiderable was either performed or attempted by the Imperial party, which had the mortification and diſgrace to ſtand gazing aloof, whilſt Wurtzburg was firſt taken, and Mentz afterwards fell a ſacrifice: inſomuch that the partizans of Walſtein continually cried out, "That Guſtavus "marched, and never fought; and that provinces were conquered, "before couriers could carry news to Vienna, that the enemy had en-"tered them."

We are told by ſome, that this want of courage in the Imperialiſts, or want of ſincerity in the Bavarian, (conjoined with the delays, and cautious part, which the court of Vienna affected) exaſperated Charles not a little; ſo that whilſt the troops lay inactive in winter quarters, he poſted away to the elector (who was his uncle *) at Munich, with a

* The elector of Bavaria married Elizabeth princeſs of Lorrain, Charles's aunt.

view

view to put matters on a better footing; but obtained nothing from him 1631.
but good words and hospitable repasts. And to add a keener edge to the mortification he then felt, his favourite lieutenant-general, the prince of Phaltzburg, died during this interval; as also M. de Berry, knight of Malta. The former was an accidental son of cardinal Lorrain, and having married the amiable Henrietta, Charles's eldest sister, might have possessed the dukedom, if his modesty and equity had not induced him to decline the offer. The latter was Charles's natural son, a young man of great hopes and distinguished bravery.

In addition to these misfortunes, he met with no small disgrace in his return home; for as his army passed the bridge of Strasburg, the inhabitants and peasants fell upon his baggage, plundering and destroying no inconsiderable part of it; and a waggoner, with a sort of English freedom, took the liberty to whip the duke's horse, assigning this remarkable reason for so extraordinary an action, *Sir, a person ought to make more haste when he is flying before the great Gustavus**. In this inglorious retreat, he had the unhappiness some weeks to be denied entrance into the village of Lichtenau, near Nurenberg, where one of his regiments then lay in winter quarters. In vain Charles menaced the corps de garde; they saluted him with a brisk discharge of their firearms, which, though it spared his person, terrified his horse to such a degree, that as they both fell together, they lay exposed some moments to a second salvo of musquetry.

If all things be rightly considered, neither he nor his army deserved better usage, or greater success. They set out at first in the style of novices and blusterers, insolently boasting to chastise his Swedish majesty, and send him back to his hereditary regions of frost and snow. No troops looked fiercer, when they marched undisturbed through neutral dominions: they seemed, likewise, to have a talent for plunder, outrages, violations, and murder. Their ignorance of foreign countries kept pace with their insolence; for, amongst other things, they asked the Germans, *What sort of animal the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was, and if he was*

* Vincent Siri, Memoire Recondite, Tom. vii. p. 446, &c.

descended

1631. *descended from a good family**. Their extortions too were none of the least: for his Imperial majesty sent commissary general Ossa to join them, and pay them according to agreement; but the misfortune was, that the said commissary had no money, and the Lorrainers were obliged to feed themselves at the point of their swords. Old Tilly suspected these troops from the first moment he cast his eyes upon them; for they began to lower their note, in proportion as they approached the Swedish army. He therefore placed them generally out of the reach of blows; and history assures us, they discovered no resentment on the occasion. But when the wary Walloon once left them, the vigilant Swedes soon advantaged themselves of their infirmity; gave them two slaughtering camisados, and drove them ignominiously out of Franconia, to pursue their rout to the luxurious retreat of Nancy.

Here is a faithful picture of an army undisciplined, immoral, and unpaid; collected from a country of ease, idleness, sauntering, and extravagance; and plunged in a moment into the strict, sharp, and regular service of war. In these cases, the *theory* and *event* soon corresponded: vice and neglect of discipline ruin not only the *troops*, but the *cause*. The troops are lost through want of vigilance, sobriety, military punctuality, and subordination: and the cause is sacrificed by those repeated acts of excess, plunder, and cruelty, which make every peasant an enlisted soldier in the enemy's behalf. Thus, after an expedition of only a few months, and without engaging in a single battle or siege, Charles re-conducted to Lorrain little more than one moiety of his army. Whereas, if these troops had been solidly good, and Tilly could have been supposed to have placed a confidence in them, Gustavus might have been extremely embarrassed from superior numbers. But there were two collateral reasons for Charles's return, which historians have not penetrated into. Richelieu plainly saw, that he had opened too much of his play, in giving Gustavus uneasy apprehensions about his tampering with Bavaria (for the time was not yet come, that he had conceived a deter-

* Soldat Suedois, 194. This puts me in mind of a learned man, (the country he belonged to, importeth not) who, thinking he must say something civil to a Bavarian nobleman, asked him very modestly, *If the elector, his master, kept a coach? Yes, sir*, replied the man of quality, *and as many soldiers to run before it.*

mined

raised jealousy against Sweden) and consequently drew the duke of Lor- 1631.
rain back, partly by good words, and partly by making movements, as if he designed to take Moyenvic; which he actually made himself master of soon after, notwithstanding Merci's obstinate defence*. And what still induced Charles more and more to return homewards, was the discontent he received upon Walstein's promotion; for, in truth, he expected that supreme command himself; and for these reasons, took a cold farewel of his electoral uncle; since all he could obtain from the court of Vienna, was, the separate command of his own army, when conjoined with Tilly; and the post of lieutenant-general, in case he served under Walstein.

Thus ended the unprosperous expedition of the duke of Lorrain, if we except only two remarkable letters, that passed between him and Gustavus; which shall be taken notice of in their chronological order. The king being advanced so far in the conquest of Franconia published a very sensible manifesto, (for it was his custom always to make the pen keep pace with the sword) wherein it was alledged principally, after a full recapitulation of the motives, that induced him to enter Germany, "That his Swedish majesty expected assistance from all true patriots, "catholic, as well as protestant, in the reduction of the exorbitant "power, and unmerciful tyranny of the house of Austria; concluding "also that the former would withdraw their troops from the em- "peror's forces, conformably to the declaration of the electoral college "made at Ratisbon, where all contests with the crown of Sweden were "publickly disowned.—That in consequence of seeing this promise "realized, he had reciprocally engaged with France to separate the in- "terests of the leaguers in a private manner from those of the emperor, "and live in perfect harmony with the catholic electors and princes: "but they, on the other hand, had neglected his representations, and "commanded their troops to fight under the Imperial ensigns at the "battle of Leipsic.—Influenced by the success of that engagement, he "had pursued his enemies into Franconia, with a view to constrain them

* Francis, baron Merci: he proved afterwards one of the greatest generals the world ever knew. It is a misfortune in the art of war, that his life was never written,

"to

1631. " to comprehend their own intereſts, and detach themſelves from the " court of Vienna.—That he had courteouſly advertiſed the biſhops of " Wurtzburg and Bamberg, that he propoſed to act towards them in a " manner conformable to the ſtricteſt laws of humanity and genero- " ſity, but that each of theſe prelates ſtill continued to ſhew himſelf a " moſt active and determined opponent of the Swediſh intereſts:—Nay, " that finally, upon poſſeſſing the town and dioceſe of Wurtzburg, he " had practiſed no one ſort of retaliation, nor exerciſed any ſingle act " of ſeverity; ſuch proceedings being contrary not only to the natural " turn of his heart, but to the dictates of his common ſenſe, and the " very drift and nature of his plan, which was to relieve, rather than " torment and perſecute, his fellow-creatures *."

Some few days after Wurtzburg was taken, the Imperial general and the duke of Lorrain approached Guſtavus ſo nearly on the oppoſite banks of the Mayne, that the king, at the head of a good body of horſe and dragoons, croſſed the river privately in the night, and defeated four regiments of the enemy's cavalry †. Yet the cloſe neighbourhood of ſo numerous an hoſtile army gave Guſtavus no ſmall ſolicitude, his chief conſolation conſiſting only in ſeeing the river Mayne ſpread between him and Tilly: and for theſe reaſons he kept an attentive eye on all the noted paſſes above Wurtzburg, and below it.

That the reader may form ſome notion of his majeſty's vigilance, it may be worth remarking in this place, that having concluded from very diſtinct informations, that Tilly would attempt to croſs the river at Wurtzburg and Oxenford both, and being in great pain for the preſervation of the latter town, (diſtant from the former about ſixteen miles) he came in the evening on horſeback, attended only by a ſingle groom, to Monro's lodgings in the remoteſt part of Wurtzburg, and having ordered his ſervant to call Monro down from ſupper, commanded him to draw up Hepburn's brigade, and appoint Hepburn to wait on him in the ſquare before the houſe with all poſſible expedition. This little party, conſiſting only of 800 men, was reduced into form with-

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 16, &c. † Monro's Expedition, Part ii, p. 80, 81. Chemnitius, Tom. i. 196.

out

out delay, the pikemen and colours being left behind; when the king 1631.
in an inſtant ordered Hepburn and Monro to march without giving them time to ſend either for their horſes or their ſervants. Having walked briſkly about two miles, the king then imparted his deſign to Hepburn, and being joined there by an eſcort of eighty horſemen, continued to advance ſeven ſucceſſive hours without halting, and reached Oxenford before two o'clock that morning. There is ſomething in this march of a very uncommon nature; namely, that a body of infantry, without any the leaſt previous notice, ſhould perform an expedition of ſixteen miles length in a dark night, after the autumnal equinox, without having the opportunity of repoſing themſelves a ſingle hour. But the reaſons were as urgent on the one ſide, as the march was extraordinary on the other: for the town and paſs were guarded only, at that moment, by 150 muſqueteers, whom the king thought too weak to make any notable reſiſtance; and hence it was, that the brigade, at its arrival, had not time to take the leaſt refreſhment, being ordered to poſſeſs the bridge and market-place, and continue under arms till break of day *. Then the king repulſed the enemy with great vigour, and ordering Hepburn to defend himſelf like a man of honour, (with permiſſion to blow up the bridge, and retreat to the head-quarters, in caſe the ſervice proved extremely deſperate) returned with all poſſible diligence to Wurtzburg, from whence diſpatches paſſed night and day between Hepburn and himſelf.

It hath been obſerved by an old colonel, who ſerved then under Guſtavus, that he never ſaw his maſter's mind ſo greatly agitated, as in this preſent affair of Oxenford: for which, I think, one may venture to aſſign ſome very concluſive reaſons. It is true, we remarked a few minutes ago, that the king conducted an army of twenty-five or twenty-ſix thouſand men into Franconia: but then it muſt be remembered likewiſe, that he had a tract of river to defend, which extended itſelf near forty miles; and as one regiment was garriſoned in this city, where there was a bridge, and another ſtationed at that paſs, where there was a ford,

* Monro's ſecond Expedition, p. 83.

1631. (Horn being detached with a ſmall army to reduce the dioceſs of Bamberg) it appears to me extremely plain, that the king had not more than eight or ten thouſand ſoldiers in his head-quarters at Wurtzburg, wherewith to oppoſe the combined army of the league, which amounted at that time to fifty thouſand men. Nevertheleſs he, who, though not impervious to apprehenſions of danger and difficulty, took care never to loſe his preſence of mind, reſolved at firſt ſight, (with that ſort of intuition peculiar to himſelf and ſome few great commanders) to remain firm and unmoved at Wurtzburg; and augment his out-parties, if that were poſſible, rather than call them in to his own aſſiſtance.

He thus continued three days in a ſtate of patient perſeverance, when Tilly, who now began to think ſeriouſly of covering Bavaria, broke up his camp at a minute's warning, in the cloſe of the evening; and preſented his whole army, by break of day, before Oxenford, under appearance of attacking the town ſword in hand; but, for the reaſon above aſſigned, (not to mention, that the Swedes, by their maſter's orders, had thrown up ſome very good extemporal fortifications) he only made the preparations and ſhew of a general ſtorm, and ſuddenly purſued his intended journey with redoubled diligence. The king being ſoon advertiſed of the enemy's decampment, began to feel a ſecond uneaſineſs for the brave Scottiſh brigade left in Oxenford, and diſpatching in the very inſtant a re-inforcement of 500 muſqueteers to Hepburn, enjoined him to diſlodge forthwith under favour of the darkneſs, and file along unobſerved on the ſame line with the enemy, ſo as to occupy the town of Weinſheim (a march of about ſixteen miles) before Tilly could arrive thither. But as the Imperial general lay, at that time, cloſe to Oxenford, being advanced further than the king imagined, Hepburn made uſe of his own diſcretion, without attempting to move a ſingle ſtep; for he ſaw plainly, that an enterpriſe of ſuch a ſort was not to be undertaken upon the footing of circumſtances, as they then exiſted. The king likewiſe, after a ſhort reviſion of his former thoughts, diſpatched a ſecond meſſage to the colonel, thereby requeſting him (in caſe the enemy continued advancing towards Weinſheim) to re-conduct his little party to the head quarters at Wurtzburg, where he had entrenched himſelf upon

the

the ſame principles, which he formerly made uſe of in the famous en- 1631.
campment near Werben.

Hepburn's officers and ſoldiers were all amazed at the king's revoking his firſt orders, it being remarked by them, that they had rarely or never known him change a military diſpoſition, after he had once framed it; a certain and no inconſiderable proof of that prince's uncommon acumen in the art of war.

And now his majeſty having received aſſurances from the cities of Nurenberg, Ulm, Straſburg, and Francfort, determined at length to advance to the laſt mentioned place; but the town of Hanau was conſidered as an obſtacle, being ſituated on a paſs croſs the river Kintz, at the diſtance of about one day's eaſy march from Francfort. But it was neceſſary firſt to procure the key of admiſſion, and that was to conquer Hanau; which the Imperialiſts, about three years before, had blockaded fruitleſly for no leſs ſpace than that of ſeventeen weeks.

Towards the acquiſition of this place Guſtavus directed his whole attention, and for theſe purpoſes entertained a ſecret correſpondence with Philip Ludowic *, the count thereof, who being born and educated a proteſtant, had conſented privately, that the garriſon ſhould be ſurpriſed without bloodſhed, it being agreed, that a certain poſtern-gate ſhould be left open, unknown to Brandeis; who commanded a thouſand Imperialiſts, whom Tilly had ſqueezed formerly into the town. It is true, the Imperial general preſſed hard to introduce four companies more, which, it is thought, he would have ſwelled to twelve hundred ſoldiers at leaſt; but the count, who was a perſon of ſome conſequence, (his territory being eſteemed one of the moſt fruitful in thoſe parts of Germany) refuſed him peremptorily and promptly: for Tilly had ſurpriſed by force the town and caſtle of Babenhauſen, which had been mortgaged to him by one of his relations.

His majeſty deſtined the conduct of this expedition to lieutenant-colonel Dewbatel †, who had riſen to that command from a ſimple ſerjeant

* Others ſay Philip Maurice; brother to the celebrated AMELIA, landgraveſs of Heſſe-Caſſel. He died in 1638, aged thirty-three. *Imhoff, Not. Proc. folio,* p. 400.

† We have ſpoken of this enterprizing officer in a preceding note, and therein expreſſed our doubts,

1631. jeant in the ſhort ſpace of four years. To him were aſſigned ſix companies of Bauditzen's cavalry, and 1500 ſelected muſqueteers, who ſerved on horſeback. Dewbatel performed a march of fifty miles in four and twenty hours, and croſſing the Kintz, according to agreement, the city being moſt acceſſible on that ſide, entered the poſtern-gate with great dexterity, and giving the garriſon on that part of Hanau, called the old town, a very deſperate camiſado at five in the morning (it being now the firſt day of November) cut to pieces two companies of Imperial infantry, ſeized and ſecured the gate, which parted the old town and the new, and made the count, to all outward appearances, a priſoner by force. Brandeis, a captain of infantry, governor of both towns, but reſiding in the new, would by no means, on the firſt intelligence, allow the enterprize to be practicable; it appearing to him almoſt humanly impoſſible for men to have made ſuch an extraordinary a march in ſo ſhort a time. Another circumſtance conſpired likewiſe to miſguide his judgment: he had ſent unfortunately the day before to demand a re-inforcement from the garriſon of Aſchaffenberg, and concluded naturally, that theſe new comers were his own aſſociates; and for this reaſon, when advertiſed of the confuſion in the old town, forbid his officers to take the alarm and ſound to arms. At break of day he perceived his error, and prepared to make a vigorous defence, having diſpatched one of his domeſtics, who croſſed the town-ditch by ſwimming, to the town of Steinheim, where then lay a conſiderable body of Imperialiſts *, ſufficient in number to give battle to the Swedes, at the diſtance only of about ſixteen miles. But whether it was, that the king's commander had an eye or not to this event, thus much is certain, he proteſted he would agree only to a momentary parley, and took care to give Brandeis, from the town walls, a ſhort interview with the count, who told him artfully, that being a priſoner, he ſhould not take upon him to preſcribe directions; nevertheleſs, adviſed him to make the beſt terms he could procure. Upon this the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and reſign both colours

doubts, whether *Dewbatel, Tubadel, Dewal, Tubal, Hubalt* and *Howbald*, were the ſame perſon or not.

* The regiment of Einot, and ſome companies belonging to other regiments.

and

and arms at the city-gate, for Dewbatel told them all conditions muſt proceed from himſelf. The officers had their ſwords returned them, and ſo had the ſoldiers; but, according to the uſage of that age, as the colours were delivered to the conqueror, their military oath to the emperor was ſuppoſed to be void; and of courſe moſt of the men enliſted themſelves into the Swediſh ſervice, excepting about forty ſtrenuous catholics, and all the officers. Amongſt the priſoners was Francis, baron de Merci, (whom we have mentioned in the expedition of the Lorrainers) then ſerjeant-major to the regiment of Piccolomini. He had no command, being retired hither, with ſeveral other of Tilly's officers, on account of the wounds he had received in the day's ſervice at Leipſic. 1631.

In conſequence of this ſpirited undertaking, the king preferred Dewbatel to be colonel of his own regiment of guards in the room of Teüffel, who had been lately killed, and giving him commiſſion to raiſe two or three new regiments, advanced him likewiſe to the government of the city he had juſt ſurprized. But this officer in the end proved very ungrateful to the memory of his late maſter, and left the Swediſh ſervice at a time, when his aſſiſtances were moſt wanted. And with regard to the count de Hanau, who had acceded to the king's party with ſo good a grace, his majeſty made him a preſent of a ſignory contiguous to his own territory, in terms ſo gracious, that the manner of conferring the favour far exceeded the benefaction itſelf.

The regal army being now greatly ſhattered, and a conſiderable number of native Swedes deſtroyed, ſeveral regiments, with their reſpective officers, were incorporated into one corps, and called a *Brigade* *; which ſaid *brigade*, if complete, conſiſted of 2008 (2116) men †, and carried the colours of the eldeſt colonel. Here the king made ſome reviſion of his favourite doctrine of brigades, and formed five of theſe brigades, in his own army; namely, the brigade of *guards*, the *green*, (which Hepburn commanded as ſenior colonel) the *blue*, the *white*, and the *red*. But when a brigade is mentioned in the courſe of

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 28, 29.

† Before this period, his majeſty allowed ſeventy-two muſqueteers, and fifty-four pikemen to a company, and eight companies to a regiment, which (excluſive of officers) made preciſely 1008 common ſoldiers.

theſe

1631. theſe wars, as it was commonly more or leſs incomplete, according to the fortune of a campaign, the reader muſt, at a medium, ſuppoſe it to contain about 1800 men. Be that as it will, at this firſt inſtitution, his majeſty's ſtrength was ſo diminiſhed, that he could only make theſe incorporated combinations amount, each of them, (ſomething more, or ſomething leſs) to about 1500 perſons. Nevertheleſs, the more entire regiments continued ſtill to be undiſturbed; and, as new corps were levying daily in various parts, care was taken to tranſplant into them the junior colonels from the ſeveral brigades.

Some few days before this reformation was made, his majeſty caſt his eyes on the town of Wertheim, and ſurpriſed in it the Italian colonel Piccolomini *, who there loſt good part of his regiment. Rottenberg upon the Tauber

* Octavio Piccolomini. This gallant young man (whoſe family at Sienna took its riſe from Catharine ſiſter of pope Pius II.) proved afterwards a general of great repute. His father was maſter of the bed-chamber to Coſmo, grand duke of Tuſcany, and general of his cavalry: and had ſerved with great reputation in the Low-Countries, Hungary, Tranſylvania, and Barbary.

By the original picture, I have ſeen of the ſon, he was gracefully made, and of a very agreeable countenance. He had the eyes of his country of the fineſt ſort, bright, piercing, yet not ferocious. He dreſſed out of the pedantry of the then mode, and has ſo much the look of a fine gentleman and perſon of faſhion, that it ſeems to confirm an uncommon letter of Mazarine's to him, which the cardinal endites with a politeneſs relatively to the occaſion, and tells him, that ſince it was the fate of war, that the French army ſhould be defeated, he had rather Piccolomini ſhould obtain that honour than any other general in Europe, being certain the priſoners would fall into the hands of a perſon of diſtinguiſhed manners and humanity.

He was not only of a robuſt and healthy temperament, but ſo very alert and dextrous in the art of horſemanſhip, that, completely cloathed in armour, (which in thoſe days was none of the lighteſt) he could throw himſelf on the ſaddle of any common war-horſe without touching the ſtirrup. He perſonally ſaved the battle of Lutzen from concluding in a total overthrow. At the head of 1000 cuiraſſiers completely armed, he made good the very point, where Guſtavus in perſon made the moſt violent impreſſion. Broken by freſh ſupplies of the enemy, and reciprocally breaking them, he kept his troops in ſpirits till the 10th or 12th attack, nor ever departed from the ground, where he had the honour to be firſt placed, though covered all over with wounds, and though three horſes had been killed under him. Walſtein was ſo ſenſible, that ſuch a ſoldier was in effect an army, that next morning he ſent him, as a token of his eſteem, from a generoſity peculiar to himſelf, a preſent of 1600 l. ſterling. On account of this and other kindneſſes he never departed from his gratitude to the generaliſſimo, nor would he give any connivance to his aſſaſſination, though the emperor and his miniſters were the contrivers and cauſe of it. Yet great as this man was in the ſubaltern duties of war, his character afterwards did not riſe in proportion to his elevation: ſomething more may ſtill be wanting to form the commander in chief. However, we muſt obſerve, in honour to his memory, that he generally acted in conjunction with the archduke Leopold, and was often overruled and fettered by him. By peculiar good fortune he ſurvived the thirty years wars, though preſent

Tauber was taken next, and a body of 9000 Lorrainers were attacked 1631.
in their retreat homewards, who loſt Maſon, their commiſſary-general, (whom the Swedes took priſoner) and their military cheſt. Mean while the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel co-operated vigorouſly with the king at the head of 10,000 men, and kept Gronsfelt in full employment about Paderborn. Roſtock at length capitulated, to the great joy of Guſtavus. The duke of Mechlenberg and Todt * had beſieged and blockaded it for a ſpace, which one may call in war, time immemorial: but Virmond the governor made a moſt obſtinate defence, and fought during the whole ſiege under red colours, which in thoſe days was conſidered as a mark of irreconcilable reſiſtance. At length the citizens and garriſon began to mutiny, having loſt all hope, after the deciſion at Leipſic. Nevertheleſs, Virmond had addreſs enough to procure excellent conditions for himſelf and ſoldiers, and ſaved three thouſand two hundred men, who were conveyed to Wolfenbuttle, where, by Mansfelt's orders, he joined Boninghauſen. They then all acted againſt Bannier; whilſt Oxenſtiern advanced to bring the king a re-inforcement of 12,000 men, and the elector of Bavaria, on the other hand, aſtoniſhed at the progreſs made in Franconia, aſſembled an army of 20,000 combatants near Donawert, and offered a garriſon to the inhabitants of Ratiſbon, which they declined. The people of Augſburg returned the ſame excuſe to Gallas.

Having mentioned Roſtock, I muſt juſt take notice of a ſtrange accident, which happened there in the beginning of this year. One Jacob

preſent in moſt actions of importance: and not only rencounters then, but pitched battles too, were much more frequent, and more ſanguinary than they have been ſince.

He was thought ſo much a perſon of parts and addreſs, as to be ſent plenipotentiary to Nurenberg, in order to meet Charles Guſtavus, prince Palatin of Sweden, and realize the ſtipulations made at Munſter about drawing off the troops, and evacuating the various garriſons in the empire. Never did any work require more exact knowledge in detail, or greater patience or dexterity; for the aſſiſtant generals on both ſides traverſed all advances towards a good underſtanding; inaſmuch as in thoſe days they lived by the ſword, and grew rich by the ſword to *ſuch a degree*, as, God be praiſed, hath never happened ſince in the land-ſervice. Yet Piccolomini ſoon gave the finiſhing ſtroke to this immenſe and difficult undertaking. He then married Maria Benigna, a daughter of the duke of Saxony, and died a year afterwards in the 56th year of his age. *Azioni egregie da generali e da ſoldati Italiani dall' anno 1600 ſino al 1700*, 4. *Ven.* 1742.

* Todt, Achatius, (Ahez) deſcended from a daughter of Eric, the degraded king of Sweden, whoſe epitaph was the following text of ſcripture; *Translatum eſt regnum, et factum eſt fratris ejus: à domino conſtitutum eſt ei.*

Vermeyer,

1631. Vermeyer, a native of Oſnabrug, conceived a mortal hatred againſt the Imperial colonel Hatzfeld *, for which no reaſon could be aſſigned. He artfully concealed his reſentments a long time, and inſinuated himſelf into that commander's opinion, which emboldened him to aſk for ſome employment by way of amanuenſis. It happened one day, in the abſence of the domeſtics, as that officer was intent on arranging ſome papers, that Vermeyer came behind him with an axe, which he procured for that purpoſe, and, as he was ſtooping, ſtunned him with one blow, and then cutting off his head, carried it away in a cloth, hid it in a ſenator's houſe, and concealed himſelf. Being diſcovered and queſtioned why he had committed ſo horrid a murther, he replied coolly, *that Hatzfeld had deſerved it*; and more than this not even the torture could extract from him †.

And now, before we return to Guſtavus, it may not be amiſs to caſt our eyes, for a moment, on the concurrent operations of the elector of Saxony ‡; who by Arnheim's inſtigation artfully choſe the reduction of Luſatia, (which by the way the emperor had given him as his ſhare of proteſtant plunder about eight years before) and the invaſion of Bohemia, for his departments. Having conquered all that he loſt in Miſnia, he received an extraordinary declaration from his Imperial majeſty, by colonel Paradeyſer; who, to ſave appearances, had been diſpatched to Dreſden in a miniſterial capacity, and acted under the interpoſition of Cadretta, the Spaniſh ambaſſador then reſiding at Vienna. Cadretta, to uſe the language of thoſe times, was, as we ſuppoſe, an *Italianized Spaniard*; for this memorial may be conſidered as an equal mixture of ſubtile falſhood and high Caſtilian rodomontade; ſince it was hereby declared ||, "That Tilly had invaded Saxony *without orders* §, for which temerity he ſhould receive condign chaſtiſement one "day or other: as the haſtineſs of a paſſionate and imprudent warrior "had forced the elector into the arms of a *meer ſtranger*, who could

* There was another colonel Hatzfeld, who was afterwards a general of ſome renown.

† Bzachelii Hiſt. Noſtr. Tem. p. 270.

‡ Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation, in Low Dutch, fol. Part i. p. 149.

|| Soldat Suedois, 178, *&c.*

§ Tilly declares expreſsly the contrary in his letter from Halberſtadt, which we have publiſhed.

neither

" neither protect his friends, nor extirpate his enemies, and upon 1631.
" whoſe precarious exiſtence the whole fortune of an hazardous war
" depended. That the houſe of Auſtria, on the contrary, confided in
" a ſtrength, which was unſurmountable, and laid claim to reſources,
" that were inexhauſtible; renowned likewiſe, and admired in all ages,
" for the hereditary character *d'une debonnaireté particulière.*" (Such are the author's * own words, and ſorry I am, that I want an equivalent expreſſion, whereby to tranſlate them.) The memorial then proceeded as follows; namely, " That to evince this latter aſſertion, more efficacious orders were then diſpatched to the Imperial commanders in Lusatia (and this was really fact) to leave that province devoid of troops at the elector's devotion: beſeeching him to remember the ſolemn oath he had taken to the emperor and empire, with a promiſe ſubjoined, of making all matters eaſy to the once oppreſſed and afflicted proteſtants."

To which declarations the duke of Saxony, with reſpect to outward appearances, replied boldly and honeſtly enough: as alſo to a convention propoſed, where Cadretta intended to be preſent in the character of a mediator, and after having given, according to his cuſtom, ſome plentiful repaſts and copious libations, beſought colonel Paradeiſer to inform the courts of Vienna and Madrid, " That having incurred (than which nothing could be truer) " the ſuſpicions and reflections " of all good proteſtants, he had ſerved his Imperial majeſty faithfully, " and had been rewarded inſincerely: that a declaration of this ſort " ought to have preceded the battle of Leipſic, and not ſucceeded it: " and that he knew the warineſs of Tilly's old age too well, to ſuppoſe " him capable of taking ſo raſh a ſtep without poſitive inſtructions: " ſince if the victory of that day had once fallen to the ſhare of the " Imperial party, Ceſar, and not Ceſar's general, would have claimed " the glory of the Miſnian irruption and depopulation †. That he had " joined Guſtavus partly through reſentment, and partly from a prin- " ciple of ſelf-preſervation: nor was he at liberty to detach himſelf

* Frederic Spanheim, profeſſeur alors en theologie à Geneve.

† Soldat Suedois, p. 183—188. Le Vaſſor, Tom. vii. p. 60—63.

1631. " from him without incurring the imputation of ingratitude; and ſo " much the rather, as the accommodation propoſed (for which, it muſt " be confeſſed, Paradeiſer appeared to be furniſhed with plenipotentiary " authorities) tended not to the eſtabliſhment of an univerſal peace, but " was only calculated to form a private union between the houſe of " Auſtria and that of Dreſden. Nor was he to be informed, that a " ſecret diſpoſition had been projected, whereby it was contrived to " transfer the electoral bonnets of Brandenburg and Saxony unto " other wearers: concluding with this ſhort inſinuation, that it was " much eaſier to deſpiſe Guſtavus than to conquer him; being a " prince alike reſpectable in his friendſhips, and redoubtable in his " animoſities *.

Nothing could be more pointedly worded than this ſpirited reply; and yet the elector and Arnheim had, even then, a private inclination to become falſe to the cauſe of Sweden.

Mean while the prince we are ſpeaking of, having reduced Luſatia, where Tieffenbach and Goëtz made but an imperfect reſiſtance, entered Bohemia, and conjoined himſelf with old count Thurn, (who was now lieutenant-general to Guſtavus, and commanded a little army of Swedes, on ſome occaſions ſeparate from that of Arnheim) which union inclined the Bohemians to give the elector a more favourable reception; ſince, at the very inſtant he inveſted Prague, the inhabitants opened their gates with great chearfulneſs, ſo that don Balthazar di Maradas, the chief Imperial commander in that kingdom, and count de Michna, firſt commiſſary-general, were obliged to eſcape with all the garriſon.

Wallſtein, previouſly to this, returned to his palace juſt before the electoral army approached Prague, and by the part he acted, probably ſmoothed the path of a ſecond aſcent to his maſter's favour. He exhorted the officers and ſoldiers to perform their duty like men of honour, told them fine ſtories of aſſiſtances from Hungary and Poland, and denounced ſevere puniſhments againſt ſuch, as ſhould behave with remiſſneſs or

* Chemnitius de Bello Sueco-German. Tom. i. 218. And indeed *the king of ſnow* (as the Spaniards and Auſtrians affected to call him) performed his wonders in due time, and plucked the beſt feathers from the wings of the Imperial eagle:

——— gelida rex Suevus ab Arcto
Speculat, ſublimique minas mediatus alis
Expoliat———

cowardice:

ordinance: but saw plainly, at the same time, that the inhabitants were 1631.
universally disposed towards his master, and that a garrison of treble number was not sufficient to defend such an extent of walls. Nevertheless, to support the spirit of his party, he made semblance first to enter into an accommodation with count Thurn, and left Prague under pretence of diverting the siege by concluding a decisive treaty with Saxony; whereas, instead of attempting one project or the other, he shaped his course to Budweis, and not the Saxon camp, having removed privately the whole cancellaria, or papers of state.

The elector then took up his residence in this nobleman's palace, and abolished the chapel called *Bella Victoria*, which had been erected in memory of the battle of Prague *. Count Thurn succeeded Michna in the possession of his own house, which had been confiscated; and caused the heads of his protestant friends, that had been fixt upon the town gates, to be decently buried in the church of the Hussites. And here I must mention one remarkable circumstance; namely, that the city of Prague was *lost* and *re-taken*, *changed* and *received its religion*, *the self-same day*, at *eleven years* distance. And thus the marechal de Saxe took Prague at near an hundred years distance, the very same day, that his ancestor obtained it. The kingdom soon followed the example of the metropolis, with exception only of Pilsen, Budweis, and Tabor. The proscribed nobility and gentry returned, and took possession of their estates and houses. The goods of such Polish ecclesiastics, as absented themselves, were made a sacrifice to the fury of the populace; which paid also very little respect to the Imperial soldiery. Upon this account Thurn issued out a general protection, which run in the name of Gustavus †; and denounced severe punishments against all violators of the public peace. But though the people adored him as the genius of liberty and their tutelar angel; yet two Imperial privy-counsellors could not escape the transports of their resentment, for the multitude had been persecuted and exasperated beyond all imagination, since the battle of Prague.

* Mercure François, Tom. xvii. Part ii. † Swedish Intelligencer, Part ii. 204, &c. 123.

1631. Guſtavus now began thoroughly to ſuſpect the elector of Saxony, who had waſted too much time at firſt ſetting out, under pretence of puniſhing his own ſubjects, and amuſed himſelf with feaſting and rioting in Walſtein's palace, when he ought to have been cloathed in armour, at the head of his forces, in the middle of Auſtria. The vigilant Croatians miſſed little of ſecuring his perſon, whilſt he was frivolous or inſincere enough, amidſt all the tumult of an important campaign, in purſuing a ſtag: upon which interruption, in order to enjoy his ſports and Baccharah wine with greater ſecurity, he retired nearer home, as far as Leütmeritz, leaving the conduct of the army to Arnheim (who gained ſome advantage over the Imperialiſts near Limburg) and placing Hofkirck, an Auſtrian baron, with a ſtrong garriſon at Prague. Thus ended an expedition, more famous for the effuſion of wine, than of human blood.

While the elector of Saxony was thus employed, we will juſt conſider, for a moment, the operations of the Swediſh and Imperial forces in other parts. Horn lay near Bamberg, between Guſtavus and Tilly, in order to cover his maſter's flanks, and watch the motions of the latter. Banier, Todt, Hamilton, Leſley, the dukes of Mechlenberg and Lunenberg (not to mention the troops of Bremen) the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the chancellor Oxenſtiern (who indeed was now marching to eſcort the queen, and join the king) all commanded little ſeparate armies in the northern and north-eaſt parts of Germany, and were confronted in their turns by no leſs perſons than Pappenheim, Tieffenbach, Gotter, Gronsfelt, Boninghauſen, Mansfelt, and others: to enter into an abridgment only of whoſe proceedings would make a multiplicity of wars, which the reader's mind could hardly comprehend; the king having at that time eight or nine ſeparate armies on foot, each of them in full employment againſt an equal number of adverſaries; not to mention ſome efforts made on both ſides in Suabia, where old Sir Patrick Ruthven, and the duke of Wirtemberg, oppoſed themſelves to the elder Monfecuculi, and commiſſary Oſſa.

And now midſt the confuſion and tumult of wars, the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, who, (not to degenerate from the character of his father)

father) was always a ſecret well-wiſher to the courts of Vienna and Mentz, and found no ſmall advantage in playing ſo clandeſtine a game, made propoſals of accommodation betwixt all the contending parties then in the empire: himſelf and the margrave of Culmbath were to be appointed interpoſitors on the proteſtant ſide, and the archduke Leopold and the duke of Neuburg were to ſuſtain the ſame parts in the catholic intereſts; but the whole project ſoon vaniſhed into air. At the ſame time the Engliſh ambaſſador *, then reſiding at Vienna, ſent his ſecretary, Richard Hurſt, to London, in company with a Capuchin friar, with inſtructions to make ſome freſh propoſals concerning the reſtitution of the Palatinate. Couriers alſo were diſpatched upon the ſame errand to Madrid and Bruxelles. From all which operoſe proceedings nothing reſulted, except that the Engliſh laughers had their jeſt, and ſaid, that the emperor could not be extremely warm in his circumſtances, when he was obliged to employ a plenipotentiary, who was not maſter of a ſingle ſhirt †. 1631.

At this time her Swediſh majeſty arrived at Stetin; and the duke of Pomerania, with great politeneſs, paid his compliment to her immediately, and beſought her to ſtay one day, and honour with her preſence a comedy and balet, which he had appointed for her amuſement. She anſwered like the illuſtrious conſort of the Great Guſtavus; that the ſtate of the times required prayers and public humiliations more than interludes and bergamaſcos ‡: that in the midſt of his feſtivities, ſhe ſhould be reflecting on the dangers, which her huſband was hourly expoſed to, and conſequently be alone and abſent, although ſurrounded by a crowded theatre. Matters of public honour and ceremony being thus abruptly, but civilly decided, the duke made her majeſty a preſent of a rich caſket, and ſeveral valuable miniatures; and the queen, not to be deficient in magnificence, ſent him back a vaſe and baſin of maſſy gold: and, to exceed him, if poſſible, in politeneſs, made a compliment to the ducheſs of a fine coach and ſix horſes, that were moſt beautifully dap-

* Sir Robert Anſtruther.

† Memoires d'Electrice Palatine.

‡ That is to ſay, *maſques à la façon de Bergame*, a town in Italy. The word occurs both in Shakeſpeare and Johnſon.

1631. pled. Then from Stetin he passed on to Berlin, the place of her nativity, and thence to Dresden.

We will now return to Gustavus, who, till the town of Hanau was taken, had great doubts what steps to pursue: nor were his perplexities quite removed when Dewbadel conquered it; for though he had his choice of two routes, either to Nurenberg or Francfort, (in the districts round the former of which lay the temporal princes, and in the latter, the three spiritual electors) yet he could not easily induce his mind, which part of the alternative to embrace. Tilly well foresaw, that each of these plans would present itself to the king's consideration, (for great generals want no intelligence, whereby to be informed of the most operations of a campaign) and therefore of course, when Gustavus approached Nurenberg, he, in consequence of that motion, filed off to Francfort; and when he perceived, that the king declined advancing to the former place, passed him by a forced march in the night, and placed his army directly in the road to the latter *. In this dilemma, where the sword might not so conveniently take place, (for the imperial general was extremely cautious and wary) the king applied himself a second or third time to the arts of negotiation, and procured at length the final ratification of the treaty, which had been long agitating, on his side at least, with the patricians of Nurenberg, whereby he gave his honour to relieve them or perish, in case Tilly should besiege them vigorously.

His peace of mind being thus recovered, and all greater difficulties smoothed, he appointed Axel Lily to be governor of Wurtzburg, and leaving Horn as general by deputation in the circle of Franconia, embarked at Forstenson on the Mayne with all his artillery, and marched his army in two columns, on either side of the river, as far as Aschaffenberg, himself leading that division, which approached next to Tilly. The body of troops he then conducted, amounted only to 7000 infantry, and 4000 horse. He had few native Swedes with him, having consigned the major part of such as remained to Horn, Banier, Lesley †,

* Swedish Intelligencer, Part iii. p. 20, &c.

† Sir Alexander; an old Scottish general, governor of Stralsund when Gustavus entered Germany.

Todt,

Todt, and his other generals. Never army made a quicker march in an 1631.
hoſtile country, (for Horn lay encamped at Bamberg betwixt his maſter and Tilly:) ſo that one would have imagined the king was making a proceſſion in his own dominions, at the head of his ſubjects; inſomuch that an old colonel in the Swediſh ſervice hath declared, that the five days march under Guſtavus from Wurtzburg to Aſchaffenberg had more the aſpect of a journey of pleaſure than a military expedition.

At Aſchaffenberg, where the elector of Mentz had one of the fineſt palaces in the empire, was expected, on account of the wealth therein contained, a ſort of reſiſtance no ways contemptible, and that rather, as the garriſon conſiſted of one regiment of Tilly's old Burgundians, and twice the number of electoral forces: but they all diſlodged under the protection of darkneſs, and were replaced by Banier's regiment of infantry.

The town of Steinheim was next conquered by meer force, and two ſoldiers, who made two thirds of the garriſon, enrolled themſelves under the Swediſh enſigns. His majeſty made a compliment of the caſtle and ſignory round it to the count de Hanau's mother, unto whoſe family they anciently appertained; and this act of generoſity ſo endeared him to the ſaid nobleman, who was no inconſiderable proteſtant prince (having five earldoms under him, and about 790 villages *), that he and the ſeventeen counts of Veteravia †, ſome of whom were Lutherans, and ſome Calviniſts, entered into a public treaty ‡ with Guſtavus, conſigned to him all their paſſes and fortreſſes, agreed to pay a contingent of 2000 l. a month during the war, and recall ſuch ſubjects as then ſerved under the emperor. Now they had the boldneſs to aſſert, in their counterpart of articles given to Guſtavus, that this prince was compelled by meer impulſe of conſcience to enter Germany, and that the houſe of Auſtria aimed at nothing leſs than univerſal dominion over the minds and liberties of mankind, having ſeized the te-

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part II. p. 225.

† Some of theſe families had more earldoms than one, as the Naſſaus, Waldecks, Solmes's, Iſenbergs, &c.

‡ It was ratified on the Swediſh army's arrival at Franckfort, and conſiſted of a preamble by way of manifeſto, and eleven intelligible articles.

ritories

1631. rities of the said contractors, purely to shew what, and how much arbitrary power can effect, either with or without reason, and bestowed patrimonial inheritances (that were never forfeited) upon a set of *new* men, who till that time were hardly known to the empire.

From Steinheim the king advanced to Hanau, where he only supped, to the great mortification of the magistracy; and then causing all his drums to beat, marched seven miles farther that night, till he reached Offenbach-castle, which lay at no great distance from Francfort. Here he rested one day, having sent the count de Solmes before to prepare the incident of his admission. The magistrates then besought Gustavus to consider their oaths to the emperor, and not only leave their town in a state of neutrality, but pay some regard to their annual fairs, which were the chief means of their subsistence. To which the king replied, *That the tacit compact of their obligation to his Imperial majesty had been already violated; that the word neutrality conveyed an odious sound to his ears; and that he felt astonishment to be informed by them, that their fairs had more weight with them than their liberty and their consciences, since they considered things more in a private light as tradesmen and negotiants, than in a public light as members of the world and Christians* *. Upon this the commissioners interceded for some fresh protraction of time, in order to consult the elector of Mentz, their ecclesiastical sovereign: but the king, who seized all incidents as they flew along before him, cut them short by observing, (and here he raised his voice a little with a tone of authority) *That he could easily excuse them from taking a step of so much trouble: for being master of Aschaffenberg, their prince's place of residence, there was no elector of Mentz, except Gustavus; and that he would give them a more plenary and effectual absolution in government matters than the aforesaid prelate could then pretend to do* †.

The magistrates, astonished with a firmness so decisive, consented without delay, for themselves and the people, not only to take an oath of fidelity, but allow the Swedish army ingress and egress, and admit 600

* Le Soldat Suedois, p. 166. † Ibidem.

soldiers

ſoldiers into Saxenhauſen, a pleaſing and elegant part of the ſuburbs; 1631.
divided from the city by a fair and large bridge.

As this town, in one reſpect, might be conſidered as the moſt illuſtrious city in Germany (it being a common ſaying, that he who poſſeſſeth Francfort a year and a day, is maſter of the empire) the king, in order to make his public entrance and proceſſion with greater ſolemnity, paſſed through it, riding all the way with his head uncovered; bowing to the better ſort of people as they ſaluted him, and ſpeaking courteouſly to the artizans and inferior populace*. This cavalcade was preceded by fifty ſix pieces of artillery (the more ponderous cannon being tranſported down the Mayne in boats) and then followed ſeventy four enſigns of foot, and forty five cornecies of horſe. As the whole ceremony was performed with inexpreſſible regularity, a larger body of forces than this could not march through the town in one day; and of courſe, to preſerve the greater decorum, the next morning twenty ſix more troops of cavalry cloſed the proceſſion. So that all of them, according to the beſt calculation I can make, (not to mention the corps, that guarded the artillery along the river) amounted upon the whole to about 14,000 effective men: which addition the king had gleaned up in the ſhort ſpace ſince he left Wurtzburg. Only two ſoldiers detached themſelves from their ranks to make ſome petty depredations, and both were condemned by martial law to ſuffer death the next day.

The magiſtracy fitted up the Imperial palace of Braunfels † for the king's reception, who dined there the very day he entered the town, making choice of the ſame room where the emperor eats at his coronation. But when they preſſed him to ſleep there the enſuing night, as the place of reſidence during his ſtay, he declined the requeſt, and courte-

* It was uſually his cuſtom to diſcourſe with all the town's people, that flocked round him, and aſk them a thouſand little queſtions, that meant nothing, but affability. He diſliked flattery and compliments; and when thoſe, who affected the courtly and polite ſtyle, accoſted him in ſuch language, he generally deſired them with a ſmile, *to reſerve that tone of diſcourſe for her majeſty and her maids of honour.*

† Guſtavus, who afterwards lodged there, was ſo delighted with it, that he aſked his generals one day, if they ſaw any defect in it? and when they returned their anſwer in the negative, replied gravely, *that he perceived one, which quite diſſatisfied him: for as the palace was not built upon wheels, he could not poſſibly contrive to roll it to the ſea ſhore of the Baltic, and thence tranſport it to the city of Stockholm.*

1631. ouſly told them, *that he could repoſe himſelf contentedly in the open fields, and deſired no other apartments than what his pioneers conſtructed for him, according to their taſte, in extemporary architecture:* adding, *that the body of an army could not ſubſiſt without its head; and that he was obliged to take his chance in common with the meaneſt ſoldier that ſerved under him**. All which was at that time nothing more nor leſs than a political pretext: it was his intention, under the advantage of the profoundeſt ſecrecy, to inveſt the ſtrong town of Hoëchſt; which he ſurrounded by ten o'clock that evening, as it lay at no great diſtance from Francfort, and made himſelf maſter of it the day ſucceeding. And it was for this reaſon, under pretence of doing himſelf and the city an honour, that he marched his forces through the town, and made them ſtand to their arms at the oppoſite gate till night came on, and then (without giving the neighbourhood the leaſt apprehenſions) conducted them unexpectedly to the walls of Hoëchſt.

It was here that George, the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, (though others, it muſt be confeſſed, ſuppoſe the place to be Steinheim, which appears to me not ſo probable) ſent a meſſage of propoſals, by one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, to the king, who being ſomewhat diſpleaſed at an application ſo devoid of ceremony, aſked Swalbach (for that was the perſon's name,) not without a certain degree of warmth, *if his maſter thought it beneath him to make a viſit in perſon?* Upon this, the landgrave, whoſe character we have touched upon in a preceding paragraph, poſted away to Francfort with all poſſible expedition; where his majeſty (who by this time was returned thither) took the opportunity to inſinuate, during the courſe of a repaſt, *that it might have proved more prudent for him to have joined the other proteſtant princes, who entered into the Leipſic confederation, and truſted to a manly and ſpirited reſolution, than thus to have played a ſeparate clandeſtine game, and lent an ear to the vain and illuſory promiſes of the court of Vienna*†. Nevertheleſs, he ſhifted his bargain to ſuch a degree, backwards and forwards, and tormented Guſtavus ſo much with reſervations, excuſes, ſubterfuges, palliations, and promiſes, that the latter, merely for the ſake of holding this Proteus in any ſhape, (who happened to be ſon-in-law to the elector of Saxony, a prince, who then

* Le Soldat Suedois, p. 269. † Ibid. p. 272.

required

required to be dextrously managed *) conſented to allow him a ſort of neutrality, and abſolved him from the common military contingent, which all other contracting powers had agreed to furniſh. In conſequence of which, he conſigned to the Swedes the ſtrong caſtle of Ruſſelheim (in much the ſame manner as hath been mentioned before with regard to Cuſtrin and Spandau) and ceded to his majeſty free poſſeſſion of all the forts and paſſages, that lay in his territories †. 1631.

At Francfort, a more explicit ſort of perſonage joined Guſtavus, who for one day had made a ſecond journey to Hoëchſt, in order to return God thanks for his victories without the interruption of a crowd of ſpectators; and that was William, landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; who conducted with him all the troops he could conveniently ſpare, which amounted perhaps in the whole to about 6000 foot, and 3000 horſe. This prince had not been inactive whilſt Tilly attempted to raiſe the ſiege of Marienberg; for during that interval he made himſelf maſter of Minden and Goëtingen, and advanced thence into the Palatinate, where he ſurprized the town of Vacha.

A treaty being now ſigned betwixt his majeſty and the people of Francfort ‡, great attention was immediately paid to the negotiation and commerce of this illuſtrious city; for the king publiſhed a placard with relation to the two annual fairs, wherein he allowed an impartial toleration of religion to all mankind, granting the merchants of every ſect and perſuaſion (Jews as well as Chriſtians) free unmoleſted paſſage for themſelves and their goods, and ſignifying the ſame under pain of the higheſt diſpleaſure to all his commanders; which he confirmed next year by a ſecond edict, giving his generals to underſtand, in their ſeveral diſtricts, that if any travellers were plundered, or their effects detained by force, they themſelves ſhould be anſwerable for the loſs in their own perſons §. And hence it happened, in conſequence of this extraordinary care and generoſity, that the city of Francfort, for the ſpace of three years, engroſſed great part of the wealth and ſubſtance of the four upper circles in the German empire.

* Puffendorf de Rebus Suecois, l. 3, p. 54. † Chemnit. Tom. i. p. 200. ‡ Ibid. p. 202. § Ibid. p. 205.

1631. The poſſeſſion of a town like Francfort, without the loſs of a ſingle perſon, produced congratulations and applauſes to his majeſty from all quarters: and upon this occaſion, ſome of thoſe court-ſycophants, who are always buzzing their ill-conceived and ungracious compliments into royal ears, told him with a fooliſh countenance of admiration, that he reſembled Alexander the Great, not only in the immenſity, but in the rapidity likewiſe of his conqueſts; adding moreover, with a particular emphaſis, that he poſſeſſed, or had at his devotion, the two places, where the Imperial crown was kept, and where the emperor received his conſecration: upon which the king, who dealt often in the ironical ſtyle, replied gravely, and without ſeeming to feel their encomiums, *That hitherto, God be praiſed, he had not been ambitious, like the deſtructive and ravaging heroes of antiquity; but contented himſelf with that diminutive ſpot, which lies wedged in between the Rhine and the Baltic* *.

Whilſt things went on thus peaceably at Francfort, Tilly ravaged the marquiſate of Anſpach with great licentiouſneſs, and found in and near the capital thereof abundance of arms, and a conſiderable number of excellent horſes. In this outrageous irruption, the very tombs and vaults of the reigning family were plundered; nor was the *cordon* of diamonds ſpared, which decorated the body of the old general, who, though he had commanded againſt the emperor at the battle of Prague, yet afterwards, by means of his retractation, merited better terms from the troops of the houſe of Auſtria. From hence Tilly ſent the adminiſtrator of Magdeburg to Ingolſtadt, whom he had carried round the empire as a trophy ever ſince the ſtorming of Magdeburg: and here the coldneſs between him and Pappenheim (to whoſe impetuoſity he attributed the ill ſucceſs at Leipſic) proceeded at length to ſuch diſguſt and diſagreement, that the latter thought fit to retire with a ſeparate army into Weſtphalia, and left the commander in chief to beſiege Nurenberg, who hoped thereby to draw Guſtavus from the banks of the Rhine: but the patricians had raiſed a little army in their own defence, and admitted a count de Solmes as governor on the part of Sweden. The Im-

* Fred. Spanheim's Soldat Suedois, p. 275.

perial

perial general ſummoned the magiſtracy to ſurrender their city in behalf 1631.
of his maſter, and demanded of them 15,000 l. by way of contribution: to which the only anſwer made, conſiſted of a briſk diſcharge of artillery, inſomuch that one of the cannon-balls pierced the horſe-litter where Tilly ſate; who, partly diſappointed at ſo petulant a reſiſtance (for the town had lately given Aldringer aſſurances of fidelity and loyalty,) and partly chagrined, as a priſoner in the Swediſh intereſts had ſet fire to his magazine of powder, found himſelf obliged to direct his intentions to ſome ſecond object; or, in other words, diſpoſe his troops into winter-quarters; a part filing off towards Bohemia to watch the Saxons, and the reſt being diſperſed through the Upper Palatinate: both, as far as we can now diſcover, without any apparent reaſons, excepting that he hoped, as a report was then ſpread of Walſtein's being recalled, to throw the king upon that general's hands, and entice him far off from the metropolis of his friend and patron, the duke of Bavaria. If this was the real intention (for many think he feared to confront the king in a ſecond pitched battle *) it proved afterwards to be either ill conceived or unfortunate; for it inſpired Guſtavus with the idea of penetrating into Bavaria (part of which by this movement was left naked and defenceleſs) ſome few weeks ſooner than he firſt propoſed. Indeed, from the beginning to the end of this affair, he ſhewed himſelf to be no ways puzzled by all Tilly's diverſified ſhiftings and efforts; knowing well, that Walſtein could perform but little till the ſpring enſuing. Of courſe, the inſtant he received the news, that Nurenberg was inveſted, he diſpatched the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel with his army to diſturb Tilly, declaring ſolemnly he would march himſelf to raiſe the ſiege in caſe there appeared to be any occaſion: and the moment the Imperial forces decamped towards Bohemia and the higher Palatinate, he formed the ſcheme of croſſing the Danube in thoſe places where it was weakly defended.

It is now high time to obſerve, that the loſs of the battle of Leipſic had given the emperor inexpreſſible uneaſineſs, inaſmuch as it had ruined the rich harveſts of twelve the moſt proſperous, though not the moſt glorious, campaigns, that are to be met with in hiſtory. Upon a

* Galeazzo Gualdo, Part i. l. 2.

reviſion

1631. reviſion of what had preceded, he found himſelf without reſource of men and money. Many of the veteran legions (which in the courſe of *one* war are hardly ever to be replaced) had been careleſsly and wantonly diſbanded; and his torrent of ſucceſſes had been uninterrupted to ſuch a degree, that none of his miniſters thought it neceſſary to lay up good proviſion of wealth in the exchequer. The civil and the military officers lived by plunder, extortions, and confiſcations, and arrogantly concluded, that their incomes could never be exhauſted.

Prodegies and omens, according to the interpretation of thoſe times, augmented the horrors of a ſuperſtitious prince. The eruption of mount Veſuvio, which chanced to happen ſoon after the battle of Leipſic, put all Europe into a new conſternation*. A woman was delivered of a birth ſingularly monſtrous, near Vienna; and one of the emperor's counſellors of ſtate dropt down dead at his feet, as they were diſcourſing about a tower †, which had been erected as a trophy to his glory; and (which was greatly intereſting) he now knew from good authority, that Maximilian, elector of Bavaria, was attempting to negotiate a ſeparate treaty with France. All theſe concurrent circumſtances at once obliged him, and terrified him, to attempt to cajole the ſeveral powers in Europe, or bring them really into his intereſts: ſo that he talked in a new ſtyle to Anſtruther, the Engliſh ambaſſador, about the reſtitution of the Palatinate; paid his court to Guſtavus, by the intervention of the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt; and made his applications to the elector of Saxony, through the interpoſition of the Spaniſh ambaſſador: and diſpatching, laſtly, the baron Curtius with freſh propoſals to the court of Verſailles, ordered him to expreſs himſelf in a very different ſtyle from what the court of Furſtenberg had formerly uſed, after the reduction of Mantua. Nevertheleſs Gabriel Oxenſtiern, the Swediſh plenipotentiary, was

* Nani, Hiſtoria Veneta, Tom. viii.

† The inſcription was,

TROPHAEUM
DEO VICTORI OPT. MAX.
IN MEMORIAM B. VIRG. MARIAE, SS. IGNATII,
ET FRANCISCI XAVERII,
FERDINAND. II IMPERAT.
MDC.XXVII.

The tower belonged to the Jeſuits new college at Prague.

much

much better received; for France knew how to diſtinguiſh between the pretended intereſts of religion, and the real advantages of the houſe of Auſtria *. 1631.

In the next place, the emperor reformed all the offices of his court, and annihilated thoſe, that were ſuperfluous. He reduced the number of the noblemen of his bed-chamber from twenty nine to only ſix; and humbly requeſted contributions from all the princes of his own houſe, as alſo from the princes and ſtates of Italy, and from the pope. The king of Spain and the king of Hungary (in conjunction with his conſort) furniſhed him each with 150,000 l. The great duke of Tuſcany ſubſcribed very generouſly; but when the Hungarian cardinal Paſman † was ſent to make an eſſay on the papal purſe, the holy father ‡, artfully enough, refuſed to receive a *cardinal* as an *ambaſſador*; and inſiſted moreover, that the preſent war could not be conſidered as a war of religion. To which Paſman replied, like a man of probity, ability, and ſpirit; for he was not only a profound politician, but (which was then rare, as well as now) a politician that led an exemplary and irreproachable life; of courſe the public paid a great regard to all he ſaid and did. He told the pope in ſo many words, That he valued himſelf on having ſpirit enough to engage *in ſecular matters*, when they were ſo *nearly connected* with his duty, as a *Chriſtian*: and delivered this diſculpation of himſelf with ſo much firmneſs, that Urban immediately granted him an audience; ſagaciouſly foreſeeing, that it was leſs dangerous to hear his arguments, than reject them unheard. In conſequence of which, the unſucceſsful prelate had only the jejune ſatisfaction to proteſt aloud to all mankind, "That the holy and infallible father had extracted more no-" tions of doctrines from *Tacitus* and *Machiavel*, than from the *Evan-*" *geliſts* and the *Apoſtles*."

* Memoires d'Electrice Palatine, &c. 306.

† Archbiſhop of Gran, or Strigonium. Some ſay his family name was Harrach, and that he was brother-in-law to Walſtein. The baron de Rabata attended him, who paid his viſit to the other Italian princes. Le Vaſſer, Tom. vii. 110.

‡ Urban VIII. who had been nuncio to Clement VIII. in France, and held Lewis XIII. at the baptiſmal font.

The

1631. The emperor then condeſcended to aſk ſupplies from his own ſubjects. Cardinal Ditrichſtein * ſubſcribed eight thouſand pounds; the prince of Eggenberg † fifty thouſand; count Michna ſixteen thouſand; the biſhop of Vienna ‡ thirteen thouſand; and Stralendorf §, vice-chancellor of the empire, nine thouſand pounds.

As Tilly grew old, and was neglected by the ſoldiery; as he was unſucceſsful in his laſt great campaign, and devoted beſides to the Bavarian intereſts; one ſupreme commander was wanted, to make ſome counterpoiſe at leaſt, againſt the predominant fortunes of Guſtavus. The Spaniſh faction propoſed Ferdinand, king of Hungary, the emperor's ſon; who had married the infanta, ſiſter of Philip IV. and had patronized and ſtrengthened the intereſts of Madrid at the court of Vienna. The German party recommended Walſtein, as a general of great experience and unbounded generoſity; for which reaſon he was peculiarly happy in levying troops at the ſhorteſt notice, that could be imagined. Indeed, if we except Pappenheim (Tilly being ſuppoſed to be out of the queſtion) there was no alternative of choice: and Pappenheim, to give him his due, deſpiſed courtiers, court-applications, and court-intrigues. He wanted to be *illuſtrious*, but not *rich*. *Glory* was his *object*, and *that* he procured by the point of his ſword. Of courſe, in all this caballing, and all theſe diſtreſſes, (not unhappily perhaps even for Guſtavus) he was neither recommended by a ſingle perſon, nor even thought of: yet, deriving his reputation only from himſelf, he never once murmured or remonſtrated; never once entertained a thought of reſigning, or quitting the ſervice; but quietly, patiently, and ſteadily, performed

* Francis, cardinal and prince of Ditrichſtein, biſhop of Olmutz, protector of the hereditary dominions, commiſſary-general and plenipotentiary-governor of Moravia, &c. See more in a preceding note.

† John, duke of Crommau, and prince of Eggenberg; one of the fourteen cabinet-counſellors, director of the council, knight of the order of the golden-fleece, hereditary maréchal of both the Auſtria's, &c. &c. *Court Kalendar of Vienna*, 1632. It was he, who adviſed the Mantuan war. *Paganino Gaudentio; Singolarita delle guerre di Germania*, 171.

‡ Antony, prince, and abbot of Crembs-Münſter, privy-counſellor, and director of the privy-council. He had great grants out of the forfeited lands in Franconia.

§ Peter Henry, baron; privy-counſellor, vice-preſident of the aulic council, &c. &c.

his

his duty; and died, as he lived, a faithful ſubject, an inferior com- 1631.
mander, but a hero.

Charles of Lorrain wiſhed fruitleſsly for Walſtein's employment, as we obſerved before; and count Furſtenberg, who had ſerved under Tilly, amuſed himſelf with the hope of being choſen in effect generaliſſimo, by the help of his kinſman of the ſame name, who was then preſident in the cabinet of the king of Hungary; for he aſpired to no other poſt than to be military counſellor and director to that prince; but miſcarrying in this project, he reſigned his commiſſion and retired from affairs.

The Spaniards were much ſtartled with the thoughts of Walſtein's revocation; for they formerly, in conjunction with the elector of Bavaria, had contrived his diſgrace; nevertheleſs, like good courtiers, they ſubmitted with ſeeming complacency; and, to diſſemble better their conſciouſneſs of paſt affronts, made him a compliment of the order of the Golden Fleece; for they knew the ſpirit of the man, and his vindictive temper. They ſaw likewiſe, that Ferdinand was young and inexperienced, and that he could not make a campaign without vaſt expence.

And to pay court to the generaliſſimo ſtill further, (who loved no foreign troops except Italians, whoſe quickneſs of parts he admired, and whoſe connexions with their reſpective princes he knew to be inconſiderable) they made him an offer, by the capuchin Zuiroga, to pay annually 100,000 l. into the military cheſt, by way of equivalent for a body of forces, that were to have marched from the Low Countries*; which alternative he thought fit to embrace with great complacency. Thus ended this cabal of faction; and moſt readers will be apt to imagine, that the German party prevailed by mere ſuperiority of reaſon. But perhaps neither *their* repreſentations, nor *thoſe* of the Spaniards, determined the important affair in queſtion; for it is probable, the emperor gave the preference to Walſtein purpoſely on account of a favourable horoſcope, which his aſtrologer had erected for that general: and the rather, becauſe it is well known, he had a ſecret repugnance to humble himſelf before a ſubject, and ſubmit in effect to aſk his pardon†.

* Le Vaſſor; Tom. vii. 135. † Puffendorf de Rebus Suecicis, fol. p. 58.

1631. Upon this, Maximilian, count Walſtein, maſter of the horſe to the king of Hungary, who was the general's nephew and favorite; the baron de Queſtenberg *, privy-counſellor and aulic-chancellor, (who had been, and ſtill continued his patron at court;) and the prince of Eggenberg, were all diſpatched to him with full authorities to make him an offer of the ſupreme command, and a ſalary of 100,000 l. a year †. Walſtein was then at his palace at Znaïm in Moravia, the Saxons having diſlodged him from his fine places of reſidence at Prague, and in Silefia. He coldly declined making a viſit to Vienna, pretending humility, and proteſting the title of *his highneſs* (as duke of Mechlenberg) would offend his ears; ſince it would be a ſenſible mortification to him, to be treated upon the footing of a prince of the empire. But this was mere grimace and affectation; for few people were deſirous of giving him the title, and many conteſted it.

He then entertained them with a prolix homily, on the inſtability of human greatneſs, the charms and advantages of retirement and recollection, and the emptineſs of ambition. He lamented the diſgrace of his maſter's arms, and inveighed bitterly againſt his own perſonal enemies; "obſerving haughtily enough, that if he undertook to remedy all the "blunders of Tilly, and the elector of Bavaria, he juſtly merited to "have his name affixed, by way of infamy, to every gibbet in the em"pire;——That the emperor had cut off his right arm, and now want"ed to fight a duel, at ſwords, with the great Guſtavus:" nevertheleſs condeſcended (under the name of the king of Hungary ‡, and not otherwiſe) to undertake the command for three months; and at length,

* The very perſon, who formerly carried him his diſmiſſion, when he had been caſhiered by the intrigues of the diet at Ratiſbon. He was a miniſter of parts, and acquitted himſelf very dextrouſly in his embaſſy to England, after the death of Guſtavus.

† Le Soldat Suedois, 298. Mercure Franc. Tom. xviii. p. 94. Strictly ſpeaking, the ſum amounted to 108,000 l. *per annum*; but it was agreed to pay him 9000 l. or 100,000 florins, at the end of each month. This ſalary carries with it the ſhew of a very high and haughty demand; yet whoever cooly conſiders the propoſals, which this man makes the emperor in the next page, (and under which his Imperial majeſty thought fit to acquieſce) will not be ſtartled at the contemplation of a ſtipend ſo very extraordinary at its firſt appearance.

‡ This prince took the ſupreme command of the army upon him after Walſtein's death, and ſucceeded his father to the Imperial throne, in 1637, under the title of Ferdinand III.

ſeeming

ſeeming to be fatigued, and over-perſuaded by the ſolicitation of his friends, accepted the employ, as a ſort of perpetual dictatorſhip; the terms of which, conſidering them to proceed from a diſgraced ſubject to the firſt monarch in Europe, are ſuch perhaps as can be hardly equaled in hiſtory. For he was to be Spaniſh, and Imperial generaliſſimo in Germany, and maſter of the ſupreme deciſion in concluding a peace.—— His Imperial majeſty, and the king of Hungary his ſon, were obliged never to enter the camp;——and his remuneration was to be given him, either in the lands he conquered, or in the hereditary dominions;—— all confiſcations were to be at his diſpoſal, and that without the concurrence of the chamber of Spires, or the Imperial council;——he was to grant protections, paſſports, and pardons, without dependency;——his demands for proviſions and money, were always to be anſwered;—— and, in caſe of a retreat, the hereditary dominions were to be open for the reception of his army *. 1631.

He then, in his letter to the emperor, told him (after having pauſed near ſix weeks, on the propoſals, that had been made him, namely, from the beginning of November till the middle of December,) that, for his own part, he had been over-perſuaded into the ſtep, which he had taken, and ſacrificed his private judgment to the partiality and affection of prince Eggenberg; obliquely reminding his maſter, that his actions, whether more or leſs meritorious, had not been repaid with any proportionable acknowledgments or remunerations †; and that with reſpect to himſelf, he felt great repugnance to hazard his perſon, his quiet, and his honour, a ſecond time; adding further, that his principal wiſh was, to ſee a good peace ſoon eſtabliſhed; and far from any vanity of conducting great armies, and making a figure in future hiſtory, he choſe rather to collect this body of troops, and then reſign the command into the hands of the king of Hungary. In ſhort, (which is a caſe not very common) he bore his proſperity with much greater philoſophy and diſſi-

* See Chemnitz, Tom. i. 242.

† This was talking in a high ſtyle; for in a few years, from a ſimple gentleman and page, he had been created generaliſſimo of the Imperial forces, duke of Fridland, Sagan, and Glogau, (with rich donations in land, and the power of coining money, in gold as well as ſilver) and inveſted, laſtly, with a principality of the empire, whoſe revenue, in times of peace, might amount to 200,000l. a year.

1631. mulation, than he did his adverſity; though in the latter he had acquitted himſelf to the admiration of all courtiers, and politicians.

His propoſals to the miniſtry for ſupplies of money were magnificent and extravagant like himſelf. He demanded three millions for raiſing, equipping, and maintaining, an army of 70,000 men. He propoſed to have five regiments of Walloon cuiraſſiers completely armed; and had another project, of levying ten regiments of Coſſacks: but this ſcheme, if I remember right, never took effect: however, except I am much miſtaken, Vladiſlaüs, king of Poland, made a promiſe of ſending ſuch a ſupply to the Imperial army.

About this time there went a tradition, that when the emperor lamented to him, that he could not raiſe a ſufficient number of forces, wherewith to oppoſe Guſtavus in the full career of his proſperity; he aſked his Imperial majeſty, how many men he deſired to levy? The quantity of troops wiſhed for, being ſpecified; Walſtein replied, with great vivacity, "Let me beſeech you, Ceſar, to raiſe juſt double that "number: it is true you cannot maintain 50,000 freſh men; but "100,000 freſh men, will ſupport themſelves in the enemies coun-"tries*." But be this as it may, he requeſted in the laſt place, (and that favour had not been granted in the preceding part of the war) that twelve regiments ſhould be quartered in Moravia, fourteen in Sileſia, ſix in Upper Auſtria, as many in the Lower, and the reſt in Bohemia: for the empire was devoured from one end to the other; and his reſolution was, that his men, and his horſes, ſhould be ſupported and maintained in good heart and high ſpirits. Never did a ſubject open a campaign with ſuch powers and advantages; and as he knew, that great numbers of Imperial officers and ſoldiers ſerved under Guſtavus, he publiſhed a placard to adverti ſe them of a general amneſty; and that all of them ſhould be received by him with open arms. Upon this the emperor invited him to make his appearance at the public diet, that he might in perſon receive a confirmation and ſanction of his new command from the electors and princes of the empire, there aſſembled: in reply to which propoſal, Walſtein alledged, that he wanted no countenance but

* Reflexions Militaires & Politiques de Santa Cruz. Tom. iv. p. 7.

from

from his own master; and then, to preserve decencies a little, made a visit for a month, under pretence of ill health *, to the famous *Caroline* baths † near Egra. 1631.

The Spaniards expressed transports of joy (having taken a little time to digest their chagrin and resentments) upon this revocation of Walstein: for the same natural acuteness and subtilty, which made them in the preceding century the inventors and finishers of scholastic learning, rendered them likewise in this age the masters of civil artifice and negotiation; since in truth they governed England, France, Germany, and all Europe, more or less. Even the elector of Bavaria affected to wear a good countenance, in order to conceal a very afflicted heart.

Upon this, Walstein caressed all the officers of note, that had served under him; as Gallas, (whom he had made his deputy or lieutenant-general,) Montecuculi the elder, Tiefenbach, (against whom he had some disgust) Baltazar di Maradas, Holk, Piccolomini, Terfica ‡ his brother-in-law, and Isolani, commander of the Croatians; giving them commissions to levy a considerable body of fresh forces, and to recall all those, if possible, who had migrated from the Imperial ensigns; and appointing Znaim, in Moravia, for the general place of rendezvous. He then furnished the abovenamed officers with large sums of money out of his own coffers; and in three months time collected 30,000 approved troops, (most of them veteran soldiers) with a good train of artillery: for notwithstanding he was remarkably severe in his punishments, yet the men of service were all ambitious to act under him, for he rewarded with a bounty rarely to be paralleled in a sovereign prince. And by way of displaying the extensiveness of his power up-

* Itinerarium Thomæ Carve, &c. Tom. i. 81. We shall speak more of this scarce book in a succeeding note.

† *Carlsbad*: in Latin *Thermæ Carolinæ*. These waters are esteemed to be some of the best in Europe, both externally and internally. They were discovered anno 1370, in the reign of Charles IV. by means of a little spaniel; who, as he was pursuing his game, burnt his feet in crossing the source, and howled exceedingly. The accommodations there for strangers are very passable, the country round romantic, and the provisions excellent.

‡ So the Latin and Italian writers call him; but his true name was Tertzky, and such name we shall give him, in the subsequent parts of this story.

1631. on his re-eſtabliſhment, he made ſome alterations, then unheard of, amongſt the ſubordinate generals, who before that time were very few; (one only being allotted to each particular deſtination:) and therefore, without conſulting the emperor or Imperial miniſtry, he created at once four generals of artillery, and eight ſerjeant-major-generals *della battaglia*; which latter officers, as we ſhall mention them upon various occaſions, had command over all colonels, were inveſted with the power of raiſing recruits, and diſpoſed and arranged the troops in the day of battle *.

And here it may be worth while to ſay ſomething more diffuſedly than uſual, concerning the life and conduct of this extraordinary phenomenon, previous to the time our period of hiſtory commenceth. Sarrafin, it is true, in a very ſpirited eſſay †, performed a part of this taſk for me, about a century ago; but as I have found nothing amongſt my materials, whereby to corroborate the better half of what he aſſerts, it is my duty to conſider him in the character of a lively writer, whoſe principal view was to ſurprize and aſtoniſh the reader. And of courſe it is probable, if I may be allowed to indulge a private thought, and hazard a ſlight conjecture, that he (who was at that period a French reſident in Germany ‡) proceeded upon the ground-work hereafter mentioned. At the time this general's diſgrace was meditated at the diet of Ratiſbon, 1630, there was a little pamphlet § handed about by the Spaniſh, French, and Bavarian faction, (whether publiſhed or not, I want authority to ſay) which contained an exaggerated detail of Walſtein's life and actions; of his acquiſitions, buildings, and equipage; of his humours, and ſeverities; of his extravagancies, and profuſions. As this eſſay was compiled chiefly, *ad invidiam*, with a view to promote the intrigues of a party; it is natural enough to conclude, that though it contained many ſtriking circumſtances, yet it exhibited alſo various miſrepreſentations and untruths. Wherefore under this claſs may be arranged, with certain

* Hiſt. delle Guerre di Ferd. II. &c. by Galeazzo Gualdo, p. 59.

† La Conſpiration de Walſtein.

‡ This appears from the MS. papers of Sir Thomas Roe, who correſponded with him.

§ See a relation of the diet of Ratiſbon, in the year 1630, faithfully tranſlated out of the Latin printed copy, with marginal notes, 4°. London, 1632, containing ten pages.

tain reſtrictions, the following aſſertions in Sarrafin, De Prade, and others, that his palace was built on the ruins of an hundred houſes, and was the moſt magnificent ſtructure, that belonged to a ſubject: that the ſtable ſurpaſſed all deſcription: that each horſe, as the *Inamorato*, the *Orlando*, the *Belladonna*, the *Spetzaferro*, &c. had a rack and manger of poliſhed ſteel; that the ſtalls were divided by intercolumniations of Bohemian marble *; and that behind each horſe was placed its picture painted in full proportion by the beſt Italian and German maſters: that the capricious owner had ordered an officer to be put to death for appearing at his levee with *jingling ſpurs*, and hung a valet de chambre for preſuming to wake him without directions †. 1631.

If the palace of Walſtein, now at Prague, be the place in queſtion, it is nothing more than a nobleman's fine houſe; nor were the offices and gardens uncommonly extenſive, even at that time, for a perſon of Walſtein's rank and fortunes. The counteſs of Walſtein very politely allowed the author to examine all the apartments, where nothing ſtruck him of the extraordinary kind, either in the ſize of the rooms, or in their number, or magnificence. The ſtables are good ones, and that is all: and as to the pictures of the horſes, the moſt knowing perſons at Prague appeared to be leſs inſtructed about them than the enquirer.

But probably enough, the original palace might be ruined, or granted away to ſome other family upon the general's diſgrace; though, if I miſtake not, the prince of Furſtenberg once told me, that Walſtein's land-poſſeſſions, at leaſt, were permitted to deſcend to his ſucceſſors; and that his wife, born counteſs of Walſtein, enjoyed a very conſiderable part of her anceſtor's eſtates. Yet, nevertheleſs, Carve ‡, who ſaw

* The Bohemian marble equaleth, if not exceedeth, any ſort, that is now found; of which the curious, who paſs through Tuſcany, may ſee a proof in the chapel of St Laurence.

† He only ſtruck him. Galeazzo Gualdo, 42.

‡ *Itinerarium R. D. Thomæ Carve, Tripperaienſis, Sacellani majoris in fortiſſima juxta & nobiliſſima legione ſtrenui domini Colonelli D. Walteri Deveroux ſub ſacr. Ceſar. Majeſtate ſtipendia merentis; cum hiſtoria facti Rutleni, Gordon, Leſly, & aliorum. Ingenſis Auteris Magunt*, 1639. ii. Tom. in 12°.

This curious and ſcarce book was firſt ſhewn me at Vienna by Charles baron de Firmian, nephew to the late archbiſhop of Saltzburg, aulic counſellor, &c. and Imperial miniſter now at Naples, to which excellent perſon (who, without flattery, may be pronounced one of the beſt hiſtorians in the empire,) I acknowledge myſelf in this and many other reſpects to have ſingular obligations.

this

1631. this place in the days of its owner's prosperity, tells us, that the salon was furnished with excellent paintings, and the cabinet most richly carved and gilt. In the antichamber stood fifty guards, all cloathed in one sumptuous uniform; and more immediately round the general's person attended daily six barons and six knights, as likewise threescore pages, the sons of gentlemen, who strove to place them in the way of fortune: for these young people were all instructed in the manners of a court, and the military exercises. At the innermost door of the antichamber were placed four persons in the character of gentlemen-ushers, who asked the title, quality, and business of visitants, and introduced them accordingly. Ten halbardiers constantly made the tour of the district round the palace; for Walstein was more impatient of noise than any humourist, that hath ever been represented upon a public theatre. Whenever he made a journey, which was usually on matters of business, for he loved solitude, he affected to be attended by fifty coaches, drawn by six horses; as many waggons carried his plate, and the equipage of his tents and kitchen. He had moreover ten glass coaches of state, which fifty grooms attended, each mounted on a fine steed, and leading another *. These horses were all lodged at Prague in one magnificent stable, adorned with marble mangers, into each of which a jet d'eau conveyed limpid water at pleasure. The garden was large and elegantly decorated with statues, fountains and fish-ponds; in the midst of which stood a large aviary, enclosed above and round with an arabesque fret-work of gilt wire. His table likewise was served magnificently; and the writers of that age mention one *uncommon* piece of pomp attending it, namely, that he had clean cloths and napkins curiously folded and impressed at every fresh repast. He erected a second palace at Gedsin, upon the same principle with that at Prague, excepting, that it was adorned with a large park, which afforded a range to 300 horses, a tower being erected in the middle, where a groom always lodged, who summoned them morning and evening with the sound of

* I have seen myself a certain *co-commissary*, and the reader, who knoweth the empire, may easily guess *whom*, (whose brother then acted as a *negotiant*) ride out for a single mile to take the air, attended by an empty coach and six, two running footmen, and six grooms, each leading a fine horse: which (all things considered) makes Walstein's affectation less extraordinary.

a bugle

a single horn to come to the middle of the head, and eat their food. He 1631.
purposed to have performed greater wonders with the cattle of Sagan, had not death prevented him *.

With respect to Walstein's education and life †, what appears to me confirmed by good authority is, that he was born the son of a Bohemian knight, and educated a protestant. He was of a spirited and turbulent disposition from his childhood, and hated mortally all literature and private tutors. Upon this, his father placed him in the style of a companion with the children of the marquis of Burgau, son of Ferdinand, archduke of Austria. Here he stayed some years, and minded religious matters no more than classical ones; for setting one day at a sermon preached in the family (the chapel being at the top of the house) he dropped asleep, and contrived to tumble out at a window, which had been opened on account of the violent heats, and receiving no sort of harm from so stupendous a fall, he, who from his childhood was singular in all things, took occasion from this event to conform himself immediately to the popish religion. He then made the tour of France, Holland, England, and Italy, and fixed at Padua, being now fully convinced of the expediency and advantages of learning. Here he applied himself to classical and historical erudition with infinite assiduity, making judicial astrology his recreation and amusement. Previously to this, he had studied at Altdorf near Nurenberg, where a new prison had been erected for offending students, and the rector of the university *in terrorem* had given orders, that it should take its name from the party, who should first be confined therein. Walstein's impetuosity soon made him the prior delinquent, and, as the beadles were conducting him into this apartment, he made a pause at the entrance under some pretence, kicked a little spaniel, that belonged to him, into the room, and shut the door; "Now, gentlemen, said he, the prison must take the dog's name, "and not Walstein's ‡." Returning home from his travels very ambitious, but moderately rich, he directed his addresses to a Bohemian wi-

* Itinerarium Thomæ Carve, Tom. i. p. 90, 8°. Rostock 1668.

† Vita Walsteinii ex Italic. Galeazii Gualdi, &c.

‡ Anecdote communicated to the author.

1631. dow advanced in years, but an heireſs in her own right, and extremely well enriched with the goods of fortune; for Bohemia, next to England, makes the beſt proviſion for the fair ſex of any country in the world. At length traverſing a rival greatly ſuperior to himſelf in birth and wealth, he had the good ſucceſs to marry her; but having no children, jealouſies enſued, and our adventurer was ſuppoſed to ſuffer conſiderably from the effects of a philtre, which the incenſed lady contrived to give him. Nevertheleſs, at her death he found himſelf maſter, without exception, of her whole fortune, which was a very abundant one; and in the Venetian war raiſed a regiment at his own expence, and carried it to the ſervice of the archduke, where he behaved with great reputation, and was created a baron by the emperor. He was then made governor of Moravia, and being accuſed of ſome peculations, as well as acts of arbitrary power, procured his peace at court by a timely ſacrifice of rix-dollars in abundance to the miniſtry *. The proteſtant party fixt their eyes principally upon him at the firſt breaking out of the Bohemian troubles; but he attached himſelf immoveably to the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, and underwent a confiſcation of his goods and eſtates in Bohemia, where, ſome aſſure us, he performed a notable piece of ſervice to the emperor by pure chance; for having raiſed a company of cuiraſſiers at his own expence, he happened to enter Prague juſt at the inſtant when count Thurn and an armed band of nobility forced their way into the Imperial cloſet, where they propoſed terms of very hard digeſtion to their maſter; and the count particularly at the end of his remonſtrance pointed with his right hand to the hilt of the ſword, which hung by his ſide: but upon hearing the ſudden trampling of horſes, he and his followers ſuppoſed themſelves to be betrayed, and retired abruptly. Walſtein then marched 5000 Moravians to join Bucquoy the Imperial general; but they all deſerted him upon being informed what meaſures their countrymen had taken at home in defence of their liberties. However Walſtein poſted on to Vienna with the mi-

* He was cited to Vienna, it is thought, by the prince of Lichtenſtein, then vice-roy of Bohemia: and count Nogaroſa, firſt colonel under him, uſed to declare, that he refunded ten thouſand pounds on this occaſion. Arndii Vita Wallenſteinii, p. 31.

litary cheſt: and upon this the Moravians ſeized the cardinal Ditrich- 1631.
ſtein, who was then amongſt them, by way of pledge; and though the emperor wanted money as much, perhaps, or more than any of his miniſters, yet he found himſelf obliged to make the exchange, and pay the ranſom, that was demanded. Some authors likewiſe obſerve, that at the beginning of theſe civil diſcords and diſſentions, he made his maſter an offer of levying a body of 30,000 men at his own expence, upon condition, that he was made a general *. But this account can hardly be conſidered as true, except we ſuppoſe, that an additional cypher hath annext itſelf to the ſum by pure accident: nevertheleſs, it is certain, that in 1621, he defeated a part of Gabriel Bethlem's cavalry, in Moravia, and being accuſed a ſecond time at court, reſtored himſelf into favour by the ſame means he practiſed before, and cultivated count Harrach's † good graces, one of the Auſtrian prime-miniſters and grand marechal of the court, with ſo much addreſs, that he eſpouſed his daughter with an immenſe fortune: nevertheleſs, her beauty, piety, and virtue exceeded her fortune. It was he alone, who made the peace of Lubec, thereby reconciling the emperor and king of Denmark: which great event (in caſe a Guſtavus had not exiſted) might have erected the houſe of Auſtria into an univerſal monarchy: and, on this account, he was created duke of Fridland and Sagan, and received afterwards the inveſtiture of the duchy of Mechlenberg. From this moment he roſe apace in military command, and ſucceeded the marquis of Montenegro on his diſmiſſion. What relates to him from that period, hath, and will appear, in the courſe of this hiſtory, excepting only the affair of his aſſaſſination, which happened two years after the death of Guſtavus.

It is remarkable of Walſtein, that he roſe upon no man's ruin; and as to treaſon (ſuppoſing there was any) moſt people imagine he caſt himſelf down the precipice, merely becauſe he diſcovered his deſtruction

* At that time the poſt of a field-general was very great; for the commander of one army had only a lieutenant-general under him, who was probably ſerjeant-major of *battaglia*, and general of artillery, and then came the colonels.

† Leonard Charles; who was alſo hereditary maſter of the horſe for Lower Auſtria. *Court-Calendar of Vienna* 1632.

1631. to be inevitable; and with regard to his firſt diſgrace at Ratiſbon, it was partly owing to the private machinations of cardinal Kleſel, who, on his revocation from exile, concerned himſelf in no other political matter *.

Walſtein, though bred in courts, deteſted all court-promiſes and compliments; often inſiſting, that rewards magnificently beſtowed, and diſcipline (by which he meant puniſhments) ſeverely kept up and obſerved, were the only machines requiſite to put an army in due and effective operation. It was a maxim alſo with him, that a commander in chief ſhould never familiarize himſelf with his generals: and for this reaſon (without being an humouriſt in the preſent caſe, as ſome have repreſented him) but purely to keep his officers at ſomething more than a reſpectful diſtance, he affected to eat alone, and profeſſed a ſort of natural antipathy to noiſe: inſomuch, that his generals and colonels, when they went to his levee, ſilenced the muſic of their ſpurs (large jingling rowels being then in uſe) by the application of a bit of ſilk twiſt, in order to pay court to their commander's particularity.

He loved to be obeyed in the meaneſt trifle: and having ſignified one day, that he preferred a plain red ſcarf to any other, an inferior officer, upon hearing the report, took off a very rich ſcarf embroidered with gold, and trampled it that moment in the dirt. Walſtein ſent for him forthwith, and made him a colonel. Nevertheleſs, he had ſome ſeverities and particularities, that bordered upon madneſs: for when any perſon made a noiſe, he uſed to cry, *hang that brute*; and diſcarded an horſe-officer for appearing in his preſence-chamber without his boots.

He had a magnificence and generoſity beyond whatever appeared in any ſubject. He ſent Piccolomini 1600 l. the day after the battle of Lutzen: and as Iſolani, with his Croatians, had haraſſed Guſtavus extremely in

* This cardinal, as we have obſerved elſewhere, was biſhop of Vienna, prime-miniſter, and favourite to the emperors Rodolphus and Mathias, but diſplaced by Ferdinand. He was recalled ſome years before his death; nevertheleſs, declined all concern with ſtate affairs, except in the inſtance here alluded to. Gregory XIV. paſſed an ample juſtification in his favour (which was one of the laſt acts he ſigned) having had his cauſe under deliberation four years. He died in 1630, aged 77.

his

his camp near Nuremberg, he made him a preſent of 600 l. and a fine 1631.
Spaniſh horſe. When an officer had performed any remarkable ſervice, it was cuſtomary for the commiſſary-general to give him an entertainment, and there was a ſort of honorary wine allowed by the government, or the commander in chief, on the occaſion. After this repaſt at count Michna's (for he was then commiſſary-general) cards and dice were produced, and Iſolani loſt all his money. Walſtein heard thereof, and ſent him, whilſt he continued in company, 300 pounds more; which ſo aſtoniſhed the Croatian commander, that he vowed he would never game from thenceforwards, and haſtened directly to the general's tent to return his thanks. At that inſtant advice came in, that a Swediſh convoy was marching from Wurtzburg. Iſolani, without orders, (for he knew Walſtein loved to be anticipated upon ſuch occaſions) leaped on his horſe, which waited at the tent door, conducted a body of troops, that ſtood always in readineſs, and beat the enemy.

When Peroni, the manager of his family, hired Battiſta Seni at Vienna, to be his aſtrologer extraordinary, and agreed with him for a penſion of ſeven pounds ten ſhillings a month, Walſtein told him, with a countenance of anger, that he was not to exerciſe his Florentine œconomy under his roof, and particularly towards men of letters. He then ordered Seni ſixty pounds for the expence of his journey, which was only forty miles, allowed him ever afterwards a coach and ſix horſes, and paid him an annual ſalary of three hundred and fifty pounds before hand.

He maintained the ſubordination of diſcipline with a religious exactneſs, and degraded more inferior officers than one for the ſlighter degree of negligence; ſo that the higher ſort found themſelves obliged to ſtudy his looks as well as his words, for he affected taciturnity upon all occaſions, except eſſential ones. He copied Scipio in rewards, and Hannibal in puniſhments: he loved ſpirit in a military man, even at a time when it was culpable to ſhew it, and releaſed a Walloon captain, who choſe rather to die by a manly reſiſtance, than ſubmit to bodily chaſtiſement. The ſtory in a few words was thus. This officer conducted the

part

1631. part of an eſcort, which attended Wallſtein, but digreſſing more than he ought from the high road, the general ordered a perſon ſuperior in command to ſtrike him; upon which the Walloon drew his ſword, and attacked him and the other aſſailants very manfully. Wallſtein then with a nod put a ſtop to all further proceedings; and as he diſcovered ſo high a ſpirit in the delinquent, not only forgave him, but made him a preſent of 200 pounds *.

As to his religion, he had abjured *one*, and practiſed the *other* (as the catholics thought) very imperfectly: for he diſliked many ceremonies in the popiſh church, and deteſted the jeſuits above all men, conſtantly inſinuating, that perſecution ought ever to give place to civil prudence. He loved the ſplendor of a magnificent table, but reſtrained himſelf to ſtrict moderation both in eating and drinking. With reſpect to the fair ſex, he never indulged any unlawful amours: nor was *that* the faſhion of military men in the age I am ſpeaking of. Indeed the ſervice was ſo ſharp, and ſo un-interrupted, that there was no time for ſuch unſoldier-like digreſſions, nor was it cuſtomary then for officers to ſpend the winter-ſeaſon luxuriouſly in their own metropolis. We read but of two commanders in the Imperial and Swediſh ſervice, who kept their paramours, and thoſe were Holk and Coningſmarc; which latter durſt not have done ſo, till many years after the death of Guſtavus. Nor did two men ever more miſtake themſelves in the talents of gallantry; for Holk was diſfigured with the loſs of an eye, and Coningſmarc was ugly beyond deſcription. Now it is plain their brother generals envyed them not theſe ſort of pleaſures, but rather conſidered ſuch intercourſes as beneath the attention of an able and vigilant officer: for when Coningſmarc quarrelled with the maréchal de Guébriant, and ſeparated his forces from him in a very abrupt and ungenteel manner, the maréchal ſaid aloud, at the head of his troops, "Let him go—I wiſh him and his whores a good journey—I want "the aſſiſtance of no ſuch heroes as himſelf;—but let him take his "army of ſtrumpets with him."

* Galeazzo Gualdo, p. 43.

We

We find * in Walſtein the ſame diſapprobation on a like occaſion. 1631.
For when he was at Prague or Znaïm, one of his generals (ſuppoſed to be Holk) ſent him a letter to requeſt the favour of paſſing a few days with him; to whom Walſtein, underſtanding, that Holk's miſtreſs bore him company, returned this ſhort meſſage; "That he and his lady would "be pleaſed to point their courſe to his other palace at Gedſin; for as he "was erecting a fine edifice there, and purpoſed to people the village "adjoining, he thought that place in Bohemia the propereſt for them; "and moſt accommodated to their inclinations."

We may obſerve further, with regard to Walſtein, that he allowed no precedence of quality throughout the army, not even in princes; but ordered each officer to take his place conformably to the military rank and ſtation then ſubſiſting. He knew the value of good *intelligence*, and never ſpared his purſe upon that article: inſomuch that Chieſa, one of his favourite colonels, tells us, that he had obſerved him more than once to have appropriated a thouſand pounds a month to ſuch purpoſes: and hence it was, that he apprized the emperor minutely of Guſtavus's invaſion, when the Auſtrian and Spaniſh politicians had never once dreamt of ſuch a viſit. He loved an enemy, if he was a brave man; and on this account walked himſelf at Pappenheim's funeral proceſſion. That he had arrogance is not to be diſputed; for he once declared, that he would ſcourge Guſtavus out of Germany: nor was it uncommon for him to reject a colonel, who brought to him the Imperial recommendation in his pocket: and when ſome ſycophants (a ſet of men he mortally hated) attempted to ruin an officer, who had forgot to return him thanks for a commiſſion lately beſtowed, his anſwer was, "That the poor man is ſo poſſeſſed with gratitude, that "he hath not power to return his acknowledgments."

He was rather ſucceſsful, than great or inventive in the art of war, and much better qualified to raiſe and ſubſiſt an army (in which talents he was admirable) than to conduct it ſcientifically in the day of battle.

* Hiſt. du maréchal de Guébriant par Jean de Laboreur, fol. Par. 1684. The ſame author wrote the curious voyage of Madam the maréchale Guébriant ambaſſadreſs extraordinary and plenipotentiary into Poland, 4°. Par. 1648.

He

1632. He fought upon the Low-country principles of arranging men in great square masses, but placed much confidence in the size and number of his field-artillery. His character for personal courage has been depreciated by some, because he sate in a horse litter during the important decision at Lutzen; but it is probable a fit of the gout compelled him to appear in that situation. Some likewise have impeached him of cruelty, and alledge as a proof the court-martials, which he held at Prague after the defeat above mentioned: but the generality of writers are inclined to conjecture, that the philtre, which his first wife gave him, discomposed his intellects to a certain degree. But be that as it will, true it is, Gustavus always considered him as disturbed in his judgment: and this perhaps may account for his boasting to take Stralsund, "though it "hung from heaven, by an adamantine chain;" and for the extraordinary answer likewise, which he gave an officer, who told him (by mistake) that the king of Sweden had stormed an old castle* deemed inaccessible, which made a part of his camp near Nuremberg; "Sir," said he abruptly, "the Supreme Being cannot take that castle:" a profaneness of expression, which nothing would have allowed me to insert here, had it not been my purpose to suggest, that Walstein approached very near to the verge of madness.

As he rarely spoke in company, but kept his attention fast on other men's discourse, Sarrasin has given him the character of being *at once penetrating and impenetrable*; the antithesis of which expression sounds very elegantly, but proves not Walstein, as he intended to be, a great man. Something more ought to have been remarked, not only by way of panegyric, but in order to explain the assertion. The person, who is at once penetrating and impenetrable, (effectually, and not superficially,) must talk, as well as listen, if he hopes to obtain substantial information. There must be not only the *sciolto viso*, as well as the *pensieri stretti*, but he must contribute his quota of plausible meaning and ambiguous significance, and that frankly and unreservedly, in order to elicit secrets of real importance from others. This was Gustavus's uniform practice, and all contrary proceedings argue a poor and timo-

* Altenberg.

rous

rous ſpirit, anxious of being over-reached, and ſuſpicious concerning 1631.
its own weakneſs; for the taciturn politician ſets the mark of Cain upon his own forehead: *his face is againſt every man, and the face of every* ſenſible *man is againſt him.* Guſtavus, Oxenſtiern and Richelieu were open and peremptory; Walſtein, Gondamar and Mazarin were reſerved and ſtartliſh; for they had not parts to be great! and when true greatneſs is wanting, then low cunning muſt ſhuffle and diſtribute the cards as well as it can.

But to give the finiſhing hand to this digreſſion: the Imperial general after the death of Guſtavus grew ſo powerful, that the court of Vienna, from that moment determined, to put an end to his authority, or his exiſtence; and after diſcuſſions and reflections of two years duration, decided at length in favour of an aſſaſſination, attended with circumſtances ſo extraordinary, that it hath been repreſented on public theatres in more countries than one *. Nevertheleſs, to bring the ſtory into a ſhorter compaſs, I muſt juſt obſerve, as I have ſuggeſted before, that when Walſtein found his deſtruction to be unavoidable, he tried to ſecure himſelf by the fidelity of his ſoldiers, and made ſome remote attempts to feel the pulſes of the Swedes and Saxons: for the emperor and his miniſters had raiſed him ſo high, and were ſo much obliged to him, that they had no expedient remaining, as *politicians*, but to kill him. To enter into which whole point minutely would demand a diſtinct work; for no part of hiſtory hath been more diſcuſſed, and with greater degrees of uncertainty, than the ſuppoſed defection and treaſon of Walſtein; ſince the accounts are ſo various, the repugnancies ſo abundant, the methods of operation on his ſide ſo abſurd and hazardous, that no man can pronounce categorically concerning him, except, (in caſe there was a real rebellion) any original writings are preſerved in the archives of Vienna and Dreſden †: for as to thoſe, which Carve has pub-

* There is an Engliſh tragedy on the ſubject.

† I therefore agree with my friend M. de Voltaire, "That the conſpiracy of Walſtein is "received as an hiſtorical fact, and yet the world "hath been long ignorant of what kind it was." Ann. d'Emp. Tom. ii. And here lay the difficulty; as the aſſaſſins were Scottiſh and Iriſh, the foreigners could never well underſtand their accounts in common converſation; ſo that the genuine relation was conveyed by ſome of them to

1634. publiſhed *, he was ſo nearly connected with the moſt daring and determined perſons among the aſſaſſins †, that I cannot preſume to build upon them, without incurring the riſque of violating the impartiality of an honeſt hiſtorian.

It being determined then, at Vienna, to make Walſtein a ſacrifice, care was taken to ſound the inclinations of the generals. Gallas and Piccolomini, both Italians, and officers of repute then ſerving under him, refuſed, peremptorily, to have any hand in ſo unſoldier-like an action; though the former expreſſed a ſort of acquieſcence, in caſe other perſons might be found, who would undertake the taſk; and of courſe withdraw from his general, under various pretences.

It was now high time for the Imperial miniſtry to ruffle Walſtein's temper, in order to force him into ſome acts of extravagance. Of courſe a ſnare was ſpread for him, and that not unartfully ‡; for the emperor commanded him, under pretence of favouring the hereditary dominions (as the power of the Swedes was conſiderably weakened, and as the elector of Saxony began to waver in his friendſhip towards them) to diſpatch a ſmall army againſt duke Bernard, near Paſſau, and appropriate 6000 choſen cavalry, to act under the cardinal infant, in the Low Countries; than which no ſcheme could be better calculated, either with a view to weaken Walſtein's hands, or facilitate the aſſaſſination, that was then projected. The Imperial general *now comprehended*, what before he *ſuſpected only*; but diſſembling his more private thoughts, contented himſelf with exclaiming at random, that his abilities, as a ſoldier, were called in queſtion, and that his poor troops would be haraſſed and ſtarved; which affected the colonels, that were with him, ſo deeply, (eſpecially ſuch as were his friends and favourites) that they made him an offer of not deſerting him, under any ſignal affront or diſgrace. This happened at Pilſen.

to their correſpondents at home, and publiſhed afterwards in England. This circumſtance gave riſe to Carve's book, which contains the only good materials a foreigner can find, who has not peruſed the Engliſh accounts.

* Pacta quædam, inter Fridlandiæ ducem, & principes cum eo paciſcentes, ducem ſcilicet Saxoniæ & Marchionem Brandenburgenſem, Electores, &c. Tom. i. p. 120.

† He was chaplain to colonel Walter Devereux, who killed Walſtein.

‡ Brachelii Hiſt. noſtror. temp. p. 309.

Walſtein

Walſtein then, for ſome ſecret reaſons, preferring Egra*, made a viſit to it in the Chriſtmas holidays; and as he always confided more in foreigners, than native Germans, ordered colonel Butler (not him, who behaved ſo well at Francfort upon the Oder) to attend him with an eſcort of 500 horſe and 200 infantry, all Iriſh. Gordon, a Scotſman, at that time commanded the garriſon of Egra, (in whom Walſtein placed no ſmall confidence, as he had raiſed him from a private foot ſoldier †, and made him lieutenant colonel of his brother ‡ Tertzſky's regiment) and in conjunction with Gordon, acted one Leſly his countryman §, who ſerved in the capacity of watch-maſter-general ‖. 1631.

By this time Walſtein began to feel great uneaſineſſes; for Gallas, who had engaged to bring Aldringer with him from Vienna, was not arrived; and Piccolomini and Coloredo had both abſented themſelves, upon various reaſons, or pretences: and therefore, before he left Piſen he ſent for Gordon and Leſly, ſeparately, in order to fix them in his intereſts with greater ſecurity. And here it muſt be obſerved, that neither Gordon, Leſly, nor Butler, at that time, had any private intelligence with each other; but the ſecond of theſe three had received ſome private innuendos from the miniſtry**, which (with Carve's permiſſion) amounted to a plan of what the emperor wiſhed to ſee effected. Here, likewiſe, it may be worth remarking, to the perpetual honour of the German and even Italian nations, that neither officers nor ſoldiers could be found, who would embrue their hands in their general's blood,

* M. de Voltaire, in his Annals of the Empire, Tom. ii. ſays, Walſtein reſided at Egra; but he only ſlept there one night.

† Puffendorf, p. 139. Gordon, ſays Paganino Gaudentio, might have anſwered the propoſals of the Imperial miniſtry more nobly, and more honeſtly, in the words of Grillon, colonel of the guards to Henry III. who being requeſted to murder the duke of Guiſe, replied frankly, "that he was a ſoldier of honour, and would "never embrue his hands in the blood of a per"ſon, from whom he had received many ſignal "benefits." *Le Singolarita delle Guerre di Germania.* 4°. 1640.

‡ Tertzky and Walſtein married two daughters of count Harrach.

§ If I miſtake not, the deſcendants of this officer are now counts, and ſettled in Stiria.

‖ M. de Voltaire calls him *Lacy*, which is an inaccuracy, and by miſtake makes him captain of the guard to Walſtein. (Annales d'Empire, Tom. ii.)

** Itinerarium, Tom. i. p. 95. Carve was preſent at Egra, when the tranſaction happened; and ſays afterwards, that Butler owned to the garriſon, and to his own regiment, that the fact was committed *juſſu Cæſari*.

1631. (though at that time, ſetting the diſhonourable nature of the action apart, no ſurer method could be taken of procuring a good degree of court-favour;) and therefore, to the everlaſting ignominy of Scotland and Ireland, Leſly, Gordon, Butler, Devoreux, Burk, and Geraldine*, undertook this ungenerous deed; which was not an aſſaſſination of one, but a maſſacre of many: for they invited Walſtein's chief favourites to ſupper, and killed them during the rites of hoſpitality, unprepared, not man to man, but by the aſſiſtance of a band of ſoldiers, who were all their countrymen, excepting only a ſingle Spaniard.

Leſly now being better inſtructed, and hoping to penetrate further into the general's deſigns, paid his court to him when he was advanced within nine miles of Egra, when Walſtein received him very graciouſly, but opened his mind with great bitterneſs againſt the emperor, and king of Hungary. Upon this, Leſly returned, and informed the governor of all that had paſſed; for even yet they underſtood not each other's inclinations and intentions; but next morning met Walſtein, at one mile's diſtance from the town, and conducted him to his own houſe, where he explained his injuries with equal acrimony, and greater preciſion, than he had done before. In conſequence whereof, Leſly (who ſeemed to anſwer for Gordon) told him, that he had left his country to advance his fortunes; that his ſword was both his livelihood and his creed; and that upon ſuppoſition his oath to the emperor was rendered void, he would ſerve a ſecond maſter with like fidelity. Mean while, Butler ſtood thunderſtruck with this diſcourſe; and as they walked from the general's houſe to the caſtle, dropped ſome random hints in Walſtein's favour: to which Gordon replied with ſome emotion, (and as being governor of the town, he was then the principal perſon amongſt them) You, gentlemen, may do as you pleaſe; but death itſelf ſhall never alienate me from my duty and affection to the emperor. Upon which, Butler produced a letter from Gallas, wherein his Imperial majeſty commanded all his officers to withdraw their allegiance from Walſtein.

* Alſo Macdaniel and Brown. *Mercure François.*

The

The conſpirators having thus underſtood each other, determined to 1631.
deſtroy their general without delay. It was firſt reſolved to ſend him and his aſſociates priſoners to Vienna; but immediate death was then conſidered, as the leſs operoſe and more effectual deciſion of the two. Upon this, Gordon was appointed to give a public ſupper in the caſtle; (it being then the feſtival days, ſucceeding Chriſtmas) and Butler was requeſted to bring Walſtein's four favourites, namely, the colonels Tertzky, Illo, Kinſky, and Nieman, which latter was the general's ſecretary. As the caſtle was a fortification within a fortification, no place could be more convenient for the perpetration of ſo horrid an action; and Gordon took care, not only to fill it, more or leſs, with ſuch ſoldiers as he could beſt confide in, but, after the cloſe of the evening, conveyed ſecretly into the caſtle, by a poſtern gate, captain Devoreux, and watch-maſter Geraldine, at the head of fifteen men, ſelected for ſo deſperate an enterprize*; whilſt captain Burk, with an hundred ſoldiers, was ordered to wait the event in the city, and keep peace in the ſtreets. This was one of thoſe meaſures extremely ill concerted, which took its riſe from over-precaution; for though Burk's party was not ſuppoſed to be participants of the complot, yet if that officer alone had proved falſe to his aſſociates, (and Walſtein's generoſity, to ſay the leaſt of it, was equal, if not ſuperior, to that of an emperor) the general himſelf might not only have eſcaped, but deſtroyed all the conſpirators, and perhaps the houſe of Auſtria, by way of appendage; for Butler's regiment was ignorant of the conſpiracy; and that of Tertzky, which compoſed the garriſon, would hardly have acted againſt its own colonel. But Burk, through a ſort of ſoldier-like punctiliouſneſs, right or wrong, kept his promiſe inviolable, as alſo the ſecret, with which he was entruſted.

In the courſe of the deſert, at about half hour after nine, Gordon, or Leſly, propoſed the health of the elector of Saxony; upon which, (the better to conceal their evil intentions) Butler profeſſed to be greatly ſurprized, and declared he would drink to no man's proſperity, who was an

* Walſtein, as generaliſſimo, had iſſued out the watch-word of the night; but to carry on their purpoſes the better, the conſpirators changed it with reſpect to their party.

enem-

1631. enemy to Cesar. On a sudden the conversation grew loud and vehement, (which being agreed upon as a signal to Devoreux and Geraldine) in an instant, two doors opened on either side of the room, and Devoreux and Geraldine entered; the latter with a partizan in his hand, and the former with a sword, attended each by seven or eight soldiers, who had their swords drawn. *Long live Ferdinand the second*, cried Devoreux, *And long prosper the house of Austria*, replied Geraldine. Butler, Gordon, and Lesly, seized the candles, and held them aloft. The table then was overturned in a moment, whilst Illo had presence of mind enough to fly to his sword, which hung up against the wall; but in the act of reaching it, was pierced through the body, and expired with it undrawn in his hand. Tertzky was equally brave, and more fortunate; for seizing his sword, which hung up in the same manner, he planted himself in a corner, maintained the combat so long till he killed three of the assailants, (the idea of his being invulnerable * greatly dismaying them) and in the pauses of his defence, (for he fought like an enraged lion) besought the soldiers, *to desist for a moment, and he would undertake, hand to hand, the villains Gordon and Lesly:* (for Butler appeared to him to be honest) *after that, gentlemen, you are sixteen in number, and have full power and liberty to kill me. But scoundrel*, added he, looking sternly on Gordon, *is this the way of giving your friends a supper* †? Kinsky resisted manfully, but unsuccessfully. Nieman made an effort to escape, but was seized in the attempt. He begged hard for his life, and desired to be considered

* Some historians give Tertzky's resistance to Illo, and Illo's to Tertzky; but the character agrees best with Tertzky, who, on account of his presence of mind, and intrepidity, was reputed to be *gefrorn*. *Bertius de Bellis German.* 4°. 545. Having mentioned this popular error of the age more than once, it may not be un-entertaining just to observe, how the invulnerability, here spoken of, was obtained; and to what degree the incantation extended. Now the party, requiring to be *frozen*, procured a magician to mark his body with talismanical signatures; and whenever any immediate danger was expected to approach, swallowed four paper pills, containing each an enchanted verse, of which the tutelary effects lasted six times the same number of hours. During that period, neither ball, nor sword, &c. entered the flesh; and the contusions being touched by a pen-knife, and squeezed, healed themselves immediately.

Nor did the death of Tertzky disprove the belief of his being *gefrorn*; for, said the wise maintainers of that doctrine, as he came to a friendly entertainment, he had no need to entangle his digestion by swallowing a precautionary dose of paper-labels.

M. de Voltaire, contrary to all history, tells us, that Walstein's friends were *strangled*. Ann. d'Emp. Tom. ii.

† Mere. Fran.

in

in the character of an amanuenſis, rather than a ſoldier; but the conſpirators had no ears for ſuch diſtinctions. A duke of Lerida was mortally wounded by Tertzky in the conflict, whom we ſuppoſe to have been a young volunteer in the emperor's army. 1631.

In an inſtant, Devoreux, (to whom the honour of murdering Walſtein had been allotted) having broken his ſword in the late rencounter, ſnatched a partizan from one of the ſoldiers, and taking with him thirty freſh men, which had been concealed for that purpoſe, flew directly to the general's lodgings; when, juſt as he entered the porch, a muſquet, which belonged to one of his followers, happened to go off, but gave no alarm to the domeſtics within. Knocking abruptly at the outward door, the porter admitted him; but knowing his maſter's delicacy, in regard to harſh and obſtreperous ſounds, bid him take care how he committed ſuch indecencies; "Friend, ſaid Devoreux, this is a time for noiſe, "and not for ſleeping:" and upon that, all his ſoldiers ruſhed in after him. He then aſcended the ſtaircaſe, with an affectation of hurry and diſturbance; and finding the door faſtened, (for Walſtein, who had heard the exploſion of the muſquet, and the confuſion below, had doubly bolted it) demanded where the gentleman of the bed-chamber was, who kept the key? but that perſon not appearing, he knocked rudely at the door, with great furiouſneſs*. Mean while, the report of the maſſacre had reached the neighbouring apartments, where Tertzky's and Illo's wives were lodged, who made the ſtreets reſound with their ſhrieks and lamentations; and therefore whilſt Devoreux remained in ſuſpence, at the chamber-door, Walſtein examined the windows in hopes to eſcape; but ſoon recollected the depth to be ſuch, that it was impoſſible for him to ſave his life by an attempt of that nature. He then put his head twice out of the caſement, and cried aloud, "Is no man my friend? Will no "one aſſiſt me?" Upon which Devoreux, growing impatient, knocked thrice, but received no anſwer. He then commanded his ſoldiers to burſt the door, who made five attempts without ſucceſs; but applying himſelf to the taſk ſingly, and making a judicious effort, juſt againſt the lock, he flung it into the room with great vehemence.

* The author of the *Mercure François* ſaith, that Butler attended below.

Walſtein

1631. Walſtein ſtood in his night-gown and ſhirt, near a table: he had neither ſword nor piſtols with him; whether by accident, or deſign, I cannot ſay; for perhaps he expected only to be taken priſoner. The aſſaſſin accoſted him abruptly thus; *Are not you the betrayer of the emperor, and the empire?* To which no anſwer was returned. He then made him an offer, of a few moments, to repeat his prayers; but Walſtein replying nothing, extended his arms in order to open his naked breaſt, and received Devoreux's partizan through his heart; not enunciating a ſingle ſyllable from the beginning to the end, and expiring with a groan, which terrified all the accomplices, that ſtood round. Ferdinand II. ordered 3000 maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul, and thus the tragedy ended.

The character of this man by Sarraſin, (which, though neither *juſt* nor *true*, equalleth Salluſt's deſcription of Catiline, as to elegance of ſtyle, and quaintneſs of antitheſis) is ſuppoſed to be the maſter-piece of French writing in *that* way; which is the moſt pleaſing, as well as moſt dazzling part of all hiſtorical performances. It is the portrait-painting of an hiſtorian; and, as commonly managed, proves to be the moſt eaſy taſk he can undertake. But to perform the work as it ought to be executed, ——*hic labor, hoc opus eſt*:——for the ſlighteſt tincture of mediocrity muſt not be allowed to enter into theſe ſorts of pictures; there muſt be no error in the outlines, no concealment of imperfect features, no falſe heightening in the proportions, or colouring; in a word, every thing muſt be ſo *individuated*, as to belong properly to no other perſon.

Characters delineated with ſuch a ſtrength of hand, and ſuch a fidelity of ſubject as theſe, are, I muſt modeſtly confeſs, beyond my power to exhibit; and therefore I have choſen generally to *mark* the men, and leave my reader's better judgment to combine the *whole together*. Nevertheleſs, it may not be amiſs to preſerve a ſuppoſed epitaph, in Walſtein's favour, then handed about the empire; which appears, by no means, to be the worſt compoſition of the ſeveral fugitive pieces of that period.

Vitam

Vitam privatam odit animus regius,
Magnanimus ardua molitur: 1631.
Ambitionis nec meta, nec regreſſus,
Aut pereundum, aut regnandum:
Non judicanda eventu, quæ ratione acta ſunt;
ACTIONES SUNT VIRTUTIS, EVENTUS FORTUNAE.
Juſtum erat ut Sceptrum regium quæreret,
Qui Cæſarem dedit.
Quod fecit, licet,
Quia fecit, ut regnaret.
Cæſarem cadentem erexit Walſtein,
Cæſar evectus proſternit Walſtein,
Qui in adverſis ſocium habuit, in proſperis ſervum non ſuſtinet:
Voluit perdere, quem non potuit remunerari:
Nimium meritum odium peperit:
Dum victoriam alteri parat,
Invidiam ſibi ſtruxit;
Gloriam dedit Imperio, Imperium ſibi ruinam.
Vitam, opes, amicos pro Cæſare toties expoſuit:
Vitam, opes, amicos Cæſar ſemel abſtulit:
Vita ceſſat, Fama durat.
Quis neſcit tua virtute partum, auctum, firmatum Imperium?
Nihil aliud injuſtum feciſti,
Niſi quod ingrato nimium fideliter ſerviebas.

In ſhort, Walſtein was a compoſition of the *great*, and *little*: theſe two words decide his character.

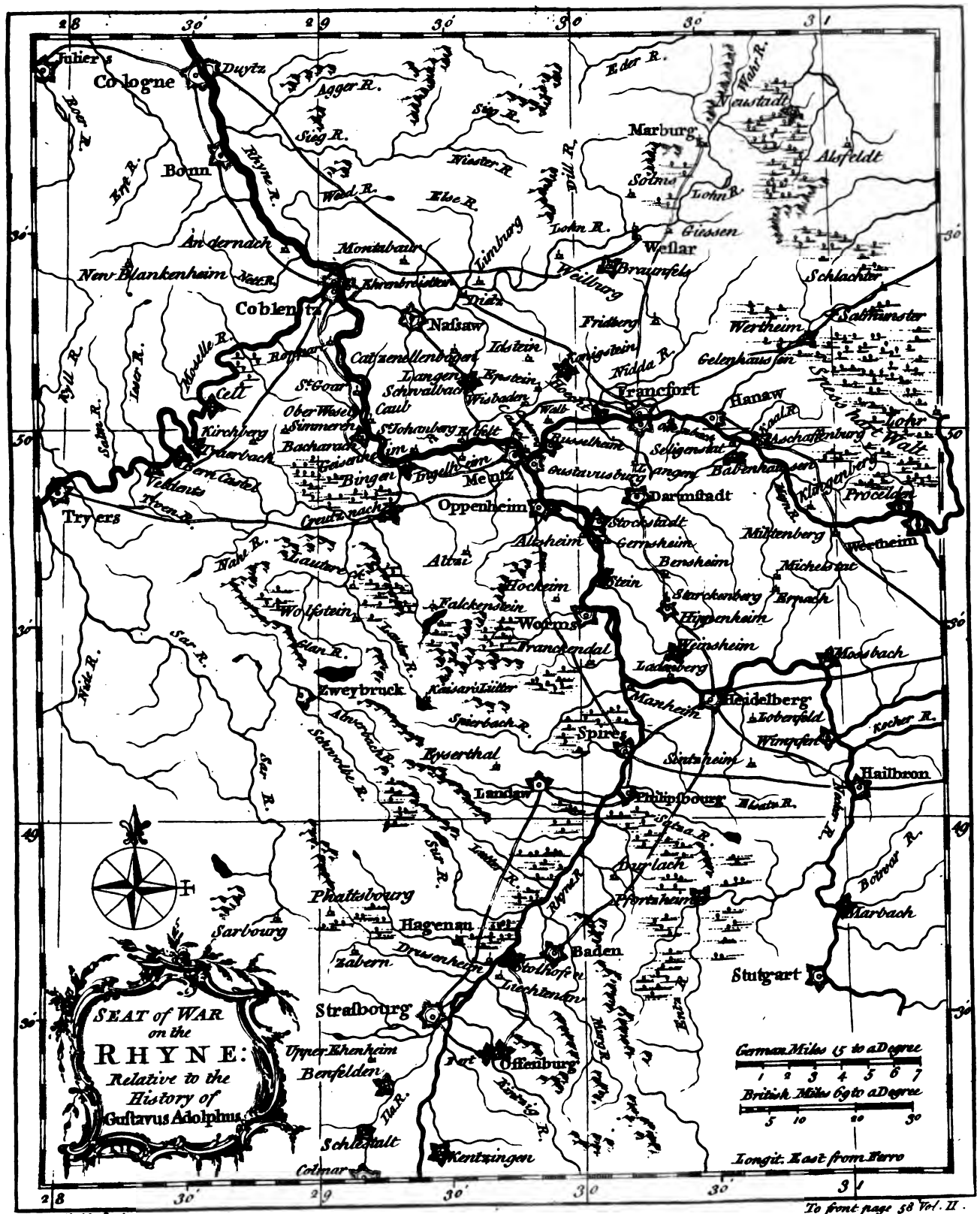
I may by this time, perhaps, obtain the reader's permiſſion to return to his majeſty at Francfort; who paying but ſlight regard to the ſevere beginning of winter, croſſed the Mayne the firſt day of December, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral important places in the Palatinate, which the Spaniſh garriſons cautiouſly evacuated, at the very rumour of his approach: ſo that in three days, he conquered that romantic tract of mountains, called the Bergſtraſs, which extends, more or leſs, from

1631. Darmſtadt to Heidelberg; which town, at that time, it was his purpoſe to beſiege, and then reſtore the Lower Palatinate to its unhappy owner: (the former intention he told Vane, and that, I believe, without diſſimulation *;) yet his prudence would not allow him to leave Oppenheim, and its ſtrong fortreſs † behind him; as the Spaniards were then maſters of the river, and could pour forces upon him on either ſide. Therefore, all on a ſudden he turned ſhort, and directed his courſe to Oppenheim, betwixt which and him the Rhine lay, as alſo the fortreſs above named, defended by a garriſon of 1000 men, and protected by deep foſſes, and good fortifications. The cannon in the town took effect croſs the river, and raked the flanks of the aſſailants of the fort in more places than one; and as Hepburn and Monro were ſitting together at ſupper, a ball of twenty two pounds weight paſſed betwixt their ſhoulders, in the midſt of their converſation, but injured neither. And here it is remarkable, that Guſtavus would employ neither general nor engineer to take a ſurvey, either of the town or fort, (the paſſage of the Rhine being of great conſequence to him) but, on the contrary, examined every circumſtance of ſituation with his own eyes, and diſcharged, in his own perſon, the duty of a common corporal or a peaſant: yet the king made only a feint of croſſing the Rhine at this place, having privately provided himſelf with boats at Oernſheim, a ſmall town about five miles to the ſouthwards. For he was determined to perform this adventurous exploit at all hazards, by way of giving reputation to his troops, and ſpreading terror amongſt his enemies; knowing likewiſe, that Tilly was too far off to impede his project in any ſhape; and wiſely foreſeeing, that on the completion of this event both Oppenheim and the fort muſt fall of courſe, as alſo the whole Lower Palatinate, and the electorate of Mentz. The fort ſurrendered the next day, and Oppenheim, being firſt retarded, was taken ſword in hand. Nine hundred Italian ſoldiers threw down their arms, and aſked for quarter. As the firſt circumſtance abſolved them from their allegiance to the

* Spanheim, who wrote from the archives of the Palatin-court, always ſuppoſes Guſtavus to be ſincere, concerning the reſtitution of the elector to his patrimonial dominions. Mem. de Louiſe Juliane, 4°. 306, &c.

† Stern-Sconce. N. B. Great part of this account was communicated to England by capt. Maſham, who then ſerved under Hepburn.

emperor,



T. Kitchin Sculp.

To front page 58 Vol. II.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

emperor, the king made a preſent of them to Hepburn, in order to refit his broken brigade; but theſe birds of paſſage, not liking the ſeverity of a German winter and Swediſh campaign, all took their flight to a warmer region, at the approach of ſpring. 1631.

His majeſty then had the curioſity and ambition to croſs the Rhine, firſt in a ſmall wherry, in order to reconnoitre, in perſon, the ſhore, that lay oppoſite to him, being attended only by four perſons*; but the Spaniſh centries ſoon compelled him to retire, and poſtpone his more general embarkation till the next morning. He then paſſed over 300 men, under the conduct of count Brahé, in one large boat, that the Spaniards had ſunk, and which an honeſt fiſherman had diſcovered to him, whom he rewarded very bountifully; and ſome few minutes afterwards, tranſported the ſame number in another boat of equal ſize, all picked ſoldiers, draughted from the regiments of Ramſay, Spenſe, and lord Rea. This body of troops, being all infantry, with the king at their head, ſeized an hedge, which happened to run parallel to the banks of the river, and by the help of this natural entrenchment, defended themſelves with amazing intrepidity, in ſpite of all the efforts of a thouſand horſe and dragoons. It is true, the king acknowledged more than once, that he found it a diſagreeable piece of ſervice, to oppoſe cavalry and muſqueteers on horſeback with half the number of infantry; and expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs to his officers upon that occaſion: nevertheleſs he purſued his point with aſtoniſhing firmneſs; nor had he loſt one inch of ground, when a freſh re-inforcement arrived, which ſoon brought the affair to a complete deciſion. In conſequence whereof, he commanded public prayers throughout his army †; and ordered a triumphal column to be erected, as a memorial of his croſſing the Rhine. It was ſixty feet high, raiſed on a ſquare of ruſtic work, and crowned at top with a ſtatue of the Swediſh lion. And here an ingenious Italian author, in his *Singularities of the thirty years wars* ‡, prefers Guſtavus to all the Roman generals; ſince *the former*, ſaith he, in the ſpace of two campaigns, croſſed the

* Chemnitz, Tom. i. 203.
† Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs, 4°. p. 47. Schefferi Memorab. 99. 124.
‡ Le Singularità della Guerre di Germania, p. 177.

1631. Elb, the Oder, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Lech; whereas the *latter* never had power to paſs over the two rivers firſt mentioned; nor could they penetrate into Pomerania, and much leſs to the ſhores of the Baltic ocean.

Being now arrived in the Palatinate, the king, ſay ſome hiſtorians, told the elector very gallantly, "That he conſidered himſelf as a man "of chivalry, and deſpiſed the reſentments of Auſtria and Spain, whilſt "he employed his troops in reſtoring an injured princeſs (meaning the "electreſs) to her dominions, after a baniſhment of the ſame duration "with the ſiege of Troy." But let hiſtorians aſſert what they pleaſe, we ſhall not contend but that Guſtavus made this ſpeech on ſome other occaſion; but at the preſent period, there appears to us an anacroniſm therein; for that prince did not arrive till eight weeks afterwards, and paid his firſt viſit to Guſtavus, at Mentz, on the tenth of February, 1632. And indeed, honeſt Monro* clears up the whole difficulty; for he tells us, the king made this declaration to the Engliſh and Scots officers, the evening after he croſſed the Rhine, in order to animate them with a freſh zeal for the queen of Bohemia, with whom he diſcovered them all to be enthuſiaſtically enamoured.

Stockſtadt and Worms being next taken, (concerning the chronology of which I am not perfectly aſſured, as accounts differ) and Oppenheim, as the king predicted, and the fort, that belonged to it; his majeſty then marched directly to Mentz, which he had blocked up, on the Francfort ſide, by the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel's army, and a little navy of boats ſtationed on the Rhine. Here don Philip de Sylva, the Spaniſh general in thoſe parts, having thrown the overplus of the country garriſons into Frankendale, placed himſelf at the head of 2000 ſelected men, in behalf of the elector Anſelm Caſimir, who, being a prince of foreſight, had contrived, at that time, to make a viſit to his brother, at Cologn. Guſtavus loſt many ſoldiers in the beginning of the ſiege, and the Spaniards made a ſhew of the old Caſtilian reſiſtance. This town was inveſted in the midſt of as ſevere a winter, as had almoſt ever been known: the landgrave diſcharged his duty very briſkly on the oppoſite ſhore, and

* Part ii. p. 93.

ſome

ſome batteries, which the king contrived to erect on a platform of boats in the river, annoyed the beſieged from a quarter, whence they had no apprehenſions of being moleſted; inſomuch, that a general aſſault being once prepared, don Philip (in ſpite of his rodomontade of fixing the pillar of limits to Guſtavus's progreſs) found himſelf poſſeſſed, on a ſudden, with certain prudential influences, and ſurrendered upon terms not extremely honourable; for the troops obliged themſelves to ſerve no more againſt the crown of Sweden. In truth, this governor perceived, at firſt glance, that Guſtavus had not ſerved his apprenticeſhip in the Low-country wars, (the practice of which was the model of military perfection, in the Spaniſh and Auſtrian ſervices;) but that he had other reſources, other inventions, and a quite different ſort of operation, both in ſieges and battles. Of courſe, he repented now of the ſpeech he had made the elector, who aſked him, if 2000 ſoldiers were ſufficient to defend the town againſt Guſtavus? "Sir, ſaid he, by that timorous "queſtion I know you to be a church-man; I have men enough to re-"pulſe three kings of Sweden." 1631.

Next day*, which made the king complete thirty ſeven years of age, his majeſty entered the town in great pomp, and ſet apart the Friday enſuing for a general act of thankſgiving. As the ſeverity of the cold was ſcarcely to be endured, he repoſed his infantry, by intervals, within the town-walls till the beginning of March; nor would he ſo much as hear of don Sylva's capitulation, till he had promiſed for himſelf and garriſon to do no miſchief, either at their departure, or before it. Thus Guſtavus ſubdued the electorate of Mentz, and two thirds of the Lower Palatinate, at one ſtroke; which amazing rapidity of conqueſts, here and elſewhere, forced a very ſolid hiſtorian † to break out into the ſeeming raptures of a rhetorician; although it is certain, that he contained himſelf within the ſtrict bounds of truth: "The king, ſaith Nani, turned "his motions towards Upper Germany, where, making a tour of plea-"ſure, rather than a campaign, he rendered himſelf maſter of all Fran-"conia, and the adjacent countries: inſomuch, that *Fame*, according

* Wedneſday, December 14. Others make his birthday the 9th.

† Hiſt. della Republica Veneta, libr. vii. 466.

"to

1631. " to moſt men's judgments, required more time to publiſh his progreſs, " than he employed in ſubduing provinces."

Great ſtore of proviſions was found in Mentz, not to mention 80 pieces of artillery, and 600 quintals of powder. The inhabitants paid about 8000 l. by way of reſcuing themſelves from military plunder; and the elector's fine library was beſtowed, by the king, on chancellor Oxenſtiern, who had deſtined it as a preſent to the univerſity of ....., but it was loſt unfortunately in croſſing the Baltic †. His majeſty treated the eccleſiaſtics with great lenity, but forced the *ſpirituality* of the Jews (as it was then called) to contribute near 3000 l. towards defraying the expences of the ſiege. He incurred ſome danger by approaching too near the walls; for one of his pages was killed by a muſquet-ball, as he preſented a letter into his hands; upon which, De Pau, the Dutch miniſter, who then happened to be ſtanding by, ſeized the opportunity, to adviſe his majeſty to be more careful of a life ſo valuable. *My lord ambaſſador*, ſaid Guſtavus, *towns are not taken by drawing diagrams in a private lodging; and if the ſchool-maſter is abſent, the children will be tempted to cloſe their books: and beſides, ſir, no king, as yet, hath ever been killed by a cannon-ball* ‡. Colonel Axel Lily §, an officer of good repute, was leſs fortunate. He came only to receive his maſter's commands, in ſome other parts of Germany, and as he was ſitting at ſupper with Hepburn, and remarking to ſome friends, that he had no peculiar buſineſs in a place, which happened to be expoſed to the fury of one of the town-batteries, a cannon-ball pierced the tent that inſtant, and carried away one of his knees: but the king made him amends, as far as he could, by heaping on him military employments to ſo conſiderable a value, that honeſt Monro ‖ complains of Axel Lily's very ſingular good fortune, and that with an air of envy and peeviſhneſs.

The king then ſtrengthened Mentz, in a manner equally expeditious and ſurprizing; for he drew lines round ſome hills, that commanded the

* My account ſays Academiæ Arrhuſienſi, yet ſtill one is at a loſs to know what univerſity this could be; ſince, in the times of Guſtavus, we recollect none in Sweden, except Upſal and Dorpt. There is a town, named in Latin *Arroſia*, which correſponds with the adjective *Arrhuſienſis*, and which the Swedes call Weſteroahs, but no univerſity is to be found there. *Mem. communicated.*

† Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs, 4°. p. 44.

‡ Bertius de Bell. German. 320.

§ The author of the Mercure François & De Prade do him the honour to call him M. De Liſle.

‖ Expeditions, Part ii. p. 95.

city,

city, and having joined them to the old fortifications, rendered that ſpace capable to contain an army of 20000 men*. In the next place, he fixed two bridges over the two rivers: *that* acroſs the Rhine, conſiſted of ſixty one arches, raiſed on huge flat-bottomed boats, (and at the extremity of it he traced out and fortified another camp, large enough to contain 10,000 ſoldiers;) and *that*, which paſſed over the Mayne, repoſed itſelf on great piles, for a conſiderable ſpace, at either end, and was then conſtructed upon fifteen large boats, in that point where the current ran extremely ſtrong; and on the angle, formed by the confluence of the rivers, was erected a royal fort with ſix bulwarks, which commanded the navigation of either ſtream; and gave laws beſides to the landgraviate of Darmſtadt, and the countries adjoining †. 1631.

Here the king, for the firſt time, opened all the ſplendor of a magnificent court, which was rendered brilliant by the appearance of five ſovereign German princes who came to treat with him, or depended upon him for their well being: nor muſt we forget, that political buſineſs intermingled itſelf with courtly pomp; for you might have beheld here, at the ſame period, twelve or thirteen foreign miniſters and ambaſſadors; not diſpatched hither by way of compliment, but intruſted, each and all of them, with tranſactions of the utmoſt importance. Such, amongſt others, were Sir Robert Anſtruther, (who came to render an account of his negotiation at Vienna) and Vane, from England; De Brezé, and De Charnacé, in behalf of France; not to mention De Pau, and many more of the ſame ſtamp, whom we ſhall conſider, more or leſs, in proportion to their buſineſs; and laſtly, arrived the queen of Sweden ‡, the rex-chancellor Oxenſtiern, and the king of Bohemia ‖.

Anſtruther, who had been formerly reſident at Copenhagen, and then ambaſſador to the diet of Ratiſbon **, from whence he had paſſed on

* The famous engraver, Matthew Merian, about this time publiſhed an elevation, or what is called a bird's proſpect, of the town and bridge, as well as of the old and new fortifications.

† Hiſtorical or Authentic relation, in High Dutch, Tom. ii. p. 31. fol.

‡ Jan. 10, 1632.

‖ Feb. 10, 1632.

** The diet of Ratiſbon began in June, 1630, but on what day we cannot preciſely aſcertain, there being an error of calculation in the Mercure François, (Tom. xvi. pagg. 233, &c.) Wedneſday, June 29, being placed for Wedneſday,

1631. on to Vienna, in order to ſolicit the reſtitution of the Palatinate, (which, after the Swedes entered the empire, ought to have been re-demanded by the Engliſh ſword in hand) had nothing to impart to Guſtavus, but what provoked him, and raiſed his indignation *. For this miniſter had been inſtructed at Whitehall, to uſe the tendereſt, the moſt pacific, and moſt humiliating expreſſions; being commanded, not to ſolicit an act of juſtice, but to requeſt a favour from pure, free, gratuitous benignity. And, indeed, his condeſcenſions and deprecations were ſo mean and plaintive, that it is probable, the emperor might have enclined an ear to ſuch ſupplicatory repreſentations, (as Guſtavus then portended ſomething of conſequence to the houſe of Auſtria) if it had been in his power to have reſtored the Palatinate, *under certain reſtrictions*, to its ancient poſſeſſor. But Great-Britain, by the tampering of fruitleſs negotiations, pacific interruptions, temporary compliances, and inſubſtantial expedients, had played the game out of its hands; and what the poet hath remarked, on the mangled body of Deiphobus, might be applied, with greater juſtice, to the disfigured and diſmembered aſpect of the Palatinate:

—— Laniatum corpore toto,
Deiphobum vidi, lacerum crudeliter ora;
Ora manuſque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhoneſto vulnere nares;
Vix adeo agnovi pavitantem & dira tegentem
Supplicia. —— Virg. Æneid. lib. vi. l. 494.

For not to mention how the dominions of the lawful owner had been doled out in leſſer parcels; the infanta of Spain laid claim to the Lower Palatinate; and the electors of Bavaria, and Mentz, poſſeſſed the higher. So that Anſtruther found juſt that reception, which a weak man merits, who undertakes to diſcharge a fooliſh commiſſion.

day, June 19. Nor is it ſure, whether the author computed by the new ſtyle, or the old: nevertheleſs, the diet certainly ended the 3d of Nov. O. S. next enſuing; and then Anſtruther removed to Vienna, and delivered the ſpeech we here allude to, which is preſerved at full length in the APPENDIX.

* Lotichius, Tom. i. p. 913, 914. Memoires d'Electrice Palatine, p. 302.

The

The next perſon, who made his appearance on this public theatre, was 1631.
the marquis De Brezé, ambaſſador extraordinary from the French king; concerning whom, it may be worth while to remark, that he was more a man of good fortune, than a negotiator; for he had the advantage to marry Richelieu's ſiſter, and commanded the king's own regiment of guards; being, likewiſe, a counſellor of ſtate, marechal de camp in the French armies, and governor of Saumur. The occaſion of his embaſſy into Germany, (where De Charnacé then was) aroſe from a deputation, the catholic princes of the empire had ſent to Louis XIII. to recommend to him the cauſe of their religion; and implore him not to favour the proteſtant intereſts, which were then become too predominant. Of courſe, it was urged by the prelate, who undertook the employment, (with whom co-operated all the ſecret enemies of Richelieu, and the ſeveral miniſters diſpatched to Vienna by the catholic princes*) that Guſtavus had determined to extirpate the Romiſh religion, from its very lowermoſt roots; that he entertained a private correſpondence with all proteſtants, in the various parts of Europe; that he had an oblique eye to France and Italy, as well as to the territories of Bavaria, the catholic electors, and the houſe of Auſtria. For why elſe did he omit, for a ſeaſon, to undertake his principal enemy, the emperor, in his hereditary dominions, and transfer the ſeat of action to the Upper Rhine?

Inſinuations of this ſort ſtartled a mind enclined to bigottry; and, of courſe, Louis gave ſome indications of being alarmed: but Richelieu ſoon raiſed him (at leaſt for a ſhort ſpace) beyond a ſtate of fluctuation and timidity, and aſſured the German biſhop, that the king, his maſter, had the beſt intentions imaginable towards the catholic religion; and that he (the cardinal) ſhould conſtantly ſupport and cheriſh them, with a zeal indefatigable. On the other hand, he took care to inform him, from the plenitude of his own power and knowledge, that the king of Sweden had no object in view, but the houſe of Auſtria; from whence the princes of the league might detach themſelves, in caſe they maintained an *exact neutrality*: but if, on the contrary, they ſupplied the emperor, tacitly or clandeſtinely, with men and money, allowing likewiſe

* Bernard, Hiſt. de Loüis XIII. Liv. xv.

1631. to his troops quarters and paſſage, it was then natural for a man of ſpirit, like Guſtavus, to infeſt his adverſaries. Nevertheleſs, far from being difficult, added he, it is eaſy too, not only to ſupport the Romiſh religion, but give it the predominance alſo in the empire, and that independently of the enormous puiſſance of Ferdinand, which tends to augment itſelf day by day: ſo that catholics and proteſtants are all alike intereſted, to repreſs the boundleſs ambition of the houſe of Auſtria †.

Upon this, the biſhop of Wurtzburg, whom Louis received ſo very graciouſly as to allow him to be *covered*, returned to his conſtituents, ſilenced at leaſt, but neither ſatisfied, nor convinced; and they, for their parts, ſtill continued to caſt a wiſtful eye towards the interpoſition of France, which threw out allurements for them without number; whilſt Guſtavus, who then had no miſgivings with regard to that power, appeared (as was really the truth) to ſuſpect nothing. Therefore, upon the ſame views, they diſpatched, at or near this time, the biſhop of Oſnabrug to the infanta of Bruxelles; but as this prelate, who underſtood heraldry better than church affairs, or political matters, valued himſelf greatly on his birth and ſtation, it was his misfortune to viſit a court, which then happened to be genealogically mad; ſo that the Spaniards, inſtead of giving him the compellation of *highneſs*, which he expected, conſidered him rather as a poor ſupplicant. Upon which he returned unſucceſsful, and as thoroughly diſpleaſed as the Poliſh ambaſſador, whom we lately mentioned on the very occaſion.

But to return to De Brezé. France, after the biſhop of Wurtzburg retired into Germany, had many reaſons, beſide *ſuch*, as her own hiſtorians chuſe to mention, for interfering, more or leſs, with the affairs of the empire, and the progreſſes of Guſtavus. It was one thing to ſee the emperor humbled, and quite another thing to ſuppoſe him extinguiſhed. Some check given to the houſe of Auſtria appeared highly deſirable; but the unbounded rapidity of a proteſtant prince's conqueſts ſeemed to portend a ſecond houſe of Auſtria inveſted with double powers. But the paſſage of the Rhine, (of which France was jealous beyond deſcription) was conſidered as a ſymptom, that menaced her very diſſolution; and

† Le Vaſſor, Tom. vii. p. 75.

upon

upon that event, even Richelieu grew alarmed, and conceived, not only 1631.
an inappetency to the proſperity of Sweden, but a mortal jealouſy againſt the king himſelf. Of courſe, means were to be found, (and ſuch was Guſtavus's temper, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to keep theſe means a ſecret) whereby to divert, or check the ſucceſſes of our northern hero; to withdraw the elector of Bavaria from his attachments to the Imperial intereſts, and make him a precarious and dependant being on the court of Verſailles; and, laſtly, to admit (as lying nearer to her) the three eccleſiaſtical electors, under the wings of her all-healing influence; ever bearing in memory, how dextrouſly ſhe had ſwallowed the delicious morſel of three adjacent biſhoprics *, on a like occaſion, in the preceding century.

Of courſe, the cardinal, in order to divert the conqueſts of Guſtavus, always inſinuated an opinion tinctured with ſome wrong advice, whenever an opening preſented itſelf; and the better to check the rapidity of his progreſſes, took care to pay the ſtipulated ſubſidy at great diſtances of time, and in ſmall proportions.

To theſe retardments and interpoſitions other circumſtances helped to contribute; for the elector of Bavaria, at certain times, conſidered the houſe of Auſtria as over-powerful; and of courſe he, as well as his catholic electoral brethren, contemplated France, in caſe of extreme danger, as a ſort of protection againſt the emperor. Allurements were thrown out to them, with no unſparing hand, by the French miniſter; and no dexterity of clandeſtine negotiation ever once omitted. So that at length, a private treaty was concluded † between the courts of Verſailles and Munich, about the time Guſtavus alarmed the empire by ſtorming, ſword in hand, the ſtrong and important town of Francfort on the Oder.

And here it may be worth obſerving, as the tranſaction hitherto hath hardly been noticed in hiſtory, that a concealed negotiation had been carried on (previous to this treaty, more than a year and a half) betwixt Louis XIII. and Maximilian of Bavaria; conducted on the ſide of France,

* Metz, Toule, and Verdun.

† Signed at Munich, by the elector, May 8, 1631. Vid. APPEN. and by Louis XIII. May 30. 1631, at Fontainebleau.

1631. (who appears to be the projector) by cardinal Bagni, a friend and confident of Richelieu, and manager, in behalf of the electoral interests, by one Joecher, who was considered, by his master, not only as a well-read *jus publicus*, but as an able intriguant. This private intercourse had lasted from the middle of October, 1629, till the end of December, the same year: so that Richelieu played a deep game in the empire, before Gustavus landed in Pomerania; and it is remarkable, that Joecher afterwards signed the very treaty of 1631, which we are now considering. And as this politician was a principal manager in the publication of the *Anhaltine Cancellaria*, taken by the Austrians in the battle of Prague †, (whereby much injury was done to the elector Palatin, king of Bohemia) Rusdorf, who was that prince's minister, both in England and the empire, took the liberty, by way of reprisal, to exhibit to the public the original letters, and preliminary agreements, that passed between Bagni and Joecher, and made the *Cancellaria Bavarica* ‡ not only a counter-part to the *Cancellaria Anhaltina*, but a sort of supplement to the *Vindiciæ Palatinæ*: which work may be considered as a master-piece, in point of method, beautiful Latinity, and a clear arrangement of facts and arguments.

Thus matters stood, till the beginning of May, 1631; when Maximilian, the most politic prince in Germany, found himself upon the point of being reduced to a situation, that demanded all his parts and address. On one hand, Gustavus was approaching to the southward; and on the other hand, he was to make friends at Paris, and Vienna, and (if possible) over-reach them both. He had engaged too deeply with the emperor, to retreat openly; nor cared he to lose that

* To this illustrious politician, Gabriel Naudé inscribes his famous work, entitled, *Considerations politiques sur les Coups d'Etat*; though, in truth, he composed it at the request of M. d'Effiat, superintendant of the finances, Bagni being dead at the time this treatise was published: which (except a few printed copies distributed to private friends) made its first appearance in Holland, 1667, and hath since arrived to the 12th edition, if not further.

† In the library at Munich is preserved a military and political journal of all extraordinary transactions, from the first beginning of the thirty years wars, till the period here mentioned; written by the prince of Anhalt, (a general of high repute in the army of the union) and considered, till this moment, by the Bavarians, as a valuable MS. as indeed it is. There is no question but it was taken in the defeat on the *white mountain*, near Prague.

‡ Added by way of appendix, to the *Politica Causæ Palatinæ*, fol. 1640, sine loco.

delicious

declare against the Upper Palatinate: yet, at the same time, he saw himself on the edge of a precipice, and that only France (in case of a very probable accident, the invasion of Bavaria,) could support him from falling. This treaty, between Louis and Maximilian, was of the defensive nature only, and determinable at the end of eight years: their reciprocal engagements were, not to succour their respective enemies, in any manner, but, on the contrary, to furnish troops to each other, in proportion as the hereditary or *acquired* dominions of either party, should happen to be attacked *. Nani indeed tells us, and Pufendorf † confirms the account, that France engaged to fix the Imperial dignity, in case of a vacancy, on the head of Maximilian: but this appears not upon the face of the treaty itself, and of course must have been contained in some separate article, mutually ratified and interchanged as a distinct convention, which is not unlikely, from the following words, *Quandoquidem ex urgentissimis causis necessarium est, ut hæc amicitia & defensio hoc tempore tantum inter regem & electorem Bavariæ concludatur, nulli patebit, sed secretissima manebit*, &c. Nevertheless, be these things as they may, the whole agreement was diametrically contrary to what had been stipulated between his Christian majesty and Gustavus, at the treaty of Berswalt. And this was the private mystery, that induced France to persuade the king of Sweden to sign a truce of *fourteen days*; some time afterwards, with the elector of Bavaria, and the other heads of the catholic league, a breach of faith, which Gustavus resented extremely, though just then he did not comprehend the intricate motives, upon which De Brezé's negotiation was founded.

Yet all these artifices could not overcome the bold good sense, and honest policy, of Gustavus; since Bavaria reaped no fruits from the above-mentioned treaty: for when the crisis came, she durst not dismember herself from the house of Austria; inasmuch as France talked two languages, in proportion as the danger was remote, or as it approached

1631.

* See the original treaty in the Appendix.

† Différt. sur les alliances entre le France & la Suede, 12°. 1709. This, which I take to be one of Pufendorf's best performances, is as just a satire upon the interfering and intermedling temper of France, as can be penned: it was written originally in Latin.

nearer,

1631. nearer, notwithstanding Maximilian had engaged to supply 2000 foot and 1000 horse, (or the equivalent in ready money) in case France was attacked in her hereditary dominions or in her conquered ones; and Louis had articled to support Maximilian in his electoral dignity against all invaders, and maintain him not only in his original possessions, but in his new conquests; furnishing a contingent of 9000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry. And hence it happened, that when Kutner, the Bavarian envoy, upon the nearer approach of the Swedes, made a requisition of the troops, which France had stipulated to produce, Richelieu, who knew how to distinguish as well as Maximilian, (for they were both school-men in the art of politics) pronounced with a firm and decisive air, "That the convention, betwixt France and Bavaria, was *purely defensive*, "and regarded only the house of Austria, and not the crown of Sweden; "for as Tilly, added he, detacheth troops from the army of the league, "against the elector of Saxony, without the consent or privity of my "master; of course, his most Christian majesty is not obliged to extricate "the prince, you serve, from the perplexities and embarrassment, into "which his imprudence hath plunged him."

Yet, upon the whole, it seems astonishing to many, that the cardinal should have allowed his master to have concluded with Bavaria, upon any terms, an agreement so directly opposite to the interests of his great ally the king of Sweden, and so destructive of the Palatin's pretensions, whom Gustavus was determined to support, upon the principles of a man of honour, and a Christian: and, indeed, in general it may suffice to say, that the whole tribe of French historians seems to chew this treaty, in order to swallow it, as if it was something of a very austere and unpalatable taste. But Richelieu * wanted, at all hazards, having

* The life of this statesman hath been so often written, that I shall only subjoin a short note concerning him, which may contain some few things, that are not to be found in every history.

This man's birth, and education, promised nothing; but he had the secret of introducing himself into favour, even against the inclination of the prince that raised him. He had the power of tears, equal to Cromwell; and preferred war, merely because men had not then time to scrutinize his actions, and form cabals against him. It may be said of him, that he saved and united France, supported Italy, checked and betrayed Sweden, plunged Germany and England into confusion, and weakened Spain; being an instrument of Providence, saith a discerning and acute Italian,

having first secured the duke of Bavaria, to preclude the emperor from 1631.
the power of sending troops to disturb the siege of Moyenvic; and desired likewise, (but with all due dissimulation and secrecy) to counterwork Gustavus, and clog the rapidity of his conquests; for the passage of the Rhine, if God had pleased to prolong his Swedish majesty's life, must have broken all the schemes of that minister, who never foresaw, that matters could proceed so far; and must, likewise, have checked and humbled France to such a degree, that we might have felt the good effects of it to this very moment.

De Brezé proposed in general, with great appearance of friendship, an amicable accommodation with the duke of Bavaria, and the other princes of the catholic league, under the form of *neutrality*; which was to subsist correspondently to the duration agreed upon: but the answer made him was, that indisputable proof could be produced, of the insincerity of their persons, who, in truth, intended nothing but to protract time, collect their forces, and procure fresh and more advantageous terms from the court of Vienna. But the French minister, still continuing to urge this grand scheme of a preliminary pacification *, ventured at length to assure Gustavus, that in case he and his friends thought fit to accept the terms proposed, and might happen afterwards to be disunited by the intrigues of the house of Austria, or the catholic league,

Indies, allowed to exist for the glory of his own country, and the ruin of Europe in general. He is supposed by many, in his early days, to have written a satire against the constable Deluynes; drawing a parallel between him and the constable De Luna, a Spaniard: which his enemies afterwards took care to republish, *mutatis mutandis*, and apply to himself; but the true author of this invective, was Le Sieur Chalmbrean.

He is believed, by many, to have left behind him a civil and military plan; which France follows, more or less, to this hour. When he had gained Alsatia, he was heard to say, that he had extended the French dominions, as far to the eastward, as could be supposed maintainable; and protected them with a fine natural fosse, called the Rhine; predicting, at the same time, that the armies of his nation could rarely prosper in the empire, which effects might arise from the coldness of the country, and the difficulty of retreating, from the change of white bread to black, and light pleasant wines for wretched small-beer. The English army suffered, in a similar manner, under the marquis of Hamilton, and perished of diseases mainly, which their ancestors underwent at the battle of Cressy, but with less glory; for the disaster sprung, not from such local causes, as we have already alleged, but from an immoderate affection *for new beer*.

* Chemnit. Tom. ii. p. 227.

* Battista Nani.

then.

1631. then his master should pay the subsidy stipulated at Bedewalt, in such manner and proportions, as the king and French ambassadors should, at the present conjuncture, agree on; upon condition his Swedish majesty, at the same time, engaged to support France, by retaliation of hostilities against the emperor and his associates, upon supposition they directed their arms to the prejudice of the former *.

Gustavus soon perceived some fallacy here, but could not precisely develop it. He foresaw, in general, the result of the three treaties above mentioned; and had some apprehensions from the politic Isabella, who was making great preparations towards some expedition in the Low Countries. His own uncommon good sense reminded him too, that the terms proposed were over advantageous, on the protestant side, to be deemed real: yet out of pure politeness to the French king, and in order to convince Europe of his pacific and generous intentions, he sketched out to De Brassé a *slight plan* † of what he proposed; namely, "That the Imperialists, and princes of the league, should invade no country, which hath not been hitherto the seat of war; and that he would resign into the hands of the duke of Bavaria such places, as he had conquered in the Lower Palatinate, till an amicable adjustment could be settled between that prince and the king of Bohemia; and that he would restore to the elector of Trier all the towns he had made himself master of in his dominions, excepting Spires. But then, continued he, I must expunge the bishop of Bamberg from all participation of these concessions; for that prelate hath amused me dishonourably, and deceived me basely." He then subjoined, with respect to the houses of Austria and Bavaria, "That not only the hereditary dominions of Sweden, but the provinces acquired by the Swedes in the German war, must be all alike comprehended in every subsequent and general system of pacification; as also each degree and branch of interest, that could be supposed to bear a reference to his good ally, the elector of Saxony; and that all usurpations, made upon the protestants in Lower Saxony,

* Chemnitz, Tom. ii. p. 227.

† As this memorable fragment is not preserved in the *vast collections of treaties*, we have spoken of it more diffusedly, than had otherwise appeared to be necessary.

from

" from the breaking out of the Bohemian troubles in 1618, should 1631.
" be restored back to them, with full reparation of losses, and discharge
" of arrears; that the emperor and princes of the catholic league should
" give dismission to all soldiers, that had been forced from their native
" territories; and re-deliver, likewise, a number of prisoners, amounting
" to eleven or twelve thousand, which were at present artfully incorpo-
" rated, in very small parcels, among their troops; that no temptations
" should be made use of, to allure them back into the Imperial service;
" that the king's conquests should remain in his own hands, till a final
" decision could be agreed on; that communication and free commerce
" should be opened between all countries then engaged in hostilities,
" and prisoners dismissed on either side without ransom *."

In addition to all which, the king had the wonderful consideration, as well as quickness of thought, to make terms of deliverance in express words for the unfortunate administrator of Magdeburg: but that prince had so little trust in his protector, and such unsettled notions of the pro-

* Chemnit. Tom. ii. p. 227, &c. I have seen a second account of this plan, which, though equally spirited and sensible, differs from the present in many respects. If the reader please, it shall be laid before him in my own words, selected from another part of my history.

" As no attempts and efforts were spared from various quarters, to induce the king to give a general peace to the emperor and the catholic leaguers, it is reported (though I do not presume to recite this paragraph upon indisputable authority,) that Gustavus delivered to De Brezé and the German ministers a rough sketch of the following particulars.

" That the Imperial edict, touching the restitution of the *Bona Ecclesiastica*, should be retracted. That persecution should be abolished, and free exercise of religion granted to all men. That Bohemia, and the annexed provinces, should be advanced to their pristine situation, and the banished protestants re-instated in their ancient possessions. That the elector Palatin should be restored to his patrimony and dignities, and that the duke of Bavaria should make restitution of the electoral title. That the town of Augsburg should be permitted to return to its former liberty, and manner of government. That the jesuits, as public incendiaries, and enemies to the repose of mankind, should be banished the empire, and their possessions transferred to the religious of other orders. That the monasteries forcibly seised, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, should be re-assigned to the disposition of the prince. That the members of the cathedral church should be half papists, and half protestants. And, lastly, that his majesty of Sweden should be chosen king of the Romans, by way of acknowledgment for the cares and dangers he had passed through, in procuring peace and liberty to the empire." The reader may find a third copy of this plan in the *Swedish Intelligencer*, Part ii. p. 62. It consists of fifteen articles, and has the appearance of being genuine. In truth, all the copies seem to be modifications of the same general design, drawn up at different times, and retouched in various places. Soldat. Sued. p. 375, &c.

1631. testant religion, that he destroyed Gustavus's generous efforts in his behalf, by making himself a convert, at, or near this period, to the church of Rome *.

France was made arbitress of this general pacification, and arranger of frauds on either side. But whilst the king reasoned upon a substantial, and universal peace, the Bavarian minister presented him a paper, in his master's hand-writing, which related only to a *neutrality* for himself and associates, as a sort of preliminary; drawn up and worded in such a manner, as required a resignation of all conquered countries on the part of Gustavus, to be voided, *ipso facto*, upon signing the articles. This put the king out of all temper, and matters hung in suspence for about a fortnight: which produced to the emperor and duke of Bavaria a part of those advantages, which they proposed to reap, by creating momentary intervals from business, and imperceptible delays.

During this short pause of negotiation, with respect to Bavaria more particularly, other persons made their appearance on this political theatre; but before we enter into an exact detail of their several important and interesting transactions, it may be worth while to observe, that at this time the most renowned of all statesmen, the reichs-chancellor † Oxenstiern came to Mentz, to receive his master's orders, and bear a part with him in the fatigues of business. This great man, whom, on account of his wisdom and sagacity, one supposes to be aged, was but a few years elder than Gustavus. He had the advantage to be descended from one of the best families in Sweden; but greater still was the advantage, when I inform the reader, that he was a minister of the king's own finding out, and of his own formation. He was, at one and the same time, both statesman and general; in which latter capacity he chiefly acted, since his sovereign had entered Germany, for he conducted a small separate army in Polish Prussia. But when political and civil matters began to multiply on the king's hands, as well as military operations,

* Chemnit. Tom. ii. p. 227, &c.

† *Reichs-chancellor*, according to the German way of writing, or *riks-chancellor*, conformably to the Swedish, signifies *the chancellor of the kingdom*; who, in the times we are speaking of, was prime-minister. In the reign of Charles XI. the title was suppressed, and hath ever since been executed by an *office*, consisting of more, or fewer persons. *Mémoires communiqués.*

tions,

1631.

Sweden at the head of his troops; and then afterwards appeared at Mentz, having met on his way with nothing during the space of ten months and upwards. It cannot be said, that the king wanted this great man's advice by way of information, (which will appear from what shall be related in these first interviews;) yet still he had uncommon occasions for his assistance, having more political business to execute than any single person could well perform, and purposing likewise, (which was something more) to negotiate only a few days at Mentz and Francfort, and then shew the Germans, for the first time, what mighty things might be effected in a winter's campaign.

Instead of drawing Gustavus's character, (which, according to custom, I shall leave the reader to combine from various parts of the present history) it may suffice to observe, that the French themselves, after several disputations and discussions, give him the preference even to Richelieu; and as to other nations, they have never supposed him to have had any rival in political reputation. This, indeed, is saying the whole, that can be said, in a single period: nevertheless, it may not be disagreeable to relate some things concerning him, which are not common, and some things likewise, which appear to me entirely new.

After the king's death, it may justly be said, that he had the whole affairs of Europe upon his hands, till the conclusion of the peace at Munster, which made a period of sixteen years duration. He induced the protestant princes of Upper Germany to subscribe to the treaty of Heilbron in 1633, conformably to a plan his master had sketched out a few months before his death; and this was the grand foundation of an union, which subsisted, more or less, till the conclusion of the wars. In 1635, he held an interview with Richelieu at Compiegne*. These great men knew each other intuitively, and agreed in a moment: for the cardinal trembled at the thoughts of attempting to over-reach a statesman, whom

* From that time he always took pleasure to tell the French, that the dried salmon of the Baltic, reconciled by a well-timed perusal, greatly excelled the superb bisques, which he had the honour to partake of at the cardinal's table.

1631. he found endued with talents far superior to his own; and moreover they had each of them the same parts to act, the same inclinations, and the same interests.

His answer to the Polish ambassadors at the treaty of Stumbsdorf* shewed great delicacy, presence of mind, and a turn for severity. The high-chancellor of Poland, at his first entrance into the chamber (where a triangular table was placed in order to avoid precedence in sitting) began thus; *Ut a nobis incipiat humanitas, precamur vobis, domini Sueci,* BONUM *diem*; to whom Oxenstiern replied with great liveliness, *Et nos, ut non simus ingrati, precamur vobis itidem* BONAM *mentem!*

It was his private opinion, that Sweden ought to have no further concerns with France in the course of the war, than in receiving good pensions from her: and when affairs were reduced to the lowest ebb after the fatal defeat of Nordlingen, he still kept firm to this doctrine, but concealed it artfully; well foreseeing that France would prescribe him laws, and wrest Alsatia out of his hands by little and little, whenever she joined the Swedes with a large military force. Nevertheless, the reformed council, that co-operated with him (nine of the twelve being native Germans) soon allowed themselves to be dazzled with the gratuities and promises, which Fiquiere the French minister dispersed copiously among them; and thus our statesman was at length compelled to resign Philipsburg to the house of Bourbon, which he did with inconceivable reluctance, and after a thousand delays of his own creating. He then sent his son †, or nephew ‡, (I am not certain which) into England to solicite succours: but as he had no letters of credence from her Swedish majesty, the court of London affected not to comprehend how Oxenstiern could create ambassadors. The sagacious prime-minister soon perceived this demur to be a mere evasion, and recalled his delegate, without giving his mistress Christina the least trouble.

When he sent his son, a young man of great hope, in conjunction with Salvius, to the treaty of Munster, this new negotiator was much

* Anno 1635.

† His son was named John, ‡ and his nephew Bernard. There was also a Gabriel Oxenstiern employed [illegible]

discovered upon considering his want of age and experience, and startled likewise at the gravity of the Spanish plenipotentiaries on the one hand, and the quickness and penetration of the French ministers on the other hand. He therefore petitioned his father by letter, either to recall him, or send him some aged and able director; to which the chancellor replied only in a few words, having briefly touched upon other matters, *Mi Fili, parvis mundus regitur intellectu* *. 1631.

And here I may venture to hazard another traditional Swedish anecdote. The chancellor had a strong inclination to marry this son (who, by his picture, was not handsome) to queen Christiana: but she, who was an original in every sort of caprice, happened to be pre-possessed in favour of another nobleman, whose name was Todt; whether son, or not, of the general who served under her father Gustavus, I cannot say. Yet be that as it will, this pre-occupation of hers touched old Oxenstiern to the very heart, and of course he took care upon all occasions to traverse her inclinations, disturb her repose, and perplex her affairs in such a manner, that at length he paved the way remotely to her future abdication †.

But to return to the transactions in Germany: the king received Oxenstiern with great marks of affection and esteem, and having sent his own coach and equipage to meet him, passed whole days uninterruptedly with him in the cabinet. This minister, in his journey from Russia, had held a conference with Araheim, which, one may venture to pronounce, was managed with uncommon dexterity and ability on either side; for the former was renowned for artifice, and the latter, on account of his solidity, was supposed to have no superior, except his master.

When Oxenstiern arrived at Mentz, there happened an extraordinary trial of political skill; for the subject had a secret inclination to gain and merit the ascendency in point of genius over his sovereign. This was an example of human vanity highly pardonable: but one thing must be observed incidentally to the advantage of Gustavus; namely, that the minister had weighed the difficulty proposed, and turned it,

* Memoirs communicated to Thuanus. † Ibid.

and

1632 and retreat as blended in every light for them, even the necessity of whereon the king appears to be touched by some surprise, and yet continued an unprovided and secure with a force of realm irresistible.

To understand this curious piece of history better, it may not be amiss to advertise the reader, that it appeared an error to most generals and politicians in those days, that Gustavus, immediately after the battle of Leipsic, should point his course to the banks of the Rhine, and not have marched directly into the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, and so on to the metropolis. It was the same fault (all edged they) which Hannibal committed after the battle of Cannæ *. The great Oxenstiern was of this opinion †; for the moment the king allowed him to converse in private, *Sire*, said he, *I should have been much better pleased to have paid my duty to you at Vienna, than at Munich* ‡. His majesty, who pierced into the drift of this speech with a single glance, told the chancellor coolly, (notwithstanding his natural effervescence of temper,) for he knew the person he spoke to had parts enough to judge of things, and receive conviction: *That for his own part, he had weighed matters with great exactness, and that only superficial appearances presented themselves against him. I know my men*, continued he, *in the elector of Saxony, and Wallstein his generalissimo: the one is irresolute, and does not love me; the other is insincere, and mortally hates me. They may do very well to keep the protestant spirit alive in Bohemia and the incorporated provinces, where all that I can expect from them, is, that they should produce a sort of revulsion, which may serve to administer force against the Imperial troops, till providence allows me to give a second and more decisive stroke in some signal engagement. But change the scene; suppose the elector on the banks of the Rhine, and I in Austria or Bohemia. The whole state of the question is then entirely altered; for there is not a protestant prince in all the district, where the elector of Saxony now commands; so that in case of any infidelity, he can engage no one power to follow his example. But here he would be in the very centre of all the princes and states, who entered into the confederation at Leipsic: and*

* Vinnula Sixi Memoirs Recueillis, Tom. vii. 350—52.

† In the same sentiment is the ingenious Author of the *Histoire politique du Siècle*, 4°. 1757.

‡ Chemnitz, Chron. vii.

he

he and Arnheim (who knew him thoroughly, and is a better judge than I am) are both timid enough to foment enmity, if they are defeated, and self-interested enough to sell me and my cause, in exchange for some good acquisition, in case the enemy should obtain any eminent success. To either part of which alternative, the princes of the union would naturally copy the conduct of the first protestant power in Germany; and upon this elector's defection, I being in Bohemia, Moravia, or Austria, how is a retreat to be conducted from thence to the Baltic, (the only resource that would then be left me) with Wahlstein in my rear, and Arnheim in my front?—No, Sir, in the game Gustavus is to play, he must be among the protestant princes himself, and must be the first man among them too.

Oxenstiern struck with conviction, stood for some moments astonished, and never afterwards made the least reply: for though he had revolved this subject in his mind from September till December, yet he plainly saw, that Gustavus was not only a better warrior, but a greater politician than himself; since a momentary decision, in a critical point like this, is greatly superior to a long series of negotiations, where there are frequent opportunities of reviving and retouching, and where things in their own fluctuating nature often help out themselves. And it was this circumstance, probably, that made Nani break forth into that following political rapture, *Stando il suo virtù infelicissime et unite, non si sperano disgiunture se alla militare perizia e alla civile autorità dovesse la palma**. And upon a like occasion, the most sensible, candid, and cautious Caraffa, expresses himself as follows; *Parum Gustavo Sueciæ nullum, reliquis orbis potens debet dici*†.

The next person, who made his appearance, was the baron de Schwartz, who came in behalf of the elector Palatine, to make that prince compliments of condolence on account of his extraordinary success, and to settle some provisional agreement with reference to the re-conquering of the Lower Palatinate. Him the king received with uncommon testimonies of humanity and courtesy, and ordered Horneck, one of his colonels, to return with him to the Hague, where Frederic then was, instructed

* Hist. Ven. libr. ix. rum, 12°. Col. Agrip. 1639. p. 479.

† Caraffa Comment. de Germ. Sacra Restaur.

1631. in what manner to ſettle ſeveral preliminary difficulties, and commanded to requeſt the elector to haſten to the Swediſh camp with all poſſible expedition: *for*, ſaid the king, *I am determined to reſtore that unfortunate Prince to his poſſeſſions and dignities: but let me beſeech him firſt to make Sure of England, who muſt advance ſome money, as well as diſcharge ſome old deficiencies* *.

This ſtep gave the moſt lively terrors to the duke of Bavaria, and induced him probably to forget his convention with France, and adhere to the emperor without reſerve; and the rather, as his new acquiſition, the Upper Palatinate, appeared to be intended for the firſt ſacrifice, and as Guſtavus treated his adverſary with all that reſpect and ceremony, that could be ſuppoſed to be due to a king of Bohemia.

The duke of Neuburg attempted next to obtain a neutrality, building much on the intereſt of his brother Auguſtus, who ſerved under the king, and had the good fortune to be a favourite: but as this prince had permitted the Imperial army to retreat through his dominions, Auguſtus knew Guſtavus too well, to venture to interpoſe. The duke thought him inſincere, being conſcious he had injured him in fulfilling his father's will, and therefore petitioned humbly to appear in perſon; but the king denied him †.

The deputies of the elector of Triers ‡ were treated in their turn with an higher degree of juſt reſentment, for this prince had maintained avowed hoſtilities againſt Sweden. Some of his troops had taken the caſtle of Moltzberg by ſurprize, and others had killed young count Solmes and all his companions. The elector accompanied the negotiation of his deputies with a letter to the king, conceived in terms of haughtineſs and indifference, alluding likewiſe to certain *promiſes*, which ſome perſons had made to a *nameleſs* power. Upon which Guſtavus gave Stock, chief of the deputation, and one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to the elector, the following anſwer unpremeditated; *That his*

* Le Soldat Suedois.

† Ibid. 354.

† Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation, in High Dutch, Part ii. p. 20.

‡ Philip Chriſtopher de Sottern. He was alſo biſhop of Spires.

maſter's

mother's letter was a sort of petition presented to him sword in hand: 1631.
that he knew well enough what was meant by insinuations of promises and engagements; and that understanding his own business without a tutor, and what France had a right to expect from him, and what she had not, he should fulfil his inclinations in the manner he thought best, and bring some visitants into the electorate, who would expect good cheer and warm lodgings *.

He then granted certain conditions of neutrality to Ferdinand, elector of Cologn, brother to the duke of Bavaria; the terms whereof were extremely rigid, but as things then stood, it was thought expedient to admit them; for the protestants were to enjoy free exercise of religion and commerce; no supplies were to be allowed the emperor, and the catholic league; the diocese was to be open to the troops of Sweden; and agents on the king's part were to reside in the metropolis, in order to see all the articles justly performed.

At calmer intervals for more important business, care was taken to cultivate all subordinate collateral interests; for by this time the states of Lower Saxony, and the Hanse Towns, in consequence of the conclusions agreed upon at Leipsic, had determined to raise 12,000 men under the conduct of George duke of Lunenberg; and the rather, as they had some reason to hope (though that hope was built only on external appearances) that a good understanding had been established between the kings of Denmark and Sweden.

And now whoever shall consider attentively all these various transactions of politics, (great in their consequences, multiform in their nature, extensive in their operations, and referring likewise not only to that incoherent mass of interests the Germanic body, but to France and England, and all the powerful states in Europe) will, I may venture to say, find it difficult to convince themselves, that the whole of this vast work was fully discussed, and effectually adjusted within the compass of a *single fortnight*, and something more. Nor was the king even then unmindful of military matters, nor did he consume the holidays of Christmas in riotings and festivals; but, on the contrary, repaired the fortifications of Mentz, issued out orders for raising new regiments,

* F. Spanheim, 358. Historical or Authentic Relation, Tom. ii.

1631. and kept the face of a campaign in the parts round him under his own inſpection; whilſt the good diſcipline, the temperance, the decent and religious deportment of his ſoldiers, charmed not only the catholics in general, but even the jeſuits, who made panegyrics upon them in the pulpit: but whether through gratitude or neceſſity is more than I ſhall take upon me to determine.

The king next made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Koeningſtein near Francfort, which, after a fortreſs of the ſame name in Saxony, Hohentweil in Suabia, and Hermanſtein [Ehrenbreitſtein] in the electorate of Triers, ſeems to me to have been as ſtrongly ſituated by nature, as it is poſſible to imagine. No ſooner had his majeſty entered Koeningſtein, but a repreſentation was made to him by the counts of Stolberg, that the electors of Mentz in 1581 * had uſurped this ſtrong place from them, and that it was a part of their lawful patrimony: upon which, without any remonſtrance, excuſe, delay, or explanation, he reſtored it to them, reſerving to himſelf nothing more than all the artillery and ſtores of war. Pappenheim and colonel Cronenberg had made this fortreſs their favourite magazine, where they repoſed their military acquiſitions; which ſaid plunder, as it belonged to *brave men*, the king beſtowed generouſly on the *moſt couragious perſons* he could diſcover among his officers and ſoldiers; and thus made a fine compliment both to enemies and friends. And, indeed, it is highly probable, that his regard for Pappenheim was ſo great, that if he had not dextrouſly hit upon this expedient, he would have contrived means to have reſtored his effects to him by ſome uncommon kind of warlike gallantry.

Nor had the landgrave of Heſſe been idle during the preceding ſummer and autumn; for having cleared his own country of Imperialiſts, he made irruptions into Weſtphalia, and the abbacy of Fulda. As he joined the Swedes with 12,000 men, and did good ſervice at the ſiege of Mentz, his majeſty purpoſed to make uſe of his troops in order to raiſe the ſiege of Nurenberg; but finding the alarm falſe after a march of

* Geographie univerſelle de Hubner, Tom. v. 435.

three

three days, allowed him to return to the protection of his own dominions, and the extending his little conquests near home. 1631.

As to Tilly, we left him passing along in full march by the town of Oxenfurt *, whilst Gustavus Horn, with an army of 8000 men, attended his motions in the bishopric of Bamberg, and kept alive only a defensive war. Upon this the general of the league invested Nurenberg, but as the king had thrown 3000 troops into the town, with a good governor, and a considerable number of experienced engineers, (so that the garrison, in conjunction with the burghers and neighbouring peasants, made 10000 effective soldiers) he soon found himself obliged to desist from his enterprizes, having lost Schlavata, a colonel of Croats in one attack, and upwards of 500 private men. Soon afterwards one of his magazines blew up at Schwabach †, which consisted of twelve hundred quintals of powder, upon which he said, with a deep sigh, "That fortune at length "had thought fit to desert him." Dividing his army therefore, not unskilfully, into two parts, (if retreating towards Bavaria may be called an act of true judgment) he commanded Cratz and Aldringer to observe the motions of Horn near Bamberg and the upper Palatinate, and retired himself to Nordlingen (having first had an interview with his electoral master) in order to guard the dukedom of Bavaria from all invasions on the part of Gustavus, who, as he supposed, intended to make his irruption on the Wirtemberg side, because he had many well-wishers in that territory, and abundance likewise of sincere assistants. Mean while the subtile elector of Bavaria convened a diet of catholic leaguers at Ingoldstadt ‡; and having concerted measures with De Charnacé, St. Etienne, De Lisle, and other French ministers and agents then at Munich, formed the project of obtaining, by means of France, a short *armistice* from Gustavus, and in the interim dispatched his chancellor to Vienna in order to conclude a fresh bargain there, by which he might be enabled to desert France the moment he could acquire all the advantages, which she had the power of procuring for him.

* November 6.

† There is a type in printing, called the Schwabach character, there being in this town formerly a famous foundery for casting letters.

‡ December 12, 1631.

1631 As to Lower Saxony and Westphalia, the dukes of Mecklenburg and general Todt invested Wismar, where colonel Graham made several furious sallies, but at length surrendered, upon condition, that a month's space should be allowed him to consult Tiefenbach on the occasion. After Graham had evacuated the place, Todt found him guilty of breach of articles in various instances, and being so fortunate as to overtake him on his journey, gave his troops a total overthrow, and detained him prisoner till he could receive his majesty's orders. The Imperial colonel offered 2000 l. for his ransom, but could not obtain it. Todt then joined the archbishop of Bremen, who brought him a re-inforcement of five incomplete regiments, which made in the whole, it is probable, about 2000 men.

As to Banier's operations in these parts, we have spoken already under the article of the marquis of Hamilton's campaign: but when Pappenheim perceived, that Luhenberg and Todt had joined themselves to the Swedish general, he made several forced marches (in which part of military conduct he had no equal) and with great dexterity escaped from them.

The Saxons found but slight resistance in Bohemia, and if Arnheim had acted the sincere and honest part, he ought to have marched directly into Moravia, (which the king advised him to do by letter), where he might have disturbed and ruined all Walstein's new recruits, which had been cantoned in that dutchy. Walstein on the other hand thinned the Saxon army, by offering all deserters double pay, and the same rank they possessed among their friends. Tiefenbach spared no pains to levy soldiers in Hungary, but there was no money to put them in motion; and without that previous viaticum, neither man nor horse could find the use of their limbs. Upon this account a national diet was convened, but the states declared they could produce neither soldiers nor ducats, fearing the incursions of the Turks on the one hand, and the warlike preparations of Ragotzki on the other hand; insisting also on the privilege of not being obliged to defend their sovereign out of the limits of their country; and adding moreover, (which shewed they

spared

spared no pains to find excuses), "That there had always been a good 1631.
"understanding between the crowns of Hungary and Sweden." Nor was this unlikely, considering the sea and a thousand miles of *terra firma* were spread between them.

Walstein, to the infinite mortification of the house of Austria, quartered all his troops in the hereditary dominions, excepting only a circle of twelve miles round Vienna. Merodé was then dispatched into the Low Countries to levy 5000 cuirassiers, and Dhona made a journey into Poland in quest of the Cossacks. A second attempt too was levelled against the virtue of the elector of Saxony; and as his kinsman Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lauenberg (who had served the Emperor both in Poland and Italy) was thought to be the most proper solicitor, that could be found, he was authorised (say various authors *) to resign his employ upon some pretended disgust, and undertake this negotiation in the best manner he could. But Arnheim durst not venture to set his master to sale upon so abrupt an application: and indeed the affairs of Sweden at that time were too prosperous to allow the general and minister (for Arnheim concentered both characters in his own person) to embark in a measure so extremely hazardous.

We now come to the conclusion of the year 1631, which, from the feast of St. John Baptist (the day Gustavus landed) to the eve of the new year, may be considered as a period the most fruitful in events, of any campaign, that is to be found in modern history. For the king in six months space had traversed from Stralsund, and the mouth of the Elb, to the high Rhine, or in effect was master of Germany from the shore of the Baltic ocean almost to the lake of Constance; which in truth made an extent of country not much inferior to the whole kingdom of France. To recite the circumstantial progress of his conquests would carry with it more the appearance of a tedious elaborate index than of an instructive or amusing history; for it would exceed in a

* We speak this with certain precautions, to be considered with uncommon impartiality, as because Francis Albert's character, with re- well as exactness; as shall be performed here-spect to the death of Gustavus, demands to after.

manifold

1631. tenfold proportion the catalogue of ſhips recounted by Homer; and who has Homer's ſecret of ſuch minuteneſs of detail, either intereſting or delectable to the generality of readers; ſince the king in his own perſon (not including the tranſactions of his generals in other places) had conquered all the principal cities and fortreſſes in Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony and Mechlenberg; ſubdued, more or leſs, the four circles of Franconia, Suabia, and the two Rhines; chaſed the elector of Mentz out of his country; reduced the whole Lower Palatinate, and propoſed to open the enſuing campaign (which was to commence on new year's day) by an irruption into Bavaria. Louis XIII. as well as the elector of Bavaria, ſtood both thunder-ſtruck at the rapidity of theſe advances; and Italy too began to tremble at the aſtoniſhing progreſs of this new Alaric, who was ready to ſet his foot upon the ſtair caſe of the Alps. Yet whatever the merits of the cauſe might be, an humane and compaſſionate writer cannot but lament the miſeries and ſufferings of mankind, as well as the effuſion of blood upon this occaſion; ſince it is highly probable, if we comprehend the havock made by peſtilence, famine, and other accidents, that near half a million of people were ſuppoſed to loſe their lives in Germany only, in the courſe of this ſingle year of 1631.

The new year had hardly preſented itſelf a few minutes, when duke Bernard ſurprized the important town of Manheim by extraordinary addreſs: for ordering 500 horſemen to approach the city-gates at midnight in full gallop, they pretended to be Imperialiſts, who had been broken to pieces in an engagement with the Swedes, and that their enemies in the very inſtant were preſſing at their heels. The gate was immediately opened at ſuch an urgent repreſentation, and the Swedes entering pell-mell made a dreadful ſlaughter among the Spaniards. Yet the garriſon ſoon recovered their terror, and made no contemptible reſiſtance; but in the interim, duke Bernard ſcaled the walls, and poured in a freſh ſupply of aſſailants on all ſides. Maravalla the governor was taken priſoner, and having paid his ranſom, returned to his ſuperiors with all the punctuality of a good Caſtilian: nevertheleſs, his head was publickly ſtruck off at Heidelberg; and indeed there was

ſomething

something truly pitiable in his case, for an inferior officer had opened 1631.
the town-gate without his knowledge.

Frankendal and Heidelberg were then slightly blockaded; and as to Spires, perceiving with what alacrity the Swedes conquered towns, it prudently thought fit to enter into an accommodation some few days before Manheim was surprized.

During this tumult of business, his majesty could neither digest nor forget the needless and petulant interference of the duke of Lorrain, who had marched a considerable army to Tilly's assistance. He therefore dispatched a letter * to him, the substance of which, together with the answer the duke returned to it, may prove perhaps no ways unentertaining to the more curious part of my readers. He there tells Charles, (whom he calls his *kinsman* and *thrice dear friend*) "*That he* "*omitted writing to him, whilst he marched in armour at the head of his* "*Lorrainers, for fear such a politeness might be misconstrued into timi-* "*dity: but as he was now reposing himself in his own dominions, he thought* "*it but reasonable to suggest to him, that being a prince independent, and* "*unfettered with connections and obligations, it seemed to him extremely* "*strange, that he should carry hostilities into a climate hardly known to him,* "*and embroil himself in quarrels, that did not concern him, merely out of* "*enthusiastic gallantry and gaiety of spirits, without any motives deducible* "*either from religion, or other valuable considerations:—subjoining at the* "*same time, that it was impossible for him to be ignorant of the justice* "*of the Swedish cause; and of the atrocious violence of the enemy; of* "*the tender humanity, moderation and liberty of conscience he had shewn the* "*catholics; and of the extraordinary concessions he had made the chief-* "*tains of the league, with a view to establish peace and Christian benevolence* "*through the empire; and that he desired, as he now approached the fron-* "*tiers of Lorrain, the favour of being made acquainted with his present* "*and ulterior determinations, and that explicitely, without any reserve,* "*subterfuge and exception, since a categorical answer of this nature would* "*determine the next step he professed to take †.*"

* Riccius de Bellis German. 345, 346.

† This letter bears date from Mentz December 29, 1631.

Charles

1631. Charles, who was ſqueezed into a dilemma between Sweden and France, conſidered this propoſal as a providential deliverance, and replied in a tranſport of joy;

" That he was charmed with the honour of receiving a letter from ſo " illuſtrious and great a king, beſeeching him to aſſure himſelf, that, " though appearances were againſt him, and he might juſtly ſeem to " merit ſome gentle reproof for preſuming to enter into the liſts of " combat with ſo renowned a warrior; yet all this proceeded from " the laudable ambition of deſiring to emulate his majeſty's valour, and " that he never once conceived an unkind or ungenerous thought con- " cerning him; and conſequently hoped he ſhould incur no blame for " attempting to aſſiſt the unfortunate and diſtreſſed, ſince that very " principle made one diſtinguiſhing point of view in his majeſty's " character. That, for his own part, he thought it neither ſafe nor " honeſt to refuſe to ſatisfy the emperor's requeſts, and give activity to " the treaties, that had long ſubſiſted between the courts of Vienna " and Nanci, eſpecially when ſolemnly called upon to fulfil his own en- " gagements, and thoſe of his family: and that, beſides all this, he " had been well informed from indiſputable authority, that ſome ſteps " had been taken in the aſſembly at Leipſic, prejudicial to his glory, " and the tranquillity of his ſubjects. For theſe reaſons, as the war " admitted of no alternative, he thought it baſeneſs to poſtpone it, " and generoſity to begin it:——nevertheleſs, he embraced the offer of " his majeſty's friendſhip with all poſſible gratitude and reſpect, and ſo " much the rather, as the progreſs of the Swediſh arms portended no " deſtruction to the catholic religion. Of courſe he ſhould refuſe no " propoſal, provided it was compatible (as he well foreſaw it would be) " with the juſtice and reputation of a prince, whom he reſpected be- " yond expreſſion, and who had done him the honour to acknowledge " him for a relation *.

This letter wanted neither ſagacity, nor politeneſs, nor addreſs, nor diſſimulation. Guſtavus was politician enough to take it

* Nanci, Jan. 21, 1632. Mercure François, Tom. xviii. 144—5.

in

in part of ſufficient payment, and the rather, as France requeſted him ſo to do: for which the reaſon ſhall be aſſigned immediately. This procedure was highly gracious in Guſtavus, for his army breathed ſuch a ſpirit of revenge againſt the duke of Lorrain's troops, on account of the incredible ravages and outrages they had committed in Germany, that ſome regiments quartered near Worms, (who expected orders for making an irruption every moment) had procured colours, where a man was depictured cloven in two with the ſtroke of an axe, and a body of ſoldiers, with lighted torches in their hands, marching againſt the word LORRAIN, which was written in large uncial letters oppoſite to them *. 1631.

But the real reaſon of Charles's complaiſance was owing purely to the treaty of Vic †, which he had ſigned with France juſt one and twenty days before he anſwered the king's letter. By this agreement, ſeveral articles were crammed down his throat of very difficult digeſtion; for he was to renounce the intereſts of the emperor, Spain, and the catholic league ‡, and make no future treaty without the conſent of France; who, on the other hand, obliged herſelf to aſſiſt him upon condition only, that his dominions were attacked; and took care to inſert a clauſe, that free paſſage ſhould be granted to the French army, whenever it was thought expedient to march troops into Germany.

About this time the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt renewed his ſolicitations for the public tranquillity, being in truth a ſecret penſioner to the court of Vienna, and the king had condeſcenſion enough to write to the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg on the ſubject, as alſo to the magiſtrates of Lubec (that being the principal of the Hanſe towns) and to ſeveral princes and ſtates; well knowing at the ſame time, that it was only waſting a little ink and paper for the ſake of decorum; ſince from the beginning to the end he amuſed himſelf by ſtyling the landgrave *pacificator general of the holy Roman empire*, and chriſtening his money,

* Spanheim's Soldat Suedois, p. 370.

† Voyez le Recueil des Traittez de confederation & d'alliance entre la couronne de France & les princes et etats etrangers depuis l'an MDCXXI juſques à preſent MDCLXXII. Sine loco 12°.

‡ This was contained in a ſecret article, ſigned ſix days afterwards.

1631. which he depoſited at cards and dice not very willingly, by no other name than *l'argent d'appointement*; alluding thereby to his private communication with the houſe of Auſtria *.

And here an event of a more ſerious nature preſented itſelf; for his majeſty was informed, from an authority worth liſtening to, that half a dozen jeſuits at Augſburg had bound themſelves by ſolemn oaths and execrations to aſſaſſinate him: and what confirmed men in belief of this horrid conſpiracy was, that a Flemiſh prieſt had been found near his bed-chamber, late in the evening, with a ponyard in his boſom. But Guſtavus replied only to the remonſtrances and repreſentations of his friends, by aſſuring them, *That a king, circumſtanced and employed as he was, muſt not lock himſelf up in a box:—that wicked men could not always effect what they wiſhed to perform:—that providence was more to be relied upon than regiments of guards:—that God knew how far and how long he ſhould be pleaſed to employ him, and in the event would raiſe up others more able and more operative than himſelf;—for the Supreme Being*, continued he, *would never make his work depend on one breath, or one perſon* †. And this was the ſubſtance of all his anſwers upon ſimilar occaſions; ſo that when his miniſters and generals preſſed him one day in particular to look more watchfully round him, and place proper guards about his perſon, he replied abruptly, and ſomewhat peeviſhly, *that they took great pains to teach him to diſtruſt in God* ‡.

Mean while Guſtavus in his private hours of reflexion, was not thoroughly pleaſed with Richelieu's duplicity in reference to the late treaty agreed upon between France and Bavaria; and perceiving plainly

* To underſtand the ſecret hiſtory of the landgrave's conduct better, (who had lately married a young daughter of the elector of Saxony) we muſt look more nearly into the tranſactions of that age; and then we ſhall find, that the elector Palatine, about the time of the battle of Prague, had conveyed two ſignories to this prince by way of ſecuring them to his own uſes: but when Frederic grew unfortunate, the landgrave claimed them as his own proper poſſeſſions and upon this, Mansfelt invaded his country, and detained him a priſoner; but procuring his liberty in a few days, and perceiving the houſe of Auſtria to be all-powerful, he obtained a grant from the emperor, not only of theſe two diſtricts, but of ſeveral lands in Veteravia, which belonged to the counts of Solms, Iſenberg and Lovenſtein, who all ſerved under Frederic. Secretary Fowler's Life of Sir G. Douglaſs, fol. 223.

† Soldat Suedois, p. 374. &c.

‡ Le Vaſſor, Tom. vii, 102.

that

that the cardinal, and the cardinal's director, father Joſeph, had formed 1631.
a ſcheme of reducing him to a piece of French mechaniſm, ſignified to Louis XIII, that he deſired a *private conference* with him concerning matters of the moſt extraordinary importance, and of courſe diſpatched Horn to Metz upon that errand. But Louis naturally timid, and endued with very moderate parts, trembled at the thoughts of managing a momentous conference with a king, who talked ſeveral languages with uncommon energy and propriety, and whoſe ſuperior genius rendered him abſolutely a maſter both in the field and cabinet. Upon this the marquis de Brezé (now returned for freſh inſtructions, as he had not been able to effect any general pacification to the advantage of France) was diſpatched a ſecond time ambaſſador to Mentz with a pompous equipage, attended by numbers of the young French nobility. Guſtavus entertained him and his attendants moſt magnificently. Excuſes then for declining the interview propoſed were made in abundance, and all grounded upon the French king's infirm and delicate ſtate of health: "But Sire, ſaid the marquis, approach but a little towards "Lorrain, and cardinal Richelieu ſhall meet you at the place appointed." *Monſieur l'ambaſſadeur*, replied his majeſty, with a tone of deciſion, *all kings are equal: my predeceſſors have never given place to the kings of France. If your maſter thinks fit to diſpatch the* CARDINAL *half way, I will ſend ſome of* MY PEOPLE *to treat with him* *. Nevertheleſs, it was the French maxim at that time to talk to Guſtavus in a very high ſtyle, which, conſidering his ſpirit and temper, ſhewed want of addreſs and common good ſenſe in that political nation: for de Charnacé, the other ambaſſador, on ſome ſimilar occaſion, namely, on demanding the armiſtice †, gave him one day (in order to check the rapidity of his conqueſts towards Alſatia) a full detail of the immenſe number, as the world then computed, of his maſter's troops. *Sir*, ſaid Guſtavus, *I own your king hath abundance of ſoldiers; but indulge me only in one day's march before him, and I will give him the meeting at Paris; and ſave him the trouble of conducting an army by long journeys into Germany* ‡. It was

* Le Vaſſor, Tom. vii. 102.
† Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. 61.
‡ Le Vaſſor, Tom. vii. p. 103. Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. 61, 62.

1631. then objected, that his majeſty had violated his engagements with France in croſſing the Rhine, (a point of great uneaſineſs to the French nation beyond all diſpute:) to which he replied likewiſe, with an air of coldneſs, *That the moſt Chriſtian king had given him an equal diſguſt in delaying to pay the Swediſh ſtipend. A French army and mine*, continued he, *can never compoſe the diſorders of Germany: leave then to me the correction in the empire of all, that is amiſs; and if the king your maſter be in good earneſt, let him turn his arms againſt Spain, and make a diverſion in favour of the general cauſe* *. Upon this the cardinal and the capuchin † began to conſider Guſtavus not only as the greateſt conqueror in the world, but as a perſon ſuperior to all common efforts of political artifice; and their king on his part fearing a ſecond interview might be propoſed, retired from Metz to Paris with the precipitation of a monarch, who had been defeated in battle. Yet willing to effect ſomething of the low kind, rather than miſcarry totally, and concluding little expedients (the baffled ſtateſman's momentary cordials) to be better than abſolute nothings; De Brezé at length, being diſappointed in his grand ſcheme of an univerſal peace, or at leaſt, a general truce, contrived in the laſt reſource, in conjunction with the ſeveral miniſters of the princes of the league, to extort from the king a ſort of *armiſtice* ‡ of fourteen days duration, which Guſtavus granted, partly to avoid being teized, and partly with a view of exhibiting to the public ſome manifeſt proof of his pacific inclinations: in both which points he juſtified his good temper and benevolence, at the expence of his victories. For Pappenheim either knew not of the *truce*, or never regarded it; the infanta Iſabella found an opportunity to march her troops to the aſſiſtance of the league; the duke of Bavaria gained time to circumvent Guſtavus and Louis too, by driving a freſh concluſive bargain at Vienna; and France found means, during this interval, to give new laws to Lorrain, and adopt the elector of Triers under her own protection;——a long catalogue, (if we conſider its production and ripening to be only the work of a ſingle fortnight) fruitful of dark and miſchievous events; contrived by artifice, executed

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. 61, 62.

† Father Joſeph.

‡ For the original of this treaty ſee the APPENDIX.

with

with inſincerity, and extorted from a brave and benevolent prince, who 1631.
regarded duplicity ſo much the leſs, as he had parts and ſpirit to make his enemies repay him for ſuch ungenerous conduct with a double proportion of intereſt! Nevertheleſs, a ſtateſman or general, bleſſed with but one half of Guſtavus's abilities, muſt have been deſtroyed by ſuch a combination of falſehood, as well as total violation of all public good faith.

In order to bring about this mighty project of an armiſtice, De Charnacé received inſtructions to leave Munich, and co-operate at Mentz with De Brezé: but ſome few days before he quitted the former place, he made an attempt (being then as falſe to Bavaria, as he proved the next fortnight to Sweden) to perſuade Maximilian, that he, of all princes, ought to permit Guſtavus to extend his conqueſts as far as poſſible; ſince, in caſe the houſe of Auſtria ſhould be ruined, the Imperial diadem would be transferred of courſe from the family of Vienna to that of Bavaria. He then played the rhetorician upon the elevation of Walſtein, (the elector's mortal enemy) to the ſupreme command; but Maximilian was too old a politician to allow himſelf to be over-reached by French eloquence; nor could he bear the thoughts of relinquiſhing that delicious acquiſition, the Upper Palatinate. He therefore kept firm, at all hazards, to the Imperial cauſe, as did alſo his brother, the elector of Cologn.

No ſooner had De Charnacé arrived at Mentz, but he began to ruffle the king's temper with thoſe unaccountable ſallies of vivacity, which ſeem congenial to Frenchmen, (and to ſay truth, this miniſter was inveſted with a double portion of them;) ſince at the very time he was to ſolicite a favour, and that of no common nature, he could not help throwing out ſome lively invectives on the preſumption of the Swedes for taking the liberty to croſs the Rhine. The king, who had been tired above meaſure with theſe inſolent impertinencies, and felt himſelf exaſperated to the quick at ſuch a dictatorial aſſuming of pre-eminence, gave him to underſtand very conciſely once for all *, *That if his Chriſtian majeſty was offended, he could not help it: and that whoever forced him back,*

* Monro's Expedition, Part ii. 100.

muſt

1631. *muſt take the pains to effect that work ſword in hand.—That he was geographer enough to know his way alike to Paris or Vienna, and that his ſoldiers would reliſh Champaign and Burgundy, as well as Rheniſh or Moſelle. And therefore for theſe reaſons, he humbly conceived a king of France would not affect to imitate* THAT *power, who alone can ſay,* HITHERTO SHALT THOU GO, AND NO FURTHER. And indeed he well knew France to be not ſo formidable as ſhe then affected to appear. Her army at moſt amounted to little more than 50,000 ſoldiers: nor did the revenues exceed forty-five millions of livres. Commerce was regarded with a careleſs eye, and the police greatly neglected.

The two French ambaſſadors being thus humbled into a ſort of real or pretended modeſty, implored the king at all events to grant an armiſtice for a ſingle fortnight, which Guſtavus allowed with great reluctance, much againſt his own private judgment, merely to prevent importunity. *For, Sir,* ſaid he to De Brezé, *the princes of the league are inſincere. I have made them offers more than once of living with them on a friendly footing (provided only, that they contributed a moderate ſum towards the ſubſiſtence of my ſoldiers;) but inſtead of accepting theſe terms upon principles of honour and honeſty, they have created both delays and obſtructions, which fully convince me, that they want only to amuſe me and gain time. Witneſs the deliberations and reſolutions lately taken at Landſhut and Ingoldſtadt: from whence it appears, that the biſhop of Wurtzburg and the Bavarian miniſters talked one thing at Metz, and that their conſtituents perform quite another thing in Germany. Read theſe letters, Sir, and then ſuppoſe yourſelf to be better inſtructed.*

What the ſubſtance of theſe intercepted letters was, appears not from Le Vaſſor, whom I am copying, but *one* *, if I remember right, was addreſſed from the duke of Bavaria to Pappenheim, wherein he charged him to undertake *immediately* the reduction of Weſtphalia, encloſing a bill of credit on Cologn for 9000l. which ſum he engaged to ſee repaid at Augſburg. Nevertheleſs, before the ceſſation of arms could be obtained, Guſtavus propoſed once more the plan of a *neutrality*, as it was then called; or rather a ſhort ſyſtem of preliminaries, all tending to a

* Chemnitz, Tom. i. 228.

general

general pacification *; which he charged the ambaſſadors and miniſters to tranſmit to their reſpective courts for confirmation, inaſmuch as he and France had agreed concerning them. Of theſe we have already given the reader *two* different tranſcripts, and referred him to a *third*, in the preamble of which there is one paſſage worth noticing; namely, "That "this armiſtice was granted purely out of regard to the earneſt inter- "ceſſions of the moſt Chriſtian king †." 1631.

As to the armiſtice itſelf, I have ſeen only two tranſlations thereof, the one in Engliſh, and the other in French, both made public the year ſucceeding its ſignature: to the former of which I have referred my reader in the *Appendix*; and with reſpect to the plans of pacification mentioned by me, I conclude upon reviſion of the matter, that they were only ſubſequent elucidations of the king's meaning, diſpatched by him to the parties concerned, or to the Swediſh miniſters reſiding with them. Be that as it will, theſe are all ſignal proofs of his majeſty's ſincerity and good faith, which will appear ſtill in a ſtronger light, if we conſider the inſtructions conveyed by him on the occaſion to Guſtavus Horn, and, as it ſeemeth to me highly probable, to all his generals; namely, "That it "was granted out of pure indulgence to the court of France; and that a "poſitive anſwer to the propoſals of pacification was to be returned in "the ſpace of a fortnight from the princes therein intereſted. It was "agreed, that Pappenheim ſhould evacuate Weſtphalia, and the arch- "biſhopric of Magdeburg; and that the troops belonging to the elector "of Bavaria and the catholic league ſhould be withdrawn likewiſe from "Bohemia: (all acts of hoſtility being ſuppoſed to ceaſe on either ſide, "and power reſerved to retaliate injuries with injuries:) yet nevertheleſs "under this reſtriction, that blockades and ſieges already begun ſhould "proceed in the ſame manner, as if no ceſſation of arms had been agreed "on ‡.

As this letter to Horn bears date from Hoëchſt, Jan. 10, it is probable the king had ratified the agreement the day before, or that very morning.

* See pag. 72, 73.

† Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 62.

‡ Letter to Guſtavus Horn, dated at Hoëchſt. The author of the Merc. Franc. ſays Mentz. Vid. APPENDIX, January 10, 1631-2. That very evening (being Tueſday) the king met the queen at Hanau. Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 68.

1631. ing at Mentz, and was advanced thus far on his road, in order to meet the queen at Hanau, whom he found there, to his higheſt ſatisfaction, the ſelf ſame evening. Her majeſty made her public entrance in a manner not devoid of magnificence, being accompanied by the young princeſs of Brandenburg her ſiſter, and eſcorted by numbers of noblemen, and 1200 horſe, commanded by old Ruthven. The king received her at the entrance of count Hanau's palace. Never meeting, after a long ſeparation of twenty months, was more affectionate and tender; for they knew well each other's merit *. Eleanora flew to him with a tranſport of joy, that is not to be deſcribed, and throwing her arms round his waiſt, *Now, Sir*, ſaid ſhe, *the great Guſtavus is at length taken priſoner!* Which † particular ſort of expreſſion was ſo much applauded by the public, and paſſed ſo frequently from mouth to mouth, till acquiring freſh variations in travelling from Germany to England, it was at length reported by the London news-writer, that the king of Sweden was literally and *bona fide* an Imperial priſoner: which, it is probable, gave no great diſſatisfaction to the Engliſh miniſtry. Be that as it will, the king made his conſort a preſent of jewels to a very conſiderable value.

This heroine had left the pleaſures of Stockholm, in order to ſhare the fatigues of war with her huſband, and brought with her no contemptible ſupply of ſoldiers ‡, artillery, and money. Nor was ſhe in the leaſt diſmayed at an extraordinary accident, which befell her in the firſt minutes of her embarkation; for one of her principal ſhips (ſurnamed the VASA, by way of diſtinction,) ſunk directly to the bottom about half a league from ſhore, merely through ſome fault in its conſtruction: ſince the ſea in that place was devoid of rocks, nor was there wind enough to ruffle its ſurface ||.

* Fu incontrata (la regina) & raccolta da i popoli e dalle militie con applauſo, & pompa veramente regale, ma ſi caramente dal re ſuo conſorte, che ne ſtupirono i circoſtanti, in vedendo da petto di tanta fortezza uſcir coſi traborchevoli le tenerezze, e luſinghe de i più ſuiſcerati amanti. P. Pomo. libr. ii. 57.

† Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. 68.

‡ Of theſe, 4000 were deſtined to join the marquis of Hamilton, and the reſidue, (4000 more) were conducted by Oxenſtiern to reinforce the king.

|| Schefferi Memorab. Suec. Gent. 8°. p. 20.

During

During this momentary repoſe at Hanau, advices came, that Pappen- 16
heim paid no regard to the ceſſation of arms: upon which the king, determined to chaſtiſe him, ordered ſeveral regiments to file off from Francfort, and advanced in perſon immediately, as far as Guelenhauſen, twenty four miles in his way to Weſtphalia; nor would the queen deſert him, but hearing there, that the danger he apprehended was blown over, returned to Francfort. For in violation of the truce the Spaniards had croſſed the Moſelle, and the infanta's troops were in full march towards the Palatinat; the duke of Bavaria made preparations for renewing the war with inflexible diligence; the elector of Triers behaved with duplicity; and the duke of Neuburg allowed Tilly to take poſſeſſion of his metropolis. Thus, whilſt they all effected miſchief, in greater or leſſer degrees, the king, like an honeſt and punctual ſoldier, gained nothing but an inactive interval for the refreſhment of his army.

During this interim, the elector of Bavaria not only refitted his ſhattered troops, but found his opportunity of extorting higher advantages from the Auſtrian neceſſities, inaſmuch as the emperor had long balanced between reſtoring Walſtein, or breaking with Maximilian At length he and his miniſtry, upon mature deliberation, thought proper to leave the firſt difficulty to work its own way, and pay an exorbitant price for the aſſiſtance of the prince laſt named: which retardment of glory (though only in idea) redoubled Walſtein's hatred againſt Bavaria.

Mean while the elector, perceiving France could not influence Guſtavus in greater matters, and diſcovering likewiſe, that that prince had a violent inclination to reſtore the Palatin to his hereditary dominions, diſpatched Donnerſberg, his chancellor, to Vienna; and bidding adieu to the interpoſition of France all at once, gave him authority to make the beſt market he could with the Imperial miniſtry, who received him with open arms*.

Donnerſberg proteſted there, that though his maſter might want means, yet that he never wanted good intentions to the houſe of Auſtria, ſince he had refuſed the kingſhip of the Romans, which Richelieu offered

* Galeazzo Gualdo, Part i. l. 3

1631. him *; but that Sweden had almoſt overturned his ſyſtem, by that terrible ſhock, which the defeat of Leipſic gave him; and that the infanta had beſought him to take no adventurous ſtep, till the catholic princes had recovered themſelves from their terror and diſmay. He frankly owned, that the clandeſtine elevation of Walſtein †, the inveſting him with ſo much power, and repoſing ſuch undue confidence in a meer ſubject, had a little diſconcerted him in the articles of friendſhip and fidelity; and ſo much the more, as that general had been removed at his inſtances and ſolicitations.——Nevertheleſs he privately hoped, that the emperor had been forced into theſe meaſures by pure neceſſity, and that Walſtein would never preſume, when he opened the campaign, to march into Bavaria, or canton his troops in that electorate:——of courſe, as the poſſeſſion of the Palatinates began now to appear precarious, he thought it conſiſtent with the emperor's prudence and equity, to *transfer* the Upper Auſtria ‡ to him proviſionally, and by way of *hypotheque*, not only as an indemnification for his paſt expences, but as a ſort of equivalent for the Palatinates, which Guſtavus was determined to wreſt out of his hands. Upon theſe terms he made his Imperial majeſty an offer of all his ſervices, having previouſly raiſed the ban, and arrier-ban of Bavaria to that very purpoſe, fortified and guarded the banks of the Lech and Danube, and placed good garriſons in all the fortreſſes and cities on that ſide of his country §.

Theſe propoſals were a cordial of comfort to the Imperial miniſtry; yet the aſſignation of Upper Auſtria, by way of pledge or mortgage, was a ſort of nauſeous drop, mixt with the compoſition, which rendered it to a certain degree unpalatable.

Their anſwer was, that the emperor would content his old ally, not only in this inſtance, but in realizing alſo ſome promiſes of the ſame nature, which he had made before. That Walſtein in effect forced his

* Bernard; Hiſt. de Louis XIII. Lib. xv.

† He does not name him in the memorial, but mentions only the elevation of a certain perſon.

‡ There are reaſons to ſuſpect it was rather that part of Upper Auſtria called Ober-Enſ, or *ſupra Aniſum*, which had been mortgaged to the duke at the beginning of the Bohemian wars, and reſumed upon the ceſſion made him of the Higher Palatinate.

§ Fred. Spanheim. p. 380.

own

own way; that the neceſſity of the conjuncture was his only patro- 1631.
neſs, ſince no other man could collect an army at ſo ſhort a notice, and when the emergency of affairs was ſo very critical. Nevertheleſs, care had been taken, that all competitions and jealouſies ſhould be removed; and that the elector of Bavaria ſhould receive neither affront, neglect, or injury, from him. Be that as it will, Walſtein hearing what part Maximilian had acted with regard to him, grew ſo enraged, that he made no ſecret of his future intentions.

During the continuance of this truce, France, who always caſt a languiſhing eye on the weſtern banks of the Rhine, laid the ground-plot of a new machination againſt Sweden, by drawing the elector of Triers more immediately under her protection; and diſpatched the count de Brullon expreſsly into Germany upon that errand: of which we ſhall ſpeak more diſtinctly, when we come to the ſignature of the treaty itſelf. But as Guſtavus was of a temperament equally prudent and inflammable, of courſe ſhe entered into this act of guardianſhip with wonderful ſlowneſs and timidity; for Richelieu knew the interpoſition to be of a caſt very delicate: ſince if he had ſowered, or ruffled Guſtavus too abruptly, he foreſaw, that the Spaniſh party would have extracted great advantage from ſuch an inadvertency, and kindled up a miſunderſtanding betwixt the two crowns. It ſufficed therefore for the preſent, that the elector publiſhed a memorial* concerning the ceſſation of hoſtilities during the truce, which the Spaniſh troops deſpiſed, and the members of his own chapter rejected.

Richelieu then changed his attack, and tampered, dextrouſly enough, with the city of Straſburg, (a ſort of game, that was played afterwards with more ſucceſs in regard to Briſac;) ſparing no pains to induce the magiſtrates to place themſelves under the protection of France. But an old burgomaſter, who, from principles of good ſenſe, and a true zeal for the welfare of the public, found himſelf more inclinable to embrace the tutelage of Sweden, checked the French emiſſaries very appoſitely,

* The original letter, dated from Hermanſtein (Ehrenbreitſtein) Jan. 14, 163$\frac{1}{2}$, is preſerved in the *Swediſh Intelligencer*. Part ii. 69.

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1631. and begged his fellow-magiſtrates to recollect a ſimilar caſe with reference to the three cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. This remonſtrance confounded the whole project; and for theſe reaſons Guſtavus, thoroughly affected with the preference theſe Straſburgers ſhewed him, always oppoſed a deaf ear to Richelieu, when he beſought him to give his parole of honour, not to enter into Alſatia. The truth is, the French miniſter ſtood in awe of Guſtavus, and wiſely diſſembled a diſguſt, which he had not courage either to explain or vindicate.

About the ſame time, Gonſalvo de Cordoua, who commanded the Spaniſh army in the Palatinat, was ſent ambaſſador to Paris, to make remonſtrances againſt the protection, which Lewis XIII. afforded the proteſtants, whereby the catholic cauſe was greatly injured. But Richelieu reſumed the old tone, and told him, that the preſent war was purely political, and not religious: of courſe all perſons were left at full liberty to embrace that party, which moſt favoured their private inclinations, or conduced moſt to their intereſts. Upon this, Gonſalvo returned thoroughly diſſatisfied, and refuſed a preſent the king offered him, of a ſword richly garniſhed with diamonds *.

We have obſerved before, that the troops under this general's command had been guilty in his abſence of ſeveral infractions contrary to the terms of

* A ridiculous circumſtance once happened to this commander, who had been lieutenant-general to Spinola, and governor of Milan. In the campaign of 1621, it was his intention to poſſeſs a little walled village, in the Palatinat, called Ogerſheim; and of courſe he diſpatched an officer, at the head of a body of troops, upon that errand. On the firſt alarm, nine tenths of the inhabitants removed to Manheim, excepting about twenty inſignificant people, and a poor ſhepherd, who, beſides being a brave fellow, was a perſon of rural feſtivity, and uncommon humour. The ſhepherd in good time faſtened the gates, let down the draw-bridge, and made a wonderful ſhew of reſiſtance. A trumpeter accoſted the town in form; upon which event, the few inhabitants, that remained, made their eſcape through a poſtern gate, and left only the ſhepherd and his ſhepherdeſs big with child. This unaccountable peaſant, in the ſtyle of repreſentative of the garriſon, gave audience from the walls to the military herald, and made his bargain of capitulation inch by inch; contracting at the ſame time for the preſervation of eſtate, and the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion. Let the reader judge what ſurprize the Spaniards felt, when they entered the village; yet the droll preſerved the muſcles of countenance inflexible, and ſome weeks afterwards, when his wife lay in, deſired the great Gonſalvo to be *ſponſor*, which honour the pompous Caſtilian, for the jeſt's ſake, could not decline, and on the contrary ſent her ſome very handſome preſents.—This account, ſaith a veracious hiſtorian, (*F. Spanheim. Mem. d'Electr. Palat.*) might appear to poſterity, to border a little on the romantic kind, if the notoriety of it had not been a circumſtance indiſputable at the time it happened.

the ceſſation agreed on; for Iſabella's 10,000 Walloons had reached the Lower Palatinat by long marches from the Low Countries, having croſſed the Moſelle during the continuance of the truce, and then the combined Spaniſh army ventured to paſs the Rhine near Spires, which the Rhingrave oppoſed very valiantly: but that brave officer miſſed little of being deſtroyed, by paying no regard to the repeated advices given him of the enemy's approach; and if captain Hume, at the head of four troops of horſe, had not reſiſted the united efforts of the whole Spaniſh army for half an hour, matters had taken a turn exceedingly untoward. Which confirms a doctrine, that can be never too much inculcated into military men, that an undue degree of courage, when it borders upon a neglect of danger, is as fatal to the ſervice as downright poltroonery. 1631.

Enraged at ſuch violations of compact, (not only here, but on the ſide of Pappenheim, Maximilian, the electors of Triers and Cologn, the duke of Neuburg, and France itſelf, as ſhall appear immediately) his majeſty returned poſt-haſte to Francfort, and having firſt diſpatched Monro with a body of infantry (for the Rhingrave had only horſe) placed himſelf at the head of a ſmall army, in order to give battle to theſe faithleſs invaders: but the terror of the name of Guſtavus ſoon compelled them to repaſs both the Rhine and Moſelle; nor did they think themſelves in ſafety till they had reached the duchy of Luxemburg.

At length, namely, on the twenty fourth of January, the armiſtice expired, and many attempts were made by Richelieu to protract it eight days longer: but Guſtavus, who had been thoroughly mortified and diſguſted, though he juſtly foreſaw and predicted all its ill conſequences, replied peremptorily, *that he had made that ſacrifice to France, and was too good a politician to venture upon a ſecond experiment of the ſame nature.* Upon this, De Charnacé, De Brezé, and St. Etienne, learned to act a more decent and more cautious part; and when they teized and implored the king to entertain a moment's patience longer, he not only gave them a poſitive refuſal, but told them moreover, that nothing ſhould ever induce him to give up Mentz, Bamberg, and Wurtzburg.

I muſt

1632. *I muſt keep the ferula in my own hands,* continued he, *in order to regulate and chaſtiſe the duplicity of your good eccleſiaſtical friends and allies* *.

The truth was, the French for ſome months paſt had grown very uneaſy at Guſtavus's victories, and being conſcious of a private treaty formed with the elector of Bavaria, propoſed not only a *neutrality*, but an *armiſtice*, and the *continuation* of the armiſtice, by way of feeling his Swediſh majeſty's pulſe, and retarding the rapidity of his conqueſts. At the ſame time, they paved the way to a ſeparate agreement with the elector of Triers, and aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops near Metz, under pretence of ſuppreſſing an inſurrection formed by the duke of Orleans, giving out in the interim clandeſtinely by their emiſſaries, that this force was intended to preſcribe laws to the conqueſts of the Swedes. To retard matters more, care was taken to pay the ſubſidy very ſlowly, and imperfectly: and what confirms the truth of theſe aſſertions yet further, is, that the French court could not conceal its joy, when the news arrived of Guſtavus's death.

The war was now revived with double ſpirit on the part of Sweden, and plans for new operations were diſpatched to Banier, who oppoſed Pappenheim in Weſtphalia, to Horn, who faced Tilly in the diocèſe of Bamberg, to Arnheim and Thurn, who acted againſt Don Baltazar and Taffenbach in Bohemia and Moravia, as alſo the dukes of Mechlenberg and Lunenberg, Todt, Ruthven, duke William of Weymar, and others, who all commanded ſeparate armies. As to the marquis of Hamilton, he was then at Francfort in company with Vane the Engliſh ambaſſador.

About this time it is the cuſtom of the Engliſh hiſtorians, to repreſent Guſtavus as dictating in a very high tone, and maintaining the character of a perſon elated with an extraordinary train of ſucceſſes. Any one may eaſily ſee, that he had real reaſons to alter his ſtyle, without incurring the imputation of vain-glory and haughtineſs; for he plainly diſcovered, that Charles, in ſpite of all the proſperity, that attended the Swediſh arms, had a diffidence, or an inappetency, of engaging himſelf into any treaty, that breathed ſpirit and magnanimity. Upon which unhappy diſinclination Guſtavus touched gently, but feelingly, in his letter, which gave an account of the battle of Leipſic.

* *Le Vaſſor, Tom.* vii. 104.

A part

A part of Vane's inſtructions were not quite palatable to his Swediſh majeſty; for he had orders to conciliate him with the king of Denmark, upon ſome conditions, that were not compatible with the temper of a man ſo jealous of his honour, as the former was known to be. It is true, Vane had commiſſion likewiſe, to enter into ſtricter connexions with Sweden; but either this commiſſion was clogged with private reſtrictions, or the ambaſſador wanted parts and courage to ſeize the proffered opportunity. He was commanded likewiſe to conſult Hamilton previouſly to all difficulties and all emergencies, which was giving an inſight and power to an inferior general, which did not conform itſelf to Guſtavus's doctrine of ſubordination. Vane paid his firſt viſit to that prince at Francfort *, where Guſtavus told him without ceremony, (as Vane's commiſſion related chiefly to the reſtitution of the Palatinat) that he could make no diſtinct anſwer upon the ſubject, till a league was previouſly concluded betwixt him and the elector Palatin, which was to be the baſis of a ſubſequent alliance between Charles and himſelf; to which Vane, who declared he was inveſted with full powers, ſignified an inclination to aſſent. But to that point Guſtavus replied, that as he was tender of promiſing one iota more than he could perform, it would be highly neceſſary to bring France into the ſyſtem: nevertheleſs, without depending upon ſucceſs in that particular, he would at all events diſcharge the duties of a man of honour, and reſerve to himſelf the glory of executing ſomething beyond what he promiſed. Nor was this a piece of ſtate-artifice, or political parade, as time afterwards fully diſcovered †. Upon which, ſays Mr. Guthrie, who (bating ſome few trifling inaccuracies) hath given us the beſt account of this tranſaction, Guſtavus added, "That Charles had been too ſlow 1631.

* We have proved elſewhere, from Vane's own papers, that this meeting was firſt at Wurtzburg.

† In confirmation of this aſſertion, of which many proofs are produced diſperſedly in the courſe of our hiſtory, I ſhall ſubjoin one authority more on the faith of MSS. extracted from a letter of Mr. John Dinely, at the Hague, to Sir Thomas Roe, bearing date Feb. 24, 16$\frac{3}{4}$. "The chancellor (of Sweden) your friend, hath "aſſured her majeſty, (the queen of Bohemia) that "his glorious maſter had never other meaning but to reſtore it (the Palatinat:) no more "hath he," namely Oxenſtiern, who faithfully endeavoured to fill up the outlines of the plan, which Guſtavus left him.

"in

1631. " in ſending him, Vane, and that if he had ſent him *before he had concluded the treaty with France, he would have been at liberty to have fallen upon Bavaria**. The ambaſſador anſwered, I make uſe of the words of his own diſpatch with Charles, " For our coming too late " there, was no fault to be juſtly imputed to us; for had his majeſty of " Sweden demanded reaſonable conditions, the alliance had been concluded: but leagues and buſineſs of ſo great importance could not but have " ſlow motions; yet he beſought his majeſty of Swedeland, to give " him leave to commemorate the proceedings of his maſter towards " him, ſince his majeſty's coming into Germany, viz. That he had " permitted him to make as many levies of his ſubjects as he had de- " ſired; that he had ſince ſent the marquis of Hamilton to him with " a royal aſſiſtance, and ſo opportunely, as it could not be denied, but " that the marquis landed his army at a ſeaſonable time, to the amuſe- " ment of the emperor and the encouragement of the confederate pro- " teſtant princes, as it appeared by the effects, that followed thereupon, " by the ſpeedy uniting of their arms under his command. And " that though his Swediſh majeſty, next under God, was the only im- " mediate inſtrument, to whom the glory of this great revolution " was to be attributed; yet it could not be denied, but that the ſubjects " of Great-Britain had done him great and remarkable ſervice both in " theſe and his former wars, and that theſe were neither to be concealed " nor forgotten, nor the real aſſiſtance now ſent unto him.

" His majeſty of Sweden acknowledged, that the king of Great- " Britain had proceeded with him as a friend; that he was a wiſe and " virtuous prince; and that none could wiſh more proſperity to his per- " ſon and affairs than he did; and that he would do his beſt to aſſiſt " him, in the buſineſs of the Palatinat; but he would then have him

* Here muſt be ſome miſtake, for no new treaty had been made with France ſince that of Bernwalt, Jan. 13, $16\frac{3}{11}$; ſo that the king could only mean, that during the exiſtence of the truce, and upon ſuppoſition it tended to a general pacification, he was not at liberty to attack Bavaria, which enjoyed the Upper Palatinat; nor could Guſtavus be ſuppoſed to allude to the treaty France had concluded with Bavaria, May 8, 1631, ſince the moment the truce expired, he turned his arms againſt the elector.

" follow

" follow his advice; that he had too long depended upon the Spaniſh 1631.
" treaty, which was a fault, and had prejudiced us much; and that
" nothing was to be expected from them but parols. The ambaſſador
" replied, If that were a fault, it behoved him to be wary in his ne-
" gotiation, not to make an alliance, that might be diſadvantageous to
" his maſter, either in honour or judgment; and that whatſoever
" ſhould be the event, he doubted not but that God would bleſs both
" his councils and his actions. His majeſty of Sweden replied, That
" for the preſent he could not ſtipulate to make war with Bavaria,
" though he intended not to let him eſcape; for that it could not be
" but of great advantage, if he could ſecure the catholics, which he
" was in a fair way to effect; for, according to his articles delivered
" unto *Charnaſſay**, the electors of Triers and Cologn had accepted of
" the neutrality. The ambaſſador aſked, Whether his majeſty had re-
" ceived any act of their own? He ſaid no; but the marquis of *Preſſay* †
" had aſſured him thereof; that he had not yet heard of Bavaria, nei-
" ther could he yet ſay any thing thereunto, until either Charnaſſay
" or Horn, whom he had ſent into France, were returned.

" His majeſty of Sweden then ſaid, He would make him two pro-
" poſitions; which were, he would either oblige himſelf to reſtore to
" the king of Bohemia what the Spaniard held, and treat with France
" and Bavaria for the reſtitution of what he poſſeſſes; which if he
" would not reſtore, he would then undertake a war with him, ſo the
" king would enter into an alliance with him againſt the Spaniards,
" if he ſhould attack him in any of his dominions.

" Guſtavus at the ſame time added, That in order to do things effec-
" tually, he expected Charles to furniſh twelve thouſand men, and his
" contingency of troops, and twenty five thouſand pounds a month in
" money to maintain them. Thoſe were very high demands, and Vane
" was appointed to treat further with Horn, *the chancellor of Sweden* ‡:

* De Charnacé.

† De Brezé.

‡ Horn was a Swediſh general, Oxenſtiern was chancellor of Sweden; but as Horn made the treaty of Bernwalt, and was ſent afterwards ambaſſador to Metz, he is miſtaken for a civil officer.

1631. "But when the conferences opened, the Swedish minister made the following high demands.

"1. That the Palsgrave should hold his country as a donative of the king of Sweden.

"2. That he should make no martial levies without the Swedes consent.

"3. That during this war he should furnish the Swedes with so many thousand men upon his own pay.

"4. That two of his chiefest towns should stand cautionaries for the performing of covenants.

"5. That he should make no league nor article with any other prince without the Swedes consent.

"Those proposals were thought by Vane to be absurd, and as haughty as the terms that had been proposed to the king of Bohemia by the emperor himself. Hamilton, who was present at all the conferences, had made him sensible of the reluctance, which Gustavus had to suffer the British auxiliaries to march into the Palatinate, or into any of the territories that were well-affectioned to the king of Bohemia. Charles and the king of Bohemia were sensible of the same thing, and from the haughty manner, in which Gustavus treated, they more than suspected that he intended to make himself master of Germany, or at least to give law to all the princes of the empire. But to bring matters to an issue, Vane proposed, that Hamilton should have the compliment of Swedish soldiers, that had been first stipulated him; that they should be paid with English money, and augmented with a new body of troops from Great-Britain, so as to make a strong army, which Hamilton was to lead into the Palatinate. Had Gustavus really meant as disinterestedly for the king of Bohemia as he professed, he would have embraced this proposal; but, instead of that, he treated it with disdain, and ordered the negotiation to be broken off."

Thus far Mr. Guthrie: but as to the latter part of his assertions, care has been taken to make a proper reply to them elsewhere. Indeed his Britannic majesty mistook his interests in entering into any negotiations

ations about the Palatinate with the house of Austria: for in the first 1631.
place, the court of Vienna had no intentions ever to come to an accommodation; and in the second place, the hereditary dominions of the elector had been doled out in so many parcels, that it was hardly possible to repossess them by an act of resumption, and then restore them to their ancient owner. The tree was felled; the elector of Bavaria had seized the timber-part thereof, and every other catholic neighbour fagotted up as much of the branches, as he could ransack together, for his own use. So that the emperor (especially as Gustavus was now powerful in Germany) could not possibly *redemand* with decency *what* he had *given*, or *recall* with any appearance of justice what he had *sold*. Therefore, saith Spanheim *, who wrote from his heart upon this subject, and to whom I am indebted for the idea of the picture I am now delineating, the court of London judged extremely ill, in hoping to wrest the Palatinate from so many interested persons by remonstrances or embassies; it being alike ridiculous to attempt to confront a musquet ball in a coat of armour composed of parchment records.

On the other hand, the catholic princes pretended only, in a sort of ironical way, to have their alternative of eighty years in the church-possessions: and the Imperial ministry suggested, (in imitation of what was once said to Metellus) that the voice of law could not be heard amongst the clashing of arms, and that there was no antidote against the will of a Cæsar.

I have seen some other accounts, which inform us, that Vane pressed Gustavus somewhat abruptly and indelicately on the subject of the restitution of the Palatinate, telling him in so many words, that he had annexed his royal promise to the completion of that event; which assumption Vane proved oddly enough: "For, Sire, said he, you declared "positively, on your first entrance into Germany, that you would re-"instate all the oppressed and injured protestant princes, of whom "the elector Palatin is first, not only in dignity, but in misfortunes." This logic of imputation was built upon the interpretative authority of a *manifesto* only; and a *manifesto*, in general, is a sort of rhetorical

* Mem. d'Elect. Palat. p. 301.

1631. noſegay, which kings now and then, for variety ſake, preſent the public with, (whilſt enterprize, invaſion, and bloodſhed, are privately concealed behind the ſcene) in order to amuſe their fellow-creatures, or miſlead them, or lull them into a tranquil inattention: for this anthology in politics is the

—— Lucus & ara Dianæ,
Et properantis aquæ per amœnos ambitus agros.

Nevertheleſs Guſtavus had no duplicity upon this occaſion *; and as he both loved and pitied the unfortunate prince in queſtion, allowed Vane's concluſion to be honeſtly, though not logically, deducible; and promiſed to effect the reſtitution of the Palatinate, upon condition his Britannic majeſty would maintain an army in Germany, of 8000 foot and 3000 horſe; to which the ambaſſador replied, very indiſcreetly, "That "his maſter did not chuſe to make a purchaſe at a higher price than the "thing was worth."

Yet Guſtavus ſtill maintained a ſecret affection for the unfortunate elector, and ſolicited the French king to co-operate with him in reſtoring an oppreſſed and proſcribed prince to his dominions, whoſe anceſtors had ſupported Henry IV. againſt the enemies of the houſe of Bourbon: propoſing likewiſe, at the ſame time, *that* notable expedient of augmenting the *number* of the electoral college; which maſterly ſtroke of politics was thought ſo neceſſary, as to be carried afterwards into execution at the congreſs of Munſter. But Louis durſt not preſume to advance a ſingle ſtep, being diſmayed by the effects of the clandeſtine treaty, which his miniſter had thought fit to conclude with the duke of Bavaria. Things therefore being thus circumſtanced, Guſtavus took Frederic upon his own hands, and made his friends a promiſe of re-inſtating him, upon condition he indulged his Lutheran ſubjects in the free exerciſe of their religion, and conſidered himſelf as attached and obliged only to the crown of Sweden: giving him however to underſtand, at the ſame time, that an affair of this ſort required dexterity

* Compare this paſſage with the note annexed to page 103.

and

and management in him, the king; and that his promise depended eventually upon a variety of circumstances, so that the terms it was conceived in were only general and indefinite; however his majesty was sincerely in earnest, and that sufficed. 1631.

As Sclavata, the king of Bohemia's minister, had long before this time reached Holland, and informed his master, that Gustavus expected to see him with great impatience, Frederic having returned thanks to the states in full council, and requested the continuance of their generous protection to his wife and children, undertook his journey to Francfort forthwith, accompanied by the states general to the gates of the Hague, by the prince of Orange as far as Wesel, and by lord Craven on to Francfort. The Dutch government, at parting, made him a present suitable to his high rank, and the nature of his expedition. An escort of 2500 horse and foot convoyed him to the territories of Hesse Cassel, and the landgrave's troops conducted him to Francfort, where he arrived February the tenth, with a retinue of forty coaches (some were sent by Gustavus in order to do him honour) and seventy domestics on horseback. He saluted the king and queen next morning at Hoechst, (the unfortunate place where Tilly defeated Christian, duke of Brunswic) and returned with them to Francfort the same day, where Gustavus gave him a magnificent entertainment; nay oftentimes allowed him precedency *, under pretence he was a king and elector both †; and he and his consort always addressed their discourse to him with the compellation of *your majesty*; which respect the young landgrave of Darmstadt once omitting, whose father had been no good neighbour to Frederic, the king of Sweden rebuked him with no small degree of asperity ‡. Yet notwithstanding all these affectionate offices, he still took care to retouch the subject we have lately mentioned, and obtained a promise from Frederic, whose mind was strongly prepossessed in favour of Calvinism, to grant free exercise of religion in the Palatinate, to all such as made profession of the opinions of Luther. Yet this prince's joy,

*: Mercure François on l'an 1632; p. 163.
†: Bertius de Bellis Germanicis.
‡: Swedish Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 76.

who

1623. who seemed to be born only to prove unfortunate, was soon diminished by the effects of a disaster, supposed by many to proceed from design; for the castle of Heidelberg*, his own constituted place of residence, and the ancient seat of his predecessors, was suddenly injured by a violent fire, and the fine front thereof entirely destroyed. The Spanish garrison seemed pleased with the misfortune, and stood with folded arms contemplating its ruin. This circumstance was so much the more afflictive to the elector Palatin, as he had performed vast works with respect to the palace or castle of Heidelberg, which any one will soon acknowledge, when he knows the rock, on which the building is erected. He perfected likewise, with immense expence, the fortifications of Manheim, begun by his father Frederic IV.

Gustavus had been vigilant enough the preceding year, to dispatch the chevalier Rache first to Venice, where he succeeded well †, next to Genoa, and then to the thirteen cantons of Switzerland, concerning which embassy we have spoken minutely elsewhere. The emperor set himself earnestly to traverse this negotiation, and wrote to the respective sovereignties of each state, making them protestations and promises in abundance. He caused the archduke Leopold to write another letter in substance the same, and full of politeness and civility ‡; and then deputed Arnoldin, counsellor of state, and first secretary *d'ambassade*, to Walstein; who expedited him directly into Poland, in order to levy the little army of Cossacks formerly mentioned. But the Polanders trembled to think of opposing Gustavus a second time; and though they favoured the Imperial cause greatly in their private inclinations, yet the request was passed by unnoticed. Some few noblemen made a clandestine levy of a company or two, and nothing more. Molani succeeded better, in raising 8000 fresh Croatians, a set of troops Gustavus hated mortally, on account of the ravages and cruelties committed by them; and as they spared nothing, he usually allowed them no quarter, and

* During the war of the succession, in 1693, this structure was entirely destroy'd and the town ruin'd. The very tombs of the electors were not spared; of all which devastations, and of preceding ones, melancholly marks still remain. But the country round it is a terrestrial paradise.

† Historical or Authentic Relation, in Low Dutch, fol. Tom. I. 176.

‡ Mercure Suisse de Fred. Spanheim. p. 22.

the

on the contrary, received none from them. The emperor then finished 1631.
the holidays by confiscating the duchies of Jegerndorf and Troppau, and bestowing them on the prince of Lichtenstein *.

It was now determined, that Pappenheim should act at the head of a flying army of 18,000 men †; and to help forwards this project, the elector of Bavaria lent him 150,000 l.; and as that prince had now made his final political decision with respect to France, De Charnacé and St. Etienne retired from Munich, each desirous to see his master first, each dissatisfied with his negociation, and well prepared to accuse his co-adjutor. In short, these gentlemen of pacification were so enraged with each other, that a challenge had passed between them.

In the next place, the deputies of the elector of Cologn made fresh proposals of accommodation; but Oxenstiern received them with an air of roughness, and proposed conditions to them, that were over hard of digestion. Nevertheless De Pau, ambassador from the states general, met with a favourable audience from the king, who dispatched Oxenstiern immediately to the Hague to facilitate matters, and dispose them to ripen into some perfection.

Mean while new misunderstandings broke forth on the side of Poland, with reference to the truce concluded in 1629, between that kingdom and Sweden; upon which the king deputed Russel, one of his privy-councillors, to be his ambassador, and gave him a letter both to Sigismond and the states of the realm, who received this minister very coldly, till at length the matter was amicably composed by the intervention of the English ambassador ‡: which gave his majesty great ease, for he less feared the interposition of any power than that of Poland; and to convince the public that he omitted no probable negotiation, even at the greatest distance, dispatched an agent to George Ragotzki, prince of Transylvania, in order to create a fresh irruption into Hungary ‖; than which no proceeding, *ad hominem*, could be more justifiable, as the em-

* This is confirmed by the author of the Memoirs of the house of Brandenburg.

† Saggi d'Historia del Pietro Pomo, Lib. ii. p. 55. quarto.

‡ Historical Authentic Relation, in Low Dutch, fol. Tom. ii. p. 2—7, &c.

‖ Ibid. p. 27.

peror,

1631. peror, two years before, had ſent Arnheim with an army into Poland to aſſiſt Sigiſmond againſt the Swedes.

Though the campaign of the year 1631 had laſted (on the ſide of Guſtavus particularly) till the feſtival of Chriſtmas, yet the troops had hardly a common breathing-ſpace allowed them to recover their fatigues, if we except the ſhort fortnight's interval of ceſſation from hoſtilities; for the king actually took the field in February, and Walſtein on his ſide began to make a ſemblance of doing the ſame: for having collected all his officers together, he found his regiments fully completed, and ready to march. The emperor ſent him eighty cannon of immenſe ſize from the arſenal at Vienna, and ſeventeen large pieces were conveyed to him from Breſlau and Lignitz. Couriers paſſed and repaſſed every moment between Bohemia and Auſtria, and Walſtein, who loved to rhodomontade, dropped inſinuations to make people believe, that they brought him money; but the military jokers ſaid (who have a dry laconic ſort of wit peculiar to themſelves) "That they rather "moved too nimbly and too frequently for men employed in that "capacity *."

* Others report the *bon mot* thus, "Qu'il ne falloit pas s'ebahir, s'ils alloyent viſte, parceque "leur charge n'eſtoit pas grande." Mercure François, Tom. xviii. pag. 125. Soldat Suedois, p. 351. *N. B.* At and near this period there is one thing very remarkable; That the famous *Mercure François* and the *Soldat Suedois* both uſe the ſelf-ſame words to the amount of a conſiderable number of pages. Now each work, in the parts relative to the preſent period, made its appearance the ſame year, 1633; yet there are reaſons to conclude, that the *Soldat Suedois* is the inconteſtable original, as it was compoſed by Frederic Spanheim, then profeſſor of theology at Geneva, (one of the beſt hiſtorians of that age) at the requeſt of the Swediſh ambaſſador to the Swiſs cantons, whom I ſuppoſe to be the chevalier de Rache, a perſon of great parts and addreſs; who knew the interior of Guſtavus's affairs almoſt as well as Oxenſtiern himſelf. This circumſtance pays no great honour to that oracle of French hiſtory, the *Mercure*, which, when compared with the German, Engliſh, Italian, and Scottiſh relations, appears to be ſuperficial, defective, and erroneous in numberleſs inſtances. Of courſe it hath been our care to ſelect ſparingly from it, except when it is ſupported with collateral confirmations; and we heartily wiſh, that father Bougéant in his elegant hiſtory (as to ſtyle and method) had made it the *companion* of his reſearches, but not the *guide*. Yet in juſtice we muſt acknowledge, that the judicious Le Barre took greater precautions; for he examined more than twenty times THREE books with his own eyes, and whatever he relates may be depended on with ſafety; whereas Bougéant, in the military, and commonly hiſtorical parts, conſulted only the *Mercure*, Lotichius, and Puffendorf.

Commiſſions

Commiſſions were now iſſued out for levying freſh troops in behalf of 1632.
Sweden, and Chriſtian, the third ſon of Charles, count Palatin of Birkenfeld, being newly created general of horſe, had orders to form an army in the marquiſate of Baden, and the diſtrict round Straſburg, in which town Frederic, margrave of Baden-Dourlach, was attempting to bring a negotiation with the inhabitants into concluſion. A treaty was then ſigned with the deputies of the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg, whom the king reproved with ſome little aſperity, for renouncing the concluſions at Leipſic on the firſt approach of the Imperialiſts. Orders were then given to raiſe a ſecond body of troops in Suabia, where Oſſa commanded in the emperor's behalf, and extend the Swediſh influence to the ſource of the Danube; which put the Switzers into no ſmall conſternation, though the duke de Rohan, and the chevalier de Rache, at length explained away their fears, and kept them eaſy.

And now by the middle of February his majeſty opened the campaign with the ſiege of Creutznach in the Palatinat, a ſmall town defended with one of the ſtrongeſt caſtles, for ſituation, perhaps in Germany. The peaſants had ſo great an affection for the king's ſervice, that they levelled the roads of their own accord for the approach of his army, and procured him conſtant intelligence. The garriſon conſiſted of 600 veteran Germans, Walloons, and Burgundians. The fortifications roſe one above another in ſuch a manner on the lower ſide, that Guſtavus called them (being greatly ſurprized when he contemplated them) *the devil's works* *, and one half-moon in particular he ſurnamed *the devil's head*. For theſe reaſons he made his approach on the other ſide, having ſent to Mentz for ſome new arguments, to perſuade the garriſon to liſten to reaſon, and lodged lieutenant-colonel Duglas all night near the walls, at the head of 300 Scots, who had performed ſo well at the ſtorming of Oppenheim.

Guſtavus took a ſurvey of the caſtle, but approached ſo near, that his brave generals, out of pure reſpect, gave him the honour of precedency. An huge ſtone hurled from the wall miſſed little of putting a

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 77.

1634. depart with their arms. A thousand loads of corn, and five hundred hogsheads of Rhenish wine, were found in the castle. During this siege the king sent for one of his colonels in a great hurry; the officer returned his duty to his sovereign, and said he would wait on him the moment the barber had dismissed him. On his arrival Gustavus told him, with a little tincture of acrimony, *That he would make an excellent cavalier to conduct a campaign against the ladies: whilst you shave, Sir,* said he, *with good fortune I can take a town* *.

About this time, or rather a few days before, the important town of Ulm consented to receive a Swedish garrison of 1200 men, and Sir Patrick Ruthven, the eldest Scottish colonel in rank and service †, was appointed governor, who, by uncommon vigilance, suppressed two conspiracies in their infancy. He was a favourite with his master for different reasons. He always behaved gallantly in the field, and when the king wanted to regale ministers and officers of the adverse party, in order to extract secrets from them in their hours of chearfulness, he sends Ruthven to fight marechal of the bottles and glasses, who could drink immoderately, and preserve his understanding to the last ‡.

The

* Galeazzo Gualdo, p. 82, lib. ii.

† His majesty never liked any general turned of sixty, and when Sir Patrick Ruthven arrived towards that age, he made him governor of Ulm, by way of a reputable fine-cure.

‡ I have a very gallant letter by me from this officer to the earl of Northumberland, who had traduced the reputation of a young gentlewoman, whom Ruthven esteemed, and libelled the whole Scottish kingdom in some poetical invective; but as upon a nearer examination I find this letter to have appeared in print, it may suffice to extract the following passages;

"It is probable your lordship dares do any "thing, but *that* which is *good* and just.—"Think not to bear down these matters by "greatness, or denial;—nor flatter yourself "to pass invisible in your courses, like another "Gyges.—It was never known before, that to "refuse Northumberland's unlawful lust was a "crime for a gentlewoman.—As for me and "my countrymen, know, my lord, that such "*blows*, as come in *rhyme*, are too weak either "to reach or harm us.—Sorry I am, that the "north must now see how long it hath been "mistaken in Northumberland's spirit; and "yet who would not commend your wisdom "in chusing such a safe course, to wrong a *poor* "*man* and a *prisoner*: the *one* of which *cannot*, "and the *other* by nature and quality of the "place *may not*, *right* his own wrong? Where-"fore setting aside the most honourable order "of the garter, and protesting whatsoever is "here said is no ways intended to the nobility "and gentry of England in general;—I do "only in regard of *your* person affirm, that "whatsoever in these *infamous* verses is con-"tained, is *utterly false and untrue*; and that "yourself hath dealt most *dishonourably*, *un-"courtibly* and *basely*; and this I will *ever* main-"tain. If these words sound harshly in your "lordship's ears, blame yourself.—Forgetting

"yourself,

he. The king next commanded his troops to inveſt Bacharach; but when 1623.
the trumpeter ſummoned Paul Bredangle the Spaniſh governor to ſurrender, he made him a preſent of a dollar, and a bottle of that excellent wine, for which the place is ſo famous, returning him many thanks for the honour that was done him. Yet in the event, having loſt the town by ſtorm, he was obliged to capitulate for the caſtle, and duke Bernard allowed him his ſword and horſe. As to the men, they all embraced the Swediſh party, excepting only one company *. The king then publiſhed a programma †, in order to procure free tranſportation of goods to the Eaſter-fair held at Francfort, and exonerated them from duties in thoſe territories, that were occupied by his own troops, taking care, at the ſame time, to ſecure all public roads within the limits of his conqueſts from civil inſpectors and military robbers; and, laſtly, to protect Franconia both from France and the eccleſiaſtical electors, he planned out and fortified a city conformably to his own principles, on the confluence of the Rhine and the Mayne, which he called Guſtavenburg; but the common ſoldiers always named it *The Prieſt's Scourge*, becauſe it gave laws to the three eccleſiaſtical electors, and the neighbouring prelates ‡.

This campaign, one of the greateſt perhaps the world hath ever ſeen, all circumſtances being rightly taken in, and duly conſidered, was opened with immenſe preparations, as times then ſtood, on either ſide; for Guſtavus and his allies produced 100,000 foot and 40000 horſe, and the Imperialiſts and princes of the catholic league were prepared to bring into the field a ſtill greater number of forces.

Walſtein (perhaps from a principle of unwillingneſs) was not yet ready to act, but Tilly had aſſembled his army at Nordlingen, and from thence diſpatched two detachments, one into Suabia, and one into Bohemia. Impatient to be revenged of the diſgrace received at Leipſic,

" yourſelf, you have taught others how to *diſ-*
" *honour* you; and remember, that though *mili-*
" *ty* maketh *difference* of perſons, yet *injury* ac-
" knowledgeth *none*. Patrick Ruthven." [MS. in the Aſhmole collection.]

* Loſchius, Tom. ii. 1010. Hyltmanni Leo Arctous, p. 48.

† Loſchius, ibid. 1016.

‡ Galeazzo Gualdo, lib. ii. 78.

he

1631. he determined to fall upon Horn, who lay encamped at Bamberg, the bishop of which place attended him, who made no ceremony of cloathing himself in armour like a common cavalier.

The Swedish general had taken this town by composition just a month before, and having lodged a sufficient force therein, had his soldiers not indulged too much in the pleasures of a rich and plentiful city, the inhabitants formed a conspiracy, which was debated afterwards with great secrecy in the town hall, and the substance of their resolutions communicated to the garrisons of Forcheim and Cronach, who conveyed privately some bands of armed men to the assistance of the Bambergers. At the point of time agreed, out broke one general insurrection all in an instant, but Horn, who lay encamped not far from the walls, hearing the explosion of musquets and other noises, rushed immediately into the city at the head of a regiment or two, and soon terrified the conspirators into obedience. Yet this brave and good man, who copied his master in every virtue, had such an absolute dominion over his passions, even in the transports of sudden resentment and indignation, that he commanded his troops (who in their fury had killed near twenty inhabitants) to grant full and unconditional quarter to all the citizens; and as the people of better condition had retired to the public market-place in a body, he gave them all their lives (though most of them were then in arms) without terms, and without hesitation. Nor did he allow his soldiers, if we except the college of the Jesuits, which made him no proposals, to plunder a single church or monastery, though the clergy had been particularly active in this conspiracy. All which may still be considered as more extraordinary, since he knew the king disliked the bishop of Bamberg more than any prelate in the whole German empire; but judging well, as was his custom, and coolly in all things, he concluded, that abstinence from bloodshed, and raising a moderate contribution, by way of compensation for past offences, were proceedings much more conducive to his master's service, as well as his honour, than resentment or retaliation could possibly be; and therefore, with great dexterity of good sense, he affected rather to fix the foundations of the crime on the intemperance and negligence of the

Swedish

Swediſh garriſon, which tempted the inhabitants into a rebellion *. 1631.

Tilly approached Bamberg at the head of 16,000 men: Horn had only 10,000 or 12,000. The former, by a ſort of concealed march, advanced near the Swedes before they were well apprized of his motions: nevertheleſs, Horn on the firſt notice made the round of the trenches, for his army lay cantoned within the town, and encamped without, and the entrenchments he began to throw up were of vaſt extent, for Bamberg not being ſurrounded with walls, is called the largeſt village in Germany. He then ordered Bauditzen's regiment to be drawn up as a corps de reſerve in one part of the city; but the lieutenant-colonel miſunderſtanding the commands, that were ſent him, marched directly into the fields, and fell into an ambuſcade. The retreat of this regiment gave the alarm to that of count Solmes, and as the latter was compoſed of new raiſed men, they ſoon gave place to 2000 Imperialiſts, who charged them under the command of Cratz and Farenbach, at the head of the old regiment of Cronenberg's cavalry. Horn had now no reſource remaining, but to retire and ſecure the bridge; but Farenbach's diviſion preſſed ſo hard upon his heels, that they entered the head of the bridge pell-mell with Horn's people, and if he had not valiantly repulſed them in the ſuburbs, with ſuch few ſcattered troops as he could collect together, he had loſt the day; for the old regiments, in whom he placed his only confidence, had not yet formed themſelves in the town, and, fortunately for him, the groſs of the catholic army had a march of half a mile ſtill to perform. Tilly, who had experience enough not to let ſlip ſo ſignal an opportunity, diſpatched in a ſort of gallop the flower of his cavalry, to ſecure the bridge; but Horn had contrived in the ſpace of twenty minutes to blow up a part of it, and barricado the remainder; ſo that the reſidue of the day was employed in a continued diſcharge of muſquetry. However, towards evening the Imperialiſts brought two pieces of cannon to act againſt the extemporary fortifications raiſed by the Swedes, which determined Horn to retire, after he had embarked his baggage, artillery, and ammunition.

* Bertius de Bellis German. p. 154, &c.

1631. munition. Himſelf, at the head of Bauditzen's regiment of horſe, ſecured the rear, and croſſing the Mayne at Eltman, he broke that bridge behind him, as alſo another, which he paſſed at Halſtadt. And then writing the king a very ſenſible letter*, informed him, "how he "had declared previouſly in a council of war, that a naked town of "ſuch vaſt extent was no ways defenſible: and that he had been diſ- "appointed of the re-inforcement which duke William of Weymar "had engaged to bring him, on which he repoſed his greateſt confi- "dence." He then gave an ample narrative of the whole tranſaction, which, bating the ſuppreſſion of a ſlight circumſtance or two, that made againſt him, correſponds exactly with all my other accounts, and of courſe due regard hath been paid to it. The king, who conſidered a well managed retreat to be a better proof of military genius, on ſome occaſions, than even a victory, ſate down highly contented with the prudence and dexterity of his lieutenant-general.

This ſlight diſgrace (which Guſtavus uſed to call a meer *cacade*,) was the firſt the Swediſh army had undergone ſince its entrance into Germany. One may attribute this misfortune to various cauſes, ſuch as the miſunderſtanding the general's meſſage, the cowardice as well as negligence of Solmes's regiment, for not being uſed to labour they had omitted to fortify their ſtation with any entrenchments; whereas, on the contrary, the other ſoldiers in the Swediſh ſervice were accuſtomed to be their own pioneers; and Horn, though otherwiſe an excellent officer, and remarkably cautious, ſeems in this inſtance partly blameable, as he neglected to furniſh himſelf with no better intelligence. Yet, by way of extenuation, many excuſes may be alledged in his behalf. The commanders in thoſe days had the diſpoſal of no money for ſecret ſervices, and the genius and turn of war dealt more in ſurpriſes and ambuſcade than it hath ſince. The Swedes loſt about 600 men in the engagement and the retreat, and about 500 were taken priſoners. Count Solmes received a muſquet-ball in his foot, and died of the fever it occaſioned ſome weeks afterwards.

* Dated from Gelterſheim, March 7, 1631-2.

Tilly

Tilly entered Bamberg the next morning, and diſpatched the cavalry 1631.
of Breda's and d'Eſpagni's regiments, and the whole corps of Croatians, after the fugitives. They deſtroyed and gleaned up a conſiderable number of ſtragglers on the road; but Horn contended hard for every diſputable inch of ground, and made them ſenſible more than once, that he was only marching from Tilly, but not flying from him.

The elector of Bavaria, than whom no body judged better in their own affairs, had private reaſons to be mortified even for this ſucceſs of his general, for he feared leſt an attack of ſo briſk a nature might exaſperate Guſtavus, and induce him to croſs the Danube, and make a viſit to Munich, by way of retaliation. Mean while Horn, impatient of revenging himſelf, had the dexterity to procure intelligence, that a large body of Imperialiſts lay ſecure in their quarters, at half a league from Bamberg. Marching therefore by night, at the head of his cavalry, and conducted by a peaſant through a large wood, he almoſt ruined the two horſe regiments of Plancard and young Merodé, which latter officer was glad to make his eſcape with nothing on but his drawers: four companies avoided the ill fate of their comrades, being ordered forth an hour before to eſcort a convoy. The Croatians diſlodged on the firſt attack, nevertheleſs one part of them threw themſelves into a churchyard, which was walled round, and as Horn had no muſqueteers with him, he found it impoſſible to force them. Upon this Tilly moved forwards with all his army, in order to bring matters to a general battle; but Horn diſpoſed his troops in ſuch a manner, that the wary Walloon did not think proper to engage him *.

His

* This great man, whom Guſtavus uſed to call *his right arm*, kept alive the glory of Sweden till the peace of Münſter; and afterwards his very enemies admired him, for his extraordinary clemency to the perfidious town of Bamberg, and for his tenderneſs and humanity to the Romiſh clergy; inſomuch that the writers of that party give him the character of *merciful, quamvis hæreticæ ſuperſtitionis cultor*. He was an exact diſciplinarian, and kept up the ſtricteſt religion amongſt his troops.

At the ſiege of Biberach near Ulm, 1634, he had been extremely ill uſed by the governor, who had held out till reſiſtance was a ſort of madneſs. All things being prepared for a general ſtorm, the fury of which it was imagined nothing could reſiſt, a trumpeter made an offer of capitulating; but Horn enraged beyond meaſure declared peremptorily, he would ſacrifice the commander and his garriſon to their obſtinacy. In that inſtant a crowd of young women of condition iſſued out of the town; one ſeized

1631. His majesty, impatient of the slight disgrace, which had thus befallen his lieutenant-general, grew impatient to give Tilly the decisive blow.

his stirop, the others fell down on their knees, weeping and filling the air with their lamentations. Horn soon discovered signs of emotion, and changing in a moment the severity of his countenance into a look of graciousness, mildly desired, that one would be pleased to represent the requests of the whole body: upon which a young lady, holder than the rest, took the legation upon her, and told him in that broken interrupted eloquence, which nature inspires upon such occasions, "That they asked for the preservation of their honour, and the lives of their innocent relations." His answer was to this effect: "I say, said he, my indignation, my resentments, my injuries, and revenge, at your feet. Tell that blockhead and brute of a governor, [colonel Strasholt] I respect your tears, as much as I despise his sword. Let him send a trumpetor to me, and receive conditions. Heaven knows, I thankfully embrace the alternative of saving the lives of the innocent instead of massacring an herd of barbarian soldiers." [Bertius de Bellis Germanicis, p. 558. &c.]—Nevertheless he disarmed the garrison, and would not allow it to march out with any one mark of military honour.

Benedictions were poured upon him in abundance, and it is probable, the fair sex made this effort upon his resolution, as it was well known he had married Oxenstiern's daughter, one of the most beautiful and virtuous women in Sweden, and that he and his wife had been a pattern of conjugal constancy and affection. He lost this excellent creature, and two children, (who all died of the plague) in the year 1631, and, what is more remarkable, held her in his arms for several hours till the very moment in which she expired. He then transported her body to Sweden in a silver coffin, and, though a young man, never forgot her so far as to venture upon second nuptials. [Monro's Exped. Part ii. 29.]

He then pushed the Swedish arms as far as the town of Constance, the siege of which did him great honour; but never shewed himself a greater man, than at the council of war preceding the fatal battle of Nordlingen, 1634: And though the duke of Weymar, in a transport of youthful rage, dropt some insinuations, which proved he did not then distinguish between calmness and courage in a brother-general, yet Horn neither gave him an unkind look, nor a severe answer, but submitted patiently to the opinions of the younger and more impetuous officers, behaved like a lion in the day of action, led his men on to fifteen several attacks, in order to possess three half moons in the enemy's retrenchments, stayed upon the field almost till the last man, and in cooperation with Cratz gave the Swedish army a decent retreat, which otherwise must have been massacred without redemption. This generous conduct pierced duke Bernard to the very soul: for, after the battle was over, he tore his hair and beat his breast, like a person distracted: "I, "said he, am the ignorant soldier, and Horn is "the wise man.—Where is the brave and experienced camp-master general?—Alas, he is a "prisoner, he is a prisoner!—and fortune hath "cruelly reserved me, to be walking about the "world in full liberty."

The Imperialists carried Horn directly to the king of Hungary's tent, where the cardinal infant then was. He politely made an offer to kneel and kiss their hands; they both raised him, and told him, they would accept the mark of his esteem, if he would perform the compliment standing. The king said he could not but congratulate himself upon overcoming, by any accident, the bravest and best man in the Swedish service: to which the general modestly replied, That fortune had been kind to him in the midst of her severity, by consigning him into such generous hands. He then retired to a tent appropriated for him, where the principal Imperial commanders paid him a visit of ceremony. Yet in spite of these civilities, the house of Austria knew his merit too well to release him on a sudden, but kept him prisoner upon parole *for eight years only*. He was at length exchanged against

not but that a digreſſion of ſuch a nature was at this time diſagreeable 1631.
to him: for having embarked his artillery on the Rhine, he had fixed his thoughts upon beſieging Cologn, a place at that time meanly fortified and thinly garriſoned, but abounding in wealth, inaſmuch as the whole nobility and gentry round had there depoſited all their riches and valuable moveables *. The king was piqued likewiſe at the elector's † conduct, who had uſed all colluſions with him in the completion of a treaty lately propoſed between them ‡: which indeed was not unlikely to happen; for that prelate, beſides being ſtrongly attached to his brother the duke of Bavaria, poſſeſſed with him the arts of diſſimulation, ſagacity, and intrigue, in a high degree. Of courſe, he had negotiated more or leſs with Guſtavus ever ſince he advanced into Franconia; yet at the ſame time contrived the embaſſy, which the biſhop of Wurtzburg undertook to execute in France. No man was more zealous than he in promoting the edict of reſtitution, yet after the battle of Leipſic it was cuſtomary for him to ſay, "How inconſiſtent is *that* Imperial decree, "which purpoſes to recover cloyſters at the expence of biſhopricks?"

againſt John de Wert, whom the French had taken. Horn went directly to Paris, to return the king thanks, who treated him moſt magnificently, and made him a preſent of a ſword ſet with diamonds, valued at 4000l.

A genius like Horn could not live idle during a long impriſonment, for he compoſed a *treatiſe* in his ſolitude *on the duties of a complete and perfect general.* [Schefferi Memorab. Suecicæ Gentis, p. 49.] I had once hopes of procuring a tranſcript of this MS. which, whenever it chances to be publiſhed, (if the MS. mentioned to me proves the ſame, for it was only ſaid by a German poſſeſſor, that it was written by one of Guſtavus's principal generals) may prove the moſt ſcientifical book in the art military.

Had Oxenſtiern liſtened to this commander's advice, who flew to him at Francfort on the occaſion, it is probable the Swedes had not loſt the alliance of the elector of Saxony; for that prince could not bear, that the duke de Weymar (deſcended from the right Saxon line, which Charles V. had diſplaced) ſhould be a general in chief, and preſcribe laws to him.

I ſhall obſerve, laſtly, that it was always Horn's cuſtom to obſerve the countenance of his men before an engagement, thoſe near him with his naked eye, and thoſe more remote by the help of a pocket-glaſs: and if he diſcovered any marks of irreſolution in their looks, he always marched them up briſkly againſt the enemy; alledging for a reaſon, that this manœuvre gave a flow to their ſpirits, and infuſed into them a certain idea of ſuperiority; a practice the late earl of Peterborough always copied in his Spaniſh campaigns, (as he himſelf aſſured me) and from the ſame motive.

* Brachelii Hiſt. noſtr. temporum, 277.

† Ferdinand, biſhop of Paderborn.

‡ The plan of it is ſtill preſerved. It conſiſted of eleven articles; in ſome of which great care is taken of the proteſtant intereſts.

1631. In a word, he was the firſt man, who developed Pappenheim's genius, and that alone ſufficeth to demonſtrate his diſcernment.

Yet Guſtavus now, contrary to his original intentions, was obliged to ſpare him: in ſpite therefore of wintry torrents and miry roads, he marched from Francfort to Aſchaffenberg, and at length joined Horn at Gelderſheim, where the combined armies amounted to 30,000 effective ſoldiers; yet expecting ſtill freſh re-inforcements from the ſeveral bodies of men, that acted under Banier and others, he made a viſit to Wurtzburg, in company with the elector Palatin, and returned next morning to Ritzingen *, where he had eſtabliſhed the general rendevous of all his troops, that lay cantoned in that neighbourhood.

Tilly alarmed at theſe denunciations of violent war, and apprized likewiſe, that Walſtein was determined to ſacrifice him, and that his maſter, the elector of Bavaria, was much diſſatisfied with his late enterprize, made the beſt retreat he could through the Palatinat, draining all the garriſons as he paſſed along, in order to cover the frontiers of Bavaria, with the whole force he could poſſibly collect. Guſtavus, on the other hand, apprehenſive that Walſtein might be obliged, contrary to his inclination and intentions, to form a junction with Tilly's army, determined to put the latter out of all power of reſiſtance as ſoon as poſſible; and the rather, becauſe Tilly began to diſtruſt his men and his own fortune. So that this ſlight misfortune, which had befallen Horn, compelled the king not only to make a forced march and ſuccour his general, but induced him likewiſe, by imperceptible degrees, to make an irruption into Bavaria ſomewhat ſooner than he firſt intended, and broke the projects he had formed of beſieging Cologn, inveſting Heidelberg, and purging the Lower Palatinat of all the Spaniſh forces. It remained therefore only for him to conſign the army, which was to act on the High Rhine, to Chriſtian count Palatin of Birkenfelt, and duke Bernard of Saxe-Weymar; but theſe two officers hurt the common cauſe much by their

* The biſhop of Wurtzburg, five years before, ſeized this town and ſignory, during the minority of the margrave of Anſpach: and that prelate and his ſucceſſors have had the dexterity to retain them ever ſince.

miſunder-

misunderstandings and jealousies; insomuch that Oxenstiern, supreme di- 1631.
rector in those parts, positively declared, that it was highly expedient to entrust great military employs to men of more moderate rank and parentage; since princes and persons of very noble extract, overlooking reproof, and considering themselves as a sort of beings placed beyond the reach of soldier-like enquiries, executed just so much of the orders given them, as suited their own humours and their own interests.

Maximilian perceiving the tempest to direct its course against Bavaria, had once a mind to dispatch his orders to Tilly, and compel him to retire into Bohemia or Austria, and consequently draw the war after him into the hereditary dominions. This would certainly have proved his best policy; for Walstein, upon resuming the command, must then have acted vigorously and in earnest. But the elector wanted courage, or quickness of determination, (though far from being deficient in either respect) to make this masterly diversion, conscious of being himself the firebrand, that had kindled up all this dreadful blaze of war, and fearing to dismantle his own frontiers, and leave them naked to the revenge of the protestants, who considered him as the prime object of exemplary punishment. Ferdinand too, who had reasons to be disobliged with Bavarian duplicity, was perhaps not displeased to see Walstein lie by, and have the power to give his troops a breathing space of refreshment: and Walstein, on the other hand, was not dissatisfied to behold the two men he mortally hated, pressed too hard by a victorious monarch. He therefore positively refused to join Tilly, under pretext, that his army was not yet in condition to take the field, and alledging, by way of excuse, that Gustavus would harass out and consume the Imperial forces, whose duty it was to contest the passage of so many disputable rivers, as protect Bavaria on that side:——and indeed few countries in Europe are better fortified with running waters, than the electorate is in those parts, through which Gustavus was obliged to make his irruption.

Thus his majesty pursued Tilly step by step, and succeeded him more times than once in the same bed, at the distance only of four and twenty hours. The city of Nurenberg, which had been always generously

true

1632. true to the proteſtant cauſe, received him with open arms †, entertained him ſumptuouſly, and preſented him with a pair of ſilver globes of a conſiderable ſize, which taught him to carry on the war, not ſo much in a geographical ſenſe, (for there the king wanted no lights) as in a military one, for their inſides were replenished to the full with new-coined ducats; and as the Germans always love the *alluſive* and *emblematical*, the concealed meaning of the preſent was, that the terreſtrial globe implied conqueſt on earth, and the celeſtial one a crown of glory hereafter in heaven: which conception was not unworthy of the very beſt Italian poets.

As the Imperialiſts had it in their power to have taken Nurenberg by ſtorm or ſiege, it was thought a great omiſſion in them to leave a town of ſuch wealth and conſequence, open and defenceleſs, to the king of Sweden; but the truth of the caſe ſtood thus: Wallſtein was too far off, and wanted beſides to embroil matters in that part of the empire; and the elector and Tilly were ſo alarmed, that they could not ſpare a ſingle man from the defence of Bavaria.

Wilſburg caſtle ſtood directly in his majeſty's way. It was ſo ſituated, had he been fortunate enough to have conquered it, as to have been highly ſerviceable, not only to the Swedes, but all the proteſtant powers in the circle of Franconia. For theſe reaſons the elector, ſome weeks before, had commanded Tilly to ſecure this ſtrong paſs and fortreſs, which he eaſily effected by terrifying the lawful owner, the margraveſs of Anſpach, and her children, who maintained it only with a few ſoldiers and their own domeſtics. The king, in the moſt cautious and beſt-guarded terms, demanded this place in behalf of its natural and legal poſſeſſor; and aſſured the governor, he might hope for the moſt punctual good uſage, that could be imagined, with regard to his father's lands and caſtle, which lay juſt by. But no arguments could prevail on a young military enthuſiaſt of the name of Pappenheim, and only ſon to that general *. He very reſpectfully ſent his majeſty word,

† Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation, in Low Dutch, Tom. ii. p. 59.

* Though moſt hiſtorians call this young man Pappenheim's ſon, yet they have not been aware

word, *That the ruins of Wilsburg-castle should be his monument.* Gustavus believed him on his father's account, and for the first time took the answer of the governor of a town in part of payment. 1631.

Banier, during this retardment of two days, invested Neuburg, the residence of the duke, who bears that title; but having summoned the commander and received a positive refusal, he marched away without loss of time. Gustavus made himself very merry with the conduct of his general, and asked him, *if he thought to take a city with a paltry epistle* *? Nevertheless the town was soon afterwards evacuated voluntarily by Tilly's troops. His majesty had some reasons to be afflicted, (for he was not really angry) at Banier's disappointment; (who in truth was not strong enough to besiege Neuburg in form, nor was there time to spare) because the possession of it, at that juncture, would have given free entrance into Bavaria, and excused the passage of the Lech.

But as the sharpness of this winter, which happened to be uncommonly severe, gave no check to the operations of war, so of course it put no stop to the briskness of negotiating and intriguing. Cardinal Pasman, to whom Walstein was nearly related by marriage, crossed the Alps to make a second effort in Italy, charged with an abundant pacquet of invectives, and prepared to harangue with infinite volubility on the stupendous progresses of our protestant hero, who (to use the orator's own words) was determined to extirpate the whole catholic religion, tear up the very foundation of the sacred see, and invade Italy itself in the character of another Attila. It was suggested likewise,

* There is a certain difficulty in chronology: for Pappenheim's first wife, Ludomilla countess of Colorath, brought him only one child, named Wolf-gang Adam, and he was born in 1618. (By his second wife, Anna Elizabetha countess of Oebingen, he had no offspring.) So that by this account the young man, here mentioned, could be little more than thirteen years old: which makes me suspect, that the person in question was a nephew of the general. And that there lurks some concealed mistake, is plain; because other historians call him young Tilly, whereas that commander was never married.

Pappenheim's son, in the year 1647, was shot through the arm and heart in a duel, by general Goltz, whom he challenged at Coloredo's table, for speaking disrespectfully of his friend, lieutenant-major-general Sperreuter. Coloredo placed guards at the town-gates, to prevent any ill consequence, (for no duel could be fought in a camp, or where the commander in chief resided) but the combatants conveyed themselves down the ramparts, and sent their horses privately thro the fields. Christopher count Walstein, and colonel Schevulisch, were their seconds. Wassenbergii Florus Germ. p. 800.

* Swedish Intelligencer, Part ii. 140.

that

1631. that the king of Spain had neglected Italy, the Low Countries, and both the Indies, in order to support the catholic religion; ſo that the ſubverſion thereof (in caſe ſuch an unfortunate event ſhould ever take place) muſt be attributed only to the blindneſs and inattention of Chriſt's vicegerent *. Under this ambaſſador extraordinary acted likewiſe, as permanent ambaſſador, the duke de Savelli, diſpatched by the emperor on the ſame errand, and fulfilling now Guſtavus's prediction of becoming the ſlaſhed doublet better than the cuiraſs. With both theſe co-operated vigorouſly the Spaniſh miniſter; and Borgia, who, if I miſtake not, was then cardinal-ſecretary, gave them all the aſſiſtance, that lay in his power; for the court of Madrid had lately purchaſed his friendſhip, by beſtowing on him the archbiſhoprick of Seville, a ſlight refreſhment of gratitude, which amounted to ſomething more than 30,000 l. a year. Eleven Spaniſh and Italian cardinals attended the Auſtrian ambaſſadors to the Vatican on the day of audience, but the pope would not allow them to be preſent: and after a full diſcuſſion of arguments on either ſide, it appeared, that the opinions of the conclave were divided, which enraged the Spaniſh faction to ſuch a degree, that Paſman took the liberty to give vent to his paſſions, in an oration equally furious and unguarded. The pope, who was ſecretly inclinable to the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion, felt himſelf hurt to hear his conduct ſo ſeverely ſcrutinized in public aſſembly by a cardinal, and told Paſman in the way of reply, "that the emperor fairly merited all the difficulties, that had be-
"fallen him, having waſted both his treaſures and his troops by car-
"rying an unjuſt war into Italy: otherwiſe he might have chaſtiſed
"Guſtavus at his own leiſure, and upon his own terms. That ſtories
"of Alarics and Attilas might ſerve very well to embelliſh a romance;
"and as for the irruptions of Goths and Vandals, without going back
"to Procopius and other ancient hiſtorians, he could ſuggeſt an in-
"ſtance of freſher date to the houſe of Auſtria, which happened on-
"ly in the preceding century; during the fury of which, all Italy was
"deſolated, and Rome itſelf ſacked and plundered. He obſerved like-

* Chemnitz, Tom. i. 243.

wiſe,

" wiſe, that the proceſſions of Charles V. in Spain, (where liberty was 1631.
" the pretext, whilſt the knife was held to his throat,) had added ſo-
" lemn mockery to determined injuſtice, and convinced mankind, that
" ambition paſſed precipitately over all bounds, and that the barbarians
" of the north were not the only enemies of Chriſt's church *, ...
" That for his own part, he knew his duty, and took care to
" perform it; and for theſe reaſons did not greatly reliſh any invectives
" againſt his conduct and government; and added laſtly, which ap-
" pears to be a very extraordinary effort of indignation, That the
" proteſtant Viſigoth (to carry on Paſman's alluſion) ſhewed leſs ſpirit
" of perſecution than the catholic Ceſar, ſince the wars of Guſtavus
" affected neither the conſciences of men, nor the altars of the Supreme
" Being; and that fewer outrages, and acts of rapine and cruelty,
" had been committed ſince the battle of Leipſic, than had been per-
" petrated in Italy, at and after the ſiege of Mantua. Thence returning
" to his own conduct, he remarked briefly, That to traduce his
" adminiſtration was eaſy; to arraign, and convict it, extremely dif-
" ficult."

The holy father having thus diſburthened his mind, by giving vent to his private opinions, frankly made an offer of ſome pecuniary aſſiſtances to the emperor, much indeed inferior to what the court of Vienna expected. However he excuſed himſelf by an allegation of the enormous expences, which the Mantuan war had thrown him into; and this being too true, the Imperial party made no attempts to invalidate his aſſertion. Nevertheleſs, for decency's ſake, he thought fit to make up the deficiency of money by ſpiritual bounty, and of courſe appointed an univerſal jubilé; made a proceſſion in perſon to the churches of St. Peter, and St. John de Lateran, and publiſhed a brief, wherein he exhorted all catholic princes to extirpate hereſy, and unite in the bond of friendſhip, againſt the common enemy. But the Imperial deputies declared roundly, that this ſort of paper-credit would neither wage war, nor pay the ſoldiery †.

* Fr. Spanheim, 342. † Ibid. 344.

1631. Antony baron de Rabata, governor of Gradiſca, counſellor and chamberlain to the emperor, had been diſpatched to the princes and republics of Italy, on the ſame errand, and under the patronage of Vienna and Madrid: but the doge and ſenate of Venice gave him fine ſpeeches inſtead of ſubſidies, alledging, as the pope had urged before, "that the "Mantuan war had entirely diſcompoſed the ſtate of their finances; "ſo that the two goddeſſes of the Megarenſians, which then pre"ſided in the Venetian government, namely, *Poverty* and *Impoſſibi*"*lity*, reſtrained them abſolutely from imparting any ſupplies to his "Imperial majeſty." The concealed truth was, the republic had entered into good intelligence with Guſtavus ſome months before. See p. 182 *. The common-wealths of Genoa and Lucca held the ſame language: nevertheleſs the great duke of Tuſcany (allured with the hopes of being created king of Etruria †) made a promiſe of actual aſſiſtances, proportionable at leaſt to his circumſtances, though perhaps not adequate to the neceſſities of his friends; and the duke of Modena engaged likewiſe to ſend ſome troops, or conduct them himſelf. But when Rabata made his entrance into Mantua, the populace roſe with an intention to murder him. The duke compoſed the tumult with great moderation, and pointing in dumb ſhow to the ruins occaſioned by the laſt ſiege, gave the ambaſſador to underſtand, that all he could hope for was to retreat in ſafety.

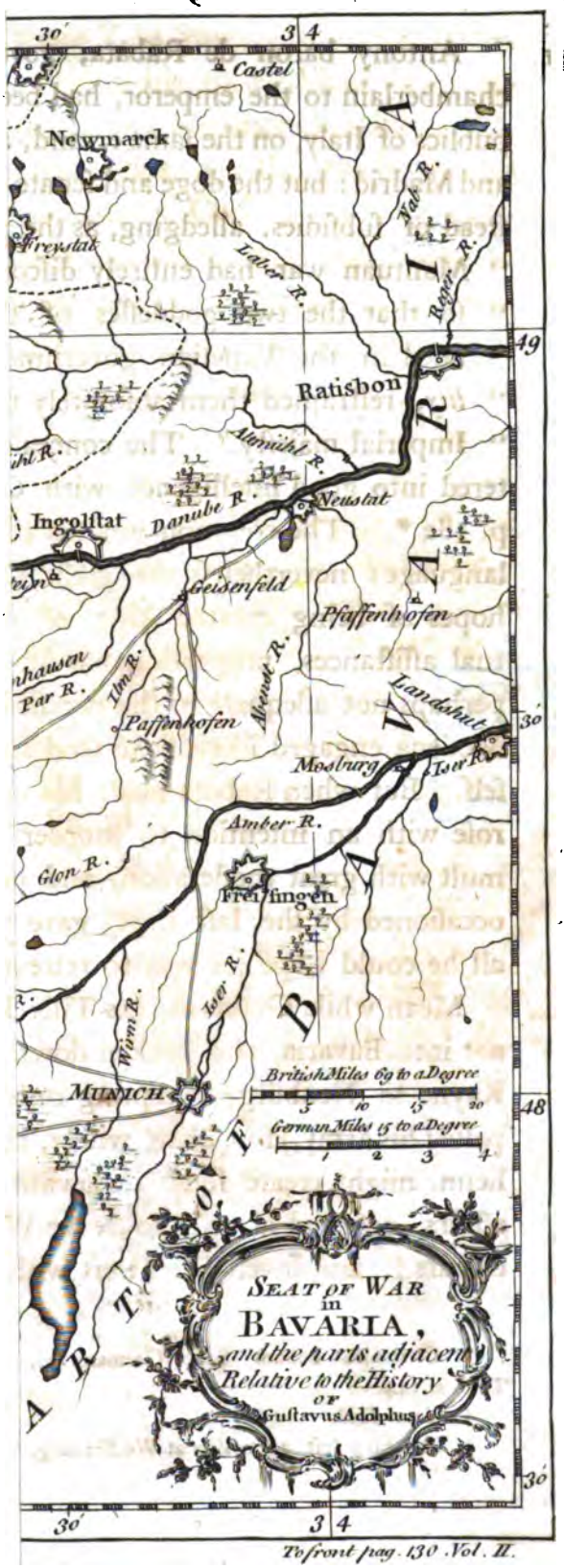
Mean while Guſtavus, (as Tilly had retired from the Upper Palatinat into Bavaria, and broken down all the bridges on the Danube from Rayne to Neuburg, excepting only that of Donawert, over which he paſſed his army,) foreſeeing wiſely, that a young enthuſiaſt, like Pappenheim, might create ſome untoward retardment in the progreſs of his affairs, reſolved at once to leave Wilſburg-caſtle to the chance of accidents ‡, and inveſt Donawert with all poſſible expedition, as Tilly was

* Chemnitii Bellum Sueco-Germanicum, Tom. i. 244.

† Idem. Ibid.

‡ The king left a garriſon at Weiſſenburg, (which ſtands about a mile from Wilſburg) under the command of colonel Sperreüter, to prevent young Pappenheim's incurſions.

then



To front pag. 130 Vol. II.

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then labouring to erect a formidable fortification on a little hill near 1631.
the town. So that if by an extraordinary effort of diſpatch, he had not prevented this work from advancing to any tolerable degree of perfection, it is probable, in caſe of receiving a repulſe, he muſt have marched ſeventy miles to Ulm, (no road being paſſable for the main army, at that ſeaſon, but by way of Nordlingen) in order to have croſſed the Danube at the place firſt mentioned. Donawert therefore was of great conſequence to the king, not barely in point of proximity, but as this paſſage hath ever been conſidered as the key of admiſſion into that part of Suabia, which leads to Bavaria, acroſs the Lech. Of courſe, having reviewed his army, and received duke William of Weymar's reinforcement, he advanced thirty miles, from Wilſburg to Donawert, in a day and a half, and contrived to take the town and cloyſter of Rayſerſheim, a rich abby of Ciſtertians, as he paſſed along.

Rodolphus, duke of Sax-Lauenberg, (the ſame who had reſcued Tilly at the battle of Leipſic) commanded the garriſon then in Donawert, which conſiſted of 1200 regular foot, a body of train-bands, and ſome companies of Cronenberg's dragoons. His majeſty having made himſelf maſter of an important outwork, to the north-eaſt, from whence the defendants retired into the town by means of a concealed gallery, diſpatched a trumpeter to ſummon the governor to capitulate, who returned only this ſhort anſwer, "That the king, "better than any perſon living, knew the duty of a ſet of men, "who had nothing to rely on but honour and the point of the ſword: "and that he had no tribute to pay his majeſty except in gun-"powder *." Upon this, both parties performed their reſpective buſineſs with great earneſtneſs. The garriſon made a very furious ſally, and one company of Cronenberg's men penetrated half through the Swediſh lines. In repulſing this ſally, the commanding officer (who was a Scotſman) behaved ill, but Guſtavus pardoned him at the inter-

* Swed. Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 135—138. Chemnitz. Tom. i. 254.

1632. ceſſion of his countrymen, having firſt degraded him. The battery conſiſting of twenty huge pieces of cannon, which the king raiſed on the north-eaſt ſide, only ſheered the bridge ſideways, without performing ſuch execution as was firſt expected; which two circumſtances induced him, at Hepburn's ſuggeſtion, to conſider the ſituation of the town with freſh attention: and obſerving there lay an angle of ground to the weſtward, formed by the influx of the Wernitz into the Danube, which angle commanded the bridge, which croſſed the latter river, and leads to Bavaria, (for Donawert ſtands on the northern bank;) he, without delay, gave Hepburn orders to march his own brigade five miles up the Wernitz, where lay the bridge of Haſfort, and then deſcending along the oppoſite ſhore, to poſt his men in the angle of confluence after ſuch a manner, as to command the Danube-bridge by his field-pieces, and even his muſquetry; which poſition made it difficult for the beſieged either to eſcape or receive ſuccours. Hepburn, who took with him lord Craven, Maſham, and all the Engliſh volunteers, conducted his men ſilently to the place appointed, and lodged them a little after midnight along the garden-walls, and ditches, and hedges, that flanked the paſſage acroſs the river. Upon which the governor, perceiving himſelf inveſted on every ſide the town, diſcontented and deſirous to capitulate, and Tilly at the ſame time unable to raiſe the ſiege, himſelf not ſatisfied with the thoughts of ſurrendering upon diſhonourable terms, conceived a ſudden reſolution (as the breach to the north-eaſt was now rendered aſſaultable) to paſs the bridge, on the king's ſide, at break of day the next morning, in deſpite of all the Swediſh muſquetry and artillery. But this deſign took air, for the Swedes over-heard a hurry in the town, and the loading of baggage waggons, about midnight. The duke, it is true, paſſed the bridge, but ſaved only a handful of men, for the fire, that he ſuſtained, was moſt unmerciful. The reſidue of the garriſon, having firſt made an unſucceſsful ſally at the Wernitz-gate, attempted to croſs the bridge on Hepburn's ſide, who gave them likewiſe a very rude reception: nevertheleſs they cleared their paſſage

at

at all events, and contrived to break the bridge behind them, in 1632.
an imperfect manner, and barricaded the town-gate with numberleſs loads of dung, the removal of which coſt the Swedes ſo much time, that the rear of the garriſon ſecured their eſcape, loſing however upon the whole not leſs than 500 men. Mean while the king ſtormed the town walls and Leathern gate [*Lederthor*] ſword in hand; and as many baggage-waggons ſtood laden in the ſtreets, it was with great difficulty he could reſtrain his ſoldiers from pillaging them, and the whole city; which, according to the uſage of war, was looked upon in the light of fair plunder. The king then ſecured the north banks of the Danube as far as Ulm.

Thus the town of Donawert was beſieged and taken in forty eight hours, though ſtrongly garriſoned, and ſituated on a mountain of difficult acceſs; the loſs whereof was conſidered as more inauſpicious, as it happened to fall a ſacrifice to the Swedes on the elector of Bavaria's birth-day. This city, once imperial, had been placed under the ban of the empire in 1606, and at length regained its civil and religious liberties, by the means of the great proteſtant deliverer. Solmes's regiment of infantry, (which had behaved ſo ill in the late action at Bamberg) was placed therein by way of garriſon; for the king did not chuſe to truſt that body of troops in the day of battle. He then returned Hepburn public thanks, for ſuggeſting the idea of croſſing the Wernitz, and for executing his plan with ſuch judgment and valour.

No ſooner was the town of Donawert taken, but the king ordered this officer to throw up a ſtrong half-moon, and entrench his brigade at the foot of the bridge, next Bavaria: and then diſpatched the Bohemian baron Cochtitzki, at the head of ſome choſen cavalry and dragoons, to purſue the fugitives. His majeſty then repoſed himſelf at Donawert four days, partly to prepare matters for the great incident now approaching, and partly to reſtore and new fortify this important paſſage, as a ſafe and ſecure key of retreat, in caſe of diſappointments or diſaſters. Yet the groſs of the army lay not idle; for ſuch as acted not the part of engineers, pioneers, and mechanics,

made

1632. made incursions into Swabia, where many towns of consequence (some of which belonged to the emperor) were all taken sword in hand; as Guntzburg, the capital of the Burgau, the rich abby of Elchingen, Gundelfingen, Lauingen, Hochstadt *, Dillingen, (where the bishop of Augsburg usually resides) and Kirchberg; not to mention a strong castle on the banks of the Lech, called, if I mistake not, Obernsdorf, belonging to the rich family of the Fuggers. In this enterprize Hepburn commanded; and though the place was well supplied and strongly fortified, yet the garrison felt the influences of a sudden panic, and perished most of them in the very act of attempting to escape.

During this interval of repose, as matters now began to wear a very serious aspect, a trumpeter was sent blindfolded to the king, with orders to solicite letters of safe-conduct for the French ambassador then residing at Munich. At first Gustavus gave him a positive refusal; but knowing his own firmness, and determined not to suffer his generosity to be abused a second time, he at length consented. Nature had been no ways unsparing, in giving St. Etienne (for such was the minister's name) a plentiful portion of national vivacity; and it is probable likewise, he presumed too much upon the force of being nearly related to father Joseph, who held a correspondence with Gustavus and Oxenstiern. Of course, one day he had the confidence to tell the king, "That if he did not spare the catholic princes, "his most Christian majesty would be obliged to march an army "into Germany, in order to support them; since they had all "expressed an earnest desire to shelter themselves under the pro-"tection of France." *Agreed*, replied Gustavus, being thoroughly exasperated; *nevertheless the king, your master, may spare himself the trouble of a long journey into Germany: let him only express a desire to make a campaign against me, and I will treat him with a battle under the walls of his own metropolis.*

* There are many towns of this name in Germany; but here the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene gained a complete victory over the French and Bavarians, Aug. 13, 1704.

Yet

Yet France and her miniſtry ſtill perſiſted to interfere under one pre- 1632.
text or other; and therefore ſome few days after the holding theſe conferences *, a treaty † was propoſed between Louis XIII. and the elector of Triers, by virtue of which the former engaged, "not only to aſſiſt "the ſaid elector againſt all his enemies, but oblige the Swedes to evacuate the electorate of Triers and biſhopric of Spires," which belonged likewiſe to this prelate. Now in order to underſtand thoroughly an affair ſo intricate, it may not be amiſs to remind the reader, that France had long languiſhed to receive this electorate under her patronage, and to this purpoſe had diſpatched the count de Brulon to Triers, juſt to ſow the ſeeds of thoſe future incidents, which La Saludie ‡ now was commanded to bring to maturity.

Indeed the elector, out of fervent zeal for the intereſts of the catholic league, had brought himſelf into a very precarious as well as dangerous ſituation; for the Spaniards poſſeſſed Coblentz, and moſt of the ſtrong places in his dominions; and though Guſtavus, at the interceſſion of France, during the negotiation of the truce, had generouſly reſtored him the important fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein, yet that monarch, enraged now to the heart at the barbarous murder of a young count Solmes, (cut to pieces, together with his followers, by a party of electoral troops) made no ſcruple to declare, in the tranſports of his reſentment, that he would diſlodge the elector in perſon from his caſtle, then ſuppoſed to be impregnable. Diſmayed and aſtoniſhed at theſe menaces, the elector remained ſome days in a ſtate of irreſolution; when at length the French miniſter revived his ſpirits, by adviſing him to addreſs a letter to Guſtavus, wherein, far from diſcovering ſigns of fear, or demeaning himſelf by abject humiliations, it was his intereſt to throw out ſome oblique, but intelligible inſinuations, with reference to the interpoſition and protection of a certain power behind the ſcene ‖. What reception theſe repreſentations found with Guſtavus, and what ſort of anſwer he returned to them, hath been already mentioned.

* April 9, 1632, at Ehrenbreitſtein, otherwiſe Hermanſtein.

† See the APPENDIX.

‡ Louis de Brianſon de la Saludie, maître de camp et plenipotentiaire, &c.

‖ Hiſt. de la Vaſſor, Tom. vii. 148.

[Pag.

1632. [Pag. 80, 81.] So that it may ſuffice to obſerve, that the king's reply was of ſuch a nature, as threw the elector into mortal agonies, and obliged him to offer Richelieu a piece of blank paper, with authority to inſcribe thereon what conditions he pleaſed. How far the cardinal either preſumed, or intended to go, cannot well be aſcertained; for that he dreaded Guſtavus is a circumſtance known beyond contradiction: yet, be that as it will, he thought he had an opening to effect ſomewhat, and conceived an hope of availing himſelf more or leſs from the elector's terrors. But this expectation was purely chimerical, for France, during the life of Guſtavus, never once over-reached him, or extorted any advantage from him, except by importuning his good nature and his generoſity; which, conſidering Richelieu's abilities, is ſaying as much as can be alledged in behalf of our hero.

Thus all that reſulted from a connexion ſo extremely hazardous and delicate, was only this, that the elector publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify his conduct for placing himſelf under the protection of France: and indeed one may ſee the ſtyle of Verſailles branch itſelf out like ſo many political veins through the whole ſurface of the compoſition. Yet the cardinal (beſides obtaining, that the caſtle of Ehrenbreitſtein ſhould be put into the hands of a French garriſon) had ſtill ſome views behind a traverſe-ſcene, which he hoped to unfold one time or other; for he knew Guſtavus not to be immortal, and then expected to take the cards into his own hands. And, though this foundation may ſeem at firſt to be inſubſtantial and trifling, becauſe it was laid deeply under-ground, and out of ſight; yet France has continued to repoſe herſelf upon it even till the preſent hour, and has raiſed upon ſo caſual an ichnography the ſuperſtructure of Alſace, Lorrain, &c.

And here, having ſo often mentioned the two electors of Cologn and Triers, it may ſeem ſurprizing, that ſuch little notice hath hitherto been taken of the third eccleſiaſtical elector, the archbiſhop of Mentz. But the truth was, the king had diſarmed this prelate by taking poſſeſſion of moſt of his territories, ſo that it no where appears, that France conſidered him as an object worthy to be inveigled or cajoled; nor did ſhe ſolicite his co-operation in the great plan relating to a neutrality.

It

It is probable too, that Richelieu looked upon him, not only as an 1632.
enflamed religionary, but as a devoted friend to the courts of Vienna and Munich: and thus much is certain, that the elector finding himself in such evil plight after the loss of his capital, wished extremely to behold a general pacification, and of his own mere motive requested the emperor, to permit him to lay some plan of that nature before Gustavus *, who returned him such conditions, as we have formerly mentioned in the two rough-draughts †, that were transmitted to the perusal of all the catholic potentates then concerned.

By the taking of Donawert, and securing a free passage over the Danube, Tilly soon perceived his Swedish majesty's real intentions against Bavaria; and therefore, with all possible expedition, broke down a second bridge, then in his power, which crossed that river between Neuburg and Rayne, and destroyed likewise a third, which leads over the Lech, at a small distance from the last-named town. On the possession of this important entrance into Bavaria the king had set his mind, from the very instant he crossed the Danube at Donawert, and dispatched the flower of his dragoons and commanded musqueteers to make a lodgment there, for then he had escaped the perillous undertaking of forcing his passage across the Lech. But Tilly knew too well the extraordinary consequence of this inlet to Munich, and, as he had the power in his hands, prevented the enterprize on the king's part, to whom this consolation remained, that he had not lost a single moment in attempting to realize what he had projected ‡. Tilly then cantoned his troops in lesser and greater divisions, all along the Bavarian side, between the Lech and the Aach, from Rayne to Augsburg, both which places he garrisoned, and spread himself in fair order on the banks opposite the Swedes to the extent of sixteen miles. But foreseeing principally where his majesty would make the grand attempt, he there erected some enormous batteries, and entrenched the larger part of his select and veteran soldiery.

* Vittorio Siri; Memorie recondite, Tom. vii. pag. 457, 458.

† See pag. 72, 73.

‡ Burgi Mars Sueco-Germ. 171.

1632. His majesty's first attempt was to restore the bridge, that had been lately broken down near Rayne; but this undertaking, through the intervention of some unforeseen difficulties, was rejected almost in the same moment it was first conceived. Thence pointing his course towards Augsburg, he employed many hours, attended only by a friend or two, in contemplating the approaches to the river, and the circumstances of landing, and making a lodgment, as well as forming an attack, on the side, that lay opposite to him; finding at length, to his own mortification, as well as Tilly's honour, that the old general had erected his batteries, and entrenched his men precisely over-against that segment of a circle, in the middle part of whose arch it was resolved finally to throw over a bridge. And here a new retardment presented itself; for the king foresaw at first glance, from the torrent-like rapidity of the stream, and the inequality of its banks in point of height, that his own portable bridges could be made use of with no tolerable prospect of success. Nevertheless, for the satisfaction of his army, he made one experiment, which verified his conjectures with too much truth. Having therefore entrenched his men under the protection of a strong parapet along the bank, and fixed his more general encampment behind them near Northeim, he erected three batteries, consisting of seventy-two large pieces of cannon *, one in the center of the segment, and the two others at the extremities of the arch; which latter position gave him great advantages over his adversaries; for their artillery could be raised only on a strait line, and that of the Swedes half-flanked them, and raked them obliquely, when the grand engagement came on. And thus, during an uninterrupted cannonade of four days duration, the king brought his new scheme into perfection: for at a little village called Oberndorf, which lay embosomed in a valley at the distance of about half a mile from the place intended to be crossed, he employed

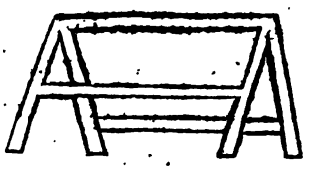
* Santa Cruz remarks with admiration, that Gustavus passed the Lech by dint of generalship; for having, saith he, erected a battery of seventy [seventy-two] large pieces of cannon over against the main body of the Imperialists, and thundred upon them several hours, he crossed the river at a place unsuspected, and entrenched himself before he could be observed. Reflexions Militaires & Politiques, traduites del' Espagnol de M. le Marq. de Santa Cruz de Marzenado, Tom. ii. 238.

all his artificers to construct a fabric on a principle of his own inven- 1632.
tion, adapted to the nature of the river; and as the case was uncommonly urgent, as well as important, found himself obliged to dismantle all the gentlemens houses, farms, and villages round him, in order to procure an addition of useful and solid timber. Mean while, at the hazard of his life, (for the fire of artillery and musquetry was unceasing on Tilly's side) he employed himself every hour, in examining the banks, slopes, and winding of the stream; and spared neither money nor preferments, to gain intelligence of the variation of depth in that very part of the chanel, where he intended to pass.

There are few rivers of the same size, whose passage appears so difficult as that of the Lech: I speak this from ocular observation. It takes its rise in the country of the Grisons, and at the time of year, when the king crossed it, partakes more of the nature of a torrent than of the river, for it is swollen with snows from its very source. It measures forty yards across at the point (between Rayne and Thierhaupten) where the bridge was erected, and the bank of the Swedish side was about eleven feet higher than the bank opposite; where for a small space the ground was tolerably firm, and then declined gently into a morass knee-deep in slime and water; on the right hand hardly passable, and garnished on the left (where the soil rose a little) with beds of osiers. This morass being once cleared, (nor was the passage long) the land mounted, with an easy ascent, to Tilly's entrenchments.

But the construction and fixing of the bridge appeared more difficult to his majesty than the fighting part. He disliked greatly the inequality of the banks in respect of height (which rendered a bridge of boats or of pontons highly inconvenient, if not entirely useless:) and knew likewise, that the bed of the river was a sort of cone inverted: which intelligence he procured by various artifices, one in particular extremely curious; nevertheless, I shall decline relating it, having some doubts concerning the authenticity of the narration.

1632. Being now apprized of the depth and ſhape of the chanel, he contrived, in the next place, a kind of treſſels of various heights, and with unequal feet; their form in general, as here repreſented.



Theſe were firmly ſecured to ſtrong piles, driven deep into the bottom of the river. The planks then were ſpread over the whole, and well faſtened.

To lay this bridge in ſight of an intrenched army of equal force, and alike ſupplied with large artillery, was a ſecond difficulty ſtill remaining, which demanded, at one and the ſame time, feints and illuſions of all ſorts, precautions, activity, prudence, and intrepidity.

Of courſe the king poſted 1000 commanded muſqueteers behind a parapet of mould and turf on each ſide of the intended bridge, who, to prevent Tilly's people from approaching to procure intelligence of what was contriving, maintained an uninterrupted fire day and night. He then opened two large batteries at convenient diſtance from the point where he propoſed to croſs the river, and from theſe furiouſly thundered on the Bavarian camp without intermiſſion. Nor was his artillery idle in other places; it was only contracted in its extent, and divided into ſmaller parcels.

Mean while, to augment the confuſion, and perplex the eye-ſight, he ordered little fires to be kindled in pits near the batteries, which were conſtantly fed with ſmoky combuſtibles of pitch and green wood.

Tilly ſuſpected ſomething, but knew not what; nor ceaſed he to flatter himſelf at intervals (in caſe the erecting a bridge was ſuppoſed to be practicable) that the king would hardly preſume to croſs a river, clear a moraſs, and aſcend a hill, under the aſpect of an entrenched army of equal force, and ſupported with a train of artillery alike conſiderable as his own.

And

And here, to judge better of the catholic general's ſituation, it may 1632.
be convenient to obſerve, that the ground on Tilly's ſide, bating a ſmall ſwampy tract of ſoil, roſe by degrees to a moderate hill, cloathed here and there with ſhrubs and large thorn-trees; where, about mid-way (including from the foot of the ſaid hill to Tilly's main body) lay intrenched two conſiderable corps of infantry in a line parallel to the royal camp. Behind them crept a little rivulet in form of a bow, (the bent part towards the Swedes) within which the artillery was planted; whoſe effects were felt on the oppoſite ſide of the Lech. After that ſucceeded a wood, which ſkirted up to a conſiderable height; in the front of which (the ſhrubby part being cleared in certain ſpaces, and the timber-trees felled, and interlaced by way of defence in front and flank) were poſted ſix bodies of choſen infantry, amounting to about 8000 men. The reſidue of the foot was diſpoſed judiciouſly here and there; and the horſe on a remoter line formed two wings at a diſtance on either ſide, in like manner as the Swediſh cavalry was diſpoſed, each party being removed beyond the reach of cannon-ſhot.

The king had ſome ſlight miſgivings with reference to the enterprize he had determined to undertake *; and therefore (which was a ſort of practice he rarely dealt in) convened all his generals to a council of war, in order to collect their ſeveral opinions. Horn, the promptеſt to execute, as well as the moſt cautious to reſolve of any commander in the Swediſh ſervice, made ſtrong remonſtrances againſt attempting to paſs the Lech; and the major part of the ſuperior officers concurred with him: "for he urged the difficulties both of the banks and bed of the river, "and repreſented the force and quantity of Tilly's battering artillery. "He remarked in the next place, that a repulſe or defeat would raiſe "the drooping ſpirits of the Bavarians, and bring Walſtein on the "back of the Swedes, in a country full of rivers, where it was next to "impoſſible, at one paſs or other, to decline a battle; and therefore "propoſed, with all due deference and ſubmiſſion, to ſecure and fortify "the frontier towns, both in the Upper Palatinate and Bohemia, till

* Vittorio Siri, Memorie recondite, Tom. vii. pag. 459.—461. Le Vaſſor, Tom. vii. 163, 164.

"that

1632. "that period shamefully neglected by the elector of Saxony;——by "which means it would not lie in Walstein's power to force the king's "troops into a decisive engagement; remarking further, that the Im- "perial generalissimo ought first to be crushed; whose immense pre- "parations, (not yet advanced to a state of maturity) were, in the even- "tual progress of things, likely to become extremely formidable.—— "Wherefore, upon the whole, it appeared best to him, to march directly "into Moravia, and destroy the present and future hopes of the house "of Austria all at once*."

Now whoever understands the characters of men, and state of history at this period, will be enclined, it is probable, to think with me, that the drift of these reasonings seems to proceed upon the same principle, which Oxenstiern, Horn's father-in-law, urged to Gustavus, when he entered Franconia instead of Bohemia †.

The king loved Horn, (whose great talents he honoured, as well as his integrity) and heard him patiently; but at length replied, with a good deal of fire, *That the enterprize was less difficult than appeared to the human mind at first sight: and that the very best veteran troops, that ever existed, had always some misgivings after a total overthrow. Fortune,* said he, *is the guardian-angel to men of heroical resolution;——and Donawert is a sure retreat in case of disaster:——nor let it ever be said, that Gustavus declined an enemy, who fled before him;——since a delay, precaution or digression of that nature would be instructing and enabling an old and experienced general to re-inforce and re-establish an army ill-provided for at the present juncture, and extremely weakened. Walstein likewise is removed from us at a great distance, and hath many lessons still to infuse into his soldiery.——In a word, let us cross this barrier, mistakenly supposed to be insurmountable. Behold, the expected land of plenty lies open to us! A land, which hath carefully been nurtured in peace and wealth for twelve continued years, whilst the whole Germanic empire hath been more than once ravaged and devoured from one end to the other ‡.*

* Le Vassor, Tom. vii. p. 163.

† See page 78.

‡ Bertius de Bellis German. p. 324. Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. vii. 459.

Thus

Thus the king gave his opinion (or rather part of his opinion) as a 1632.
man of ſpirit, without entering into the diſcuſſions of a philoſopher. Indeed it is probable he ſaw the thing in lights undiſtinguiſhable to Horn and us; or embraced his own ſcheme from a high perſuaſion of ſucceſs; and the rather, as the undertaking was compendious, enterpriſing, and full of glory; it being a maxim with him, as well as Pappenheim, "*That it was poſſible to execute many atchievements in war, "merely becauſe the generality of mankind ſuppoſed them impracticable.*" But be that as it will, whoever has had opportunities to contemplate the rapidity of the river towards the approach of the vernal equinox, the ſteepneſs and inequality of its banks, the irregularity of the chanel-depth, the expoſure of the bridge in front and flanks, the entrenchments and batteries on the oppoſite ſide, the continued ſlope of ground riſing immediately from the Bavarian ſhore to the foreſt-trees, that crowned the whole, (not to mention a moraſs knee-deep in ooze and water) muſt, I think, confeſs, that this was the moſt daring, as well as brighteſt action in the military life of Guſtavus, and ſuch as hath never yet been exceeded by any general antient or modern.

And now, Thurſday morning, April the 5th, whilſt the balls of the ſide batteries (which ſtood at the extremities of a bow, for ſuch figure the Lech there formed) met in an angle, and tore every thing to pieces at 150 yards diſtance in the point, that approached the intended bridge, the king, under favour of a ſmoke and thunder inexpreſſible, paſſed over by frequent attempts in two boats, which he had procured, ſome choſen engineers, pioneers, and ſoldiers, who made a lodgment; and, what was ſtill of greater conſequence, threw up ſeveral mounds of earth: one to protect the mouth of the bridge from the direct fire of Tilly's ordnance, and two ſide-parapets to guard its flanks from ſuch batteries, as he might occaſionally erect upon a change of circumſtances. To encourage theſe firſt undertakers, he made each man a preſent of about thirty ſhillings Engliſh.

Previous matters being thus adjuſted, all hands united to fix the bridge, and when the morning arrived to a ſufficient brightneſs, Tilly beheld this aſtoniſhing attempt, but at the ſame time knew not how

to

1632. to counterwork it. To diſlodge theſe new comers appeared impoſſible on account of the unmerciful fire of the Swediſh batteries; and it was foreſeen too, that ſuch an undertaking muſt have brought on by degrees one general maſſacre of all the army. It remained therefore only for him to raiſe two batteries againſt the ſides of the bridge: and here appeared a new inconveniency; for not to mention the parapets, which the Swedes had caſt up, the bank on the Bavarian ſide, though inferior in height to that on the Swediſh, yet at the ſame time roſe higher than the moraſs beneath it, and obſtructed the aim of the gunners, as well as the paſſage of their balls.

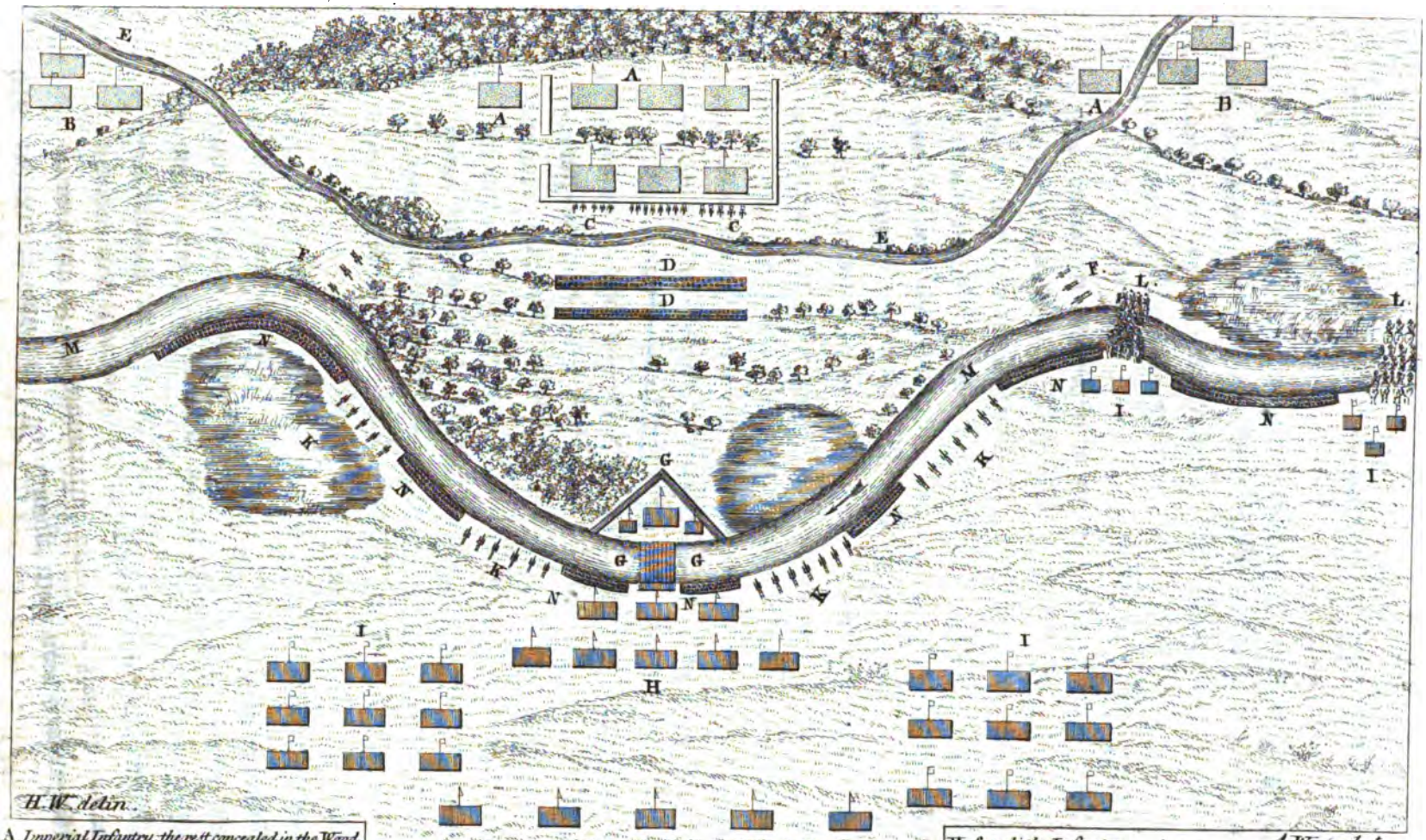
On theſe accounts Tilly choſe rather to undertake the defenſive part, and having given orders to erect an half-moon in front, commanded his pioneers to deepen and widen the lines of his entrenchments, and employed all other hands he could ſpare, in hewing down a breaſt-work of large trees, interlacing them one with another, and ſharpening the branches near the trunk into a ſort of *chevaux de friſe*. So that when the king heard the noiſe of the ſaws and axes, he directed all his gunners to give them in the wood one general ſalutation from the whole train of artillery by way of morning-compliment.

In the ſpace of a few hours, the machinery of the bridge was fixed, the ſurface planked, and the ſides guarded: which happened to be effected the more ſpeedily, as the king's Finlanders could all exerciſe the buſineſs of carpenters, inaſmuch as in their native country each man among them was his own mechanic.

It was the king's firſt care to relieve the pioneers and ſoldiers acroſs the river; and then the colonels Wrangel * and Gaſſion had the honour to paſs the bridge at the head of ſuch a body of troops, as was ſuppoſed to be neceſſary; a part of which filled the new entrenchment, and the reſt, being all commanded muſqueteers, lined the oſier-bed on the left-hand, where they performed wonders in the heat of the conflict: but when Guſtavus contemplated the bridge, and ground on either ſide, he declared in a whiſper to ſome of the generals, that ſtood near him, *That he*

* Charles Guſtavus Wrangel. He commanded afterwards the Swediſh army, which entered Bavaria, Anno 1646, in conjunction with Turenne.

would



A. Imperial Infantry: the rest concealed in the Wood.
B. Cavalry.
C. Breast work & Batteries.
D. Entrenchid Infantry where Tilly was shot.
E. A Rivulet.
F. Tilly's Batteries against the Bridge.
G. Bridge & Lodgment.

H. Swedish Infantry.
I. Cavalry.
K. Swedish Batteries 72 pieces.
L. Finland Horse crossing the River.
M. The Lech.
N. Entrenchid Infantry.

PASSAGE Over the River LECH.

To front page 144. Vol. II.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

would compound for a victory at the expence of one thouſand excellent 1632.
ſoldiers *.

Yet though he felt for his brave aſſociates, he diſcovered no diſmay with reſpect to himſelf; but, on the contrary, continued on the foot of the bridge for ſix and thirty hours, without intermiſſion. Mean while Tilly erected two new batteries near the banks of the river, in order to play thwart-wiſe againſt the flanks of the bridge: but though the theory was good, the executive part proved ineffectual.

During this interval, his majeſty had conveyed one half of his army, cavalry as well as infantry, acroſs the Lech, though many good officers, friends as well enemies, had publickly declared, that the enterprize was not feaſible, at the head of a fewer body of troops than one hundred thouſand †. Upon this, Tilly commanded the flower of his forces to give the Swedes battle before they could form themſelves, and no leſs perſon than Aldringer undertook the employment. A part likewiſe of the dragoons, that ſerved under him, received orders from the generaliſſimo, to paſs between the oſier-bed and the king's cavalry, with full directions to poſſeſs the mouth of the bridge at all hazards, and preclude re-inforcements one way, and the power of retreating another way.

When Aldringer, then general of the artillery, deſcended the hill, he found the Swediſh diſcipline to be ſuch, that the troops could form themſelves at the beat of a drum. He hoped likewiſe, that their ardour might have prompted them to have given him the meeting half way: but here the king impoſed his negative, who expected wonders from the two new raiſed batteries, which were erected not only as a feint to conceal the conſtruction of the bridge, but with view expreſs to cut through and through the Bavarians obliquely, whenever the great conflict ſhould happen to begin.

Aldringer conducted the attack without diſmay: but the fire (from the two batteries eſpecially) was ſo fierce and unmerciful, that it was impoſſible for the diſpute to ſubſiſt long. A part of the cavalry made a deſperate effort to ſeize the bridge, according to inſtructions; but at-

* The Swediſh Intelligencer ſays 2000. Part ii. 147. † Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs.

1632. tempting to file between the groſs of the Swediſh forces and the bed of oſiers, (which Tilly ſuppoſed to have been a vacant ſpace left open by inadvertency) they received ſuch uninterrupted volleys from the muſqueteers therein concealed, that, in ſpite of all their endeavours, they were broken immediately. His majeſty was not literally in this action: his prudence kept the aſcendency over his vivacity; and therefore with great coolneſs he planted himſelf at the foot of the bridge, on the Bavarian ſide, partly to give the troops their inſtructions with preciſion, as they paſſed over; and partly to take care, that not a ſingle Swede, who had already croſſed the river, ſhould attempt to retreat.

Aldringer ſtill preſſed on, the ſecond time, with a reſolution, that bordered upon ferocity; but a cannon-ball grazed upon his temples, and he was removed ſenſeleſs out of the field of battle. This ſtroke was the more fatal, as it ever afterwards diſcompoſed the beſt head-piece, for memorials and invectives, then in the empire *.

And now came the great Tilly's inevitable hour. He perceived, that no man could replace Aldringer except himſelf, and deſcending from the wood with a freſh body of his old Burgundians, renewed the attack, in a manner well becoming his laſt efforts; for whenever a regiment gave way, he ſeized the colours, and advanced towards the enemy †; nor could the troops deſert an aged general, who had been victorious in thirty ſix pitched battles, and ſignal engagements, and who carried the marks of more than fifty campaigns in his own perſon. But in a leſs ſpace than that of twenty minutes, he received a ſtroke on the knee from a falconet-ſhot ‡, which weighed about three pounds, and ſwooning away ſeveral times, from the agony of the fracture, as well as contuſion, was removed out of the battle to Ingolſtadt, in the elector's own coach. Mean while, to augment the general conſternation, two conſiderable parties of Finland horſe, impatient to ſee their bre-

* Le Blanc; Hiſt. de Bavière, Tom. iv. p. 374.

† Burgi Mars Sueco-Germ. p. 175.

‡ Bougeant, and the author of Annals of the empire, whom I will not ſuppoſe to be M. de V. give him this wound in the retreat, whereas the Swedes never purſued him. [Tom. i. p. 287.] Bougeant ſays likewiſe, that Guſtavus employed *three* days in conſtructing and erecting the bridge, inſtead of *two*; ſince by the diary it appears, that he began it April 3, and croſſed it on the 5th, early in the morning.

then

thren engaged on the oppoſite banks, plunged into the river like 1632.
men poſſeſt, and croſſed it by ſwimming; upon which event, conjoined to the former, and the rather, as evening began to approach, the Bavarian forces broke away imperceptibly, and the Swedes having gained and ſecured their paſſage, remained in their own ſtation by the king's orders, without advancing; who contented himſelf, at the cloſe of the evening, to march over the bridge, at the head of his own regiment of guards, and paſs the night on the Bavarian ſide.

All this time his electoral highneſs continued over-cautiouſly in the wood, at ſome diſtance from the ſharpneſs of the fire. Though generaliſſimo of the troops, he durſt not take the command upon him, but poſted away to Ingolſtadt ſomewhat unbecomingly, and left good part of the troops, cavalry eſpecially, that lay remote, who knew nothing yet of their general's misfortune, to ſhift for themſelves. Which reminds us of a parallel paſſage in hiſtory. When Juſtinian was wounded, and obliged to be carried off from the walls of Conſtantinople, the emperor retired, and the whole garriſon loſt its courage. Yet this happened not at the battle of Lutzen, where every Swediſh colonel was in part a general, and one half of the common ſoldiers deſerved to be colonels.

Thus ended the battle of the Lech, though the king as yet knew nothing of Tilly's misfortune. With regard to this tranſaction, it may be remarked, that the armies on either ſide were nearly equal, as were the trains likewiſe of battering artillery; for the king had ſeventy two large pieces of cannon, and Tilly ſeventy: but in point of management, the Swediſh engineers were greatly ſuperior; and it was in this reſpect, that Torſtenſon, then general of the ordnance, gained that great reputation, which he maintained afterwards in every other branch of military knowledge. So that the more clear-ſighted in the art of war aſcribe this victory to three co-operating cauſes; *one* the reſult of good ſenſe, and *two* the product of invention and genius: under the former head, they claſs the extraordinary *celerity*, wherewith the king performed his buſineſs, and under the latter they arrange his ſuperior intelligence in point of *gunnery*, and the *conſtruction* of a bridge made preciſely for the river Lech, and no other. Nor was it uncommon at that time for learned men to

1632. obſerve, that the paſſage of the Lech was far ſuperior to that of the Granic, and that Guſtavus's architecture in the chabel of the river was more difficult to execute than that of Julius Cæſar acroſs the Rhine; inaſmuch as the one, even after the diſcovery of cannon, effected in two days, what the other could hardly perform in the ſpace of ten: and certain it is, that the intervention of artillery (to ſay the leaſt of it) may be demonſtrated to counterbalance that difference of breadth, which is to be found in the two rivers, the Lech and the Rhine.

The action laſted about ſix hours, but was much ſharper than that at Leipſic. What numbers the king loſt hath never appeared, yet from the nature of circumſtances he could not ſuffer ſo much as the army of the league; becauſe, as Tilly entrenched himſelf behind a large number of foreſt-trees, he loſt many men in one uninterrupted cannonade of ſix and thirty hours duration, merely from the diſparted fragments and flying ſhivers of the timber. All that we know is, that a count Merodé, and ſeveral brave officers, were killed and wounded; and one thouſand Bavarians left dead on the ſpot.

Upon the whole, from all that appears to me at this diſtance, Tilly would have done better, (provided ſuch conduct had not diſheartened his followers) to have left the bridge and paſſage free to his Swediſh majeſty, without conteſting them*: for, had he ſpared himſelf his deſcent from the eminence, enlarged and deepened his lines, interlacing them well with the foreſt-trees, that ſtood before him, (there being no paſſage for the king to file along by the banks of the river, without running an extreme riſk in flank) and fixed his batteries ſo, as to have played only on the Swedes, when they approached his entrenchments, where it was not practicable to tranſport their heavy artillery, or bring it to act; it is more than probable, that Guſtavus muſt have ſuffered greatly, or been obliged to have croſſed the river in ſome ſecond place. For in the part, where the Swedes muſt have been conſtrained to attack, they could only have advanced with two regiments in front, while Tilly had room to oppoſe them with juſt three times a ſuperior number. This, it is thought, was the general's private and reſerved opinion: but as the junior officers had

* Monro's Exped. ii. p. 120.

conceived

conceived a notion, that his perſonal courage declined with his riper days, and half-expired on the arrival of old age, (than which nothing could be falſer) he was induced to affect, both now and at Leipſic, a certain gallantry and ſprightlineſs of valour, not quite reconcileable to his maturer judgment. And conſidering the petulant fervour, and piquancy of ſarcaſtic inſinuations, in the younger part of military people, it might not be ill judged for all commanders in chief to leave the field of action, when they have once reached their grand climacteric; for the old courſer will make an effort, right or wrong, when the ſpur of honour is applied to his flank, and his abilities of activity are called in queſtion. 1632.

But to return from the preſent digreſſion. When the king ſaw the difficulties I have juſt deſcribed, he frankly told his generals, who crouded round him, *That he conſidered the paſſage of the Lech as a better day's ſervice than the performance at Leipſic* *; and when cardinal Paſman, the Imperial ambaſſador extraordinary at Rome, heard the news, he ſaid cooly, "The ſcene is cloſed, and the game is over:" which, whether it related to the downfall of popery, or the houſe of Auſtria, at this diſtance cannot be ſpecified.

The king, as we obſerved before, reſted all night at the foot of the bridge, and next morning there were reaſons to think, that the enemy had diſlodged: but before any certainty in that particular could be acquired, Hepburn received inſtructions to conduct the remaining part of the infantry over the bridge, in order to introduce a ſecond and more obſtinate engagement; during which interim one Forbes, a Scots captain, at the head of thirty muſqueteers, was ſent to examine the poſition of the Bavarians. He found two horſe-centries at the edge of the wood, and nothing more; who being ſent to the king, and interrogated by him, declared ſtrenuouſly, that they never heard a ſingle ſyllable concerning the departure of their companions. A part of the royal army purſued the fugitives to the walls of Rayne, and ſtormed the town ſword in hand. And here it was firſt learnt, that Tilly was wounded deſperately, if not mortally.

* Swed. Intell. part ii. p. 147.

1632. This victory of the Lech alarmed one half of Europe, and aſtoniſhed the other. France, who had rejoiced to ſee the houſe of Auſtria humbled to one preciſe degree, began now to conceive certain uneaſineſſes, both from fear and jealouſy; inſomuch that Louis XIII. told Soranzo, the Venetian ambaſſador, upon receiving an account of the paſſage of the Lech, "That the powers intereſted in deſiring to behold "a partial reduction of the houſe of Auſtria had hitherto offered up, "with a ſafe conſcience, their ſincereſt wiſhes for the proſperity of the "Swediſh arms; but then, continued he, no human being could ever "conceive, that matters ſhould have advanced, with ſo amazing rapi-"dity, to ſuch extraordinary lengths. Inform therefore the ſenate, "that means muſt be deviſed, whereby to check this impetuous Viſi-"goth in the career of his victories, which may prove, in the conclu-"ſion, as fatal to us, as to the emperor and the elector of Bavaria." Now if this be true with reſpect to France, the houſe of Auſtria had ſtill ſtronger reaſons to take the alarm; for ſhe depended on one ſingle man, and that was Walſtein; and the duke of Bavaria, who, when the war was removed from his frontiers, had deſpiſed or deceived every power, with whom he negotiated, began now to feel the ſharpeſt diſquietudes, upon three ſeveral accounts; he had neglected to oppoſe his whole force againſt the king's croſſing the Lech, (for a part of his army lay ſtationed near Ratiſbon:) he apprehended the death of his admired general every moment; and beheld Guſtavus penetrating, by full marches, into the very vital parts of his dominions. England fell back into the national folly of reſigning the continent to its own care; ſo that the conduct of an Elizabeth, and the maxims of Burlegh, Cecil, and Walſingham, paſſed for the reveries of politicians, who had not conſidered their maternal country as an iſland. The elector of Saxony had a diſinclination to the proſperity of Sweden from the very beginning. The king of Denmark entertained certain ſelf-intereſted views, which ſhall be analyzed immediately. The ſtates general traverſed Guſtavus in the late negotiation with the town of Cologn; and the prince of Orange, under various pretences, kept an army of obſervation on the frontiers of their dominions.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus beheld all theſe jealouſies, counter-operations, and pre- 1632.
tended friendſhips, with a countenance undiſmayed, and without making any remonſtrances or recriminations. Indeed he remarked one day, in great confidence to a friend, whom he truſted, *That he now perceived he had puſhed his conqueſts too far, and given umbrage, as well as diſquietude, to certain potentates. It may be difficult*, continued he, *to preſerve the acquiſitions I have made to the ſouthwards; ſo that of courſe the more prudential part will be to confine myſelf within the northern regions, and erect a kingdom, if that be poſſible, of which the Baltic ſhall form the centre.* This account we owe to that impenetrable, as well as all-penetrating ſtateſman the abbé Siri *, who affects to have aſſiſted at every conference in the character of a political ubiquitarian; but for my own part, from a cool examination of future facts, I have ſome miſtruſt with regard to the authenticity of the preſent anecdote, ſince the king, far from retrieving the ſuppoſed miſtake, marched on to Ingoldſtadt, and then to Munich, with the very words recent upon his lips. Nor was this any new idea, wherewith to ſurprize his majeſty's underſtanding; as appears from the anſwer he gave to Oxenſtiern, as long before as the preceding Chriſtmas †.

France ſeems firſt to have diſcovered the hook of Guſtavus approaching her lips, and pretending only to nibble, and play round it, without ſwallowing, hoped to ſee its point blunted, if not diſarmed, by ſome accident or other.

To co-operate with theſe views, ſhe threw Bavaria in his way, as a rugged rock concealed under water; and that attempt not ſucceeding; placed the elector of Triers there as a ſort of entangling weed: which latter effort ſerved to create ſome ſlight embarraſſment; for a perplexing treaty was ſigned at Ehrenbreitſtein (four days after the paſſage of the Lech ‡,) whereby ſhe engaged to ſupport the ſaid prelate againſt all opponents, and oblige the Swedes, (which was ſtill more) to evacuate the electorate, as well as the dioceſe of Spires.

* Vittorio Siri; Memorie Recondite, Tom. vii. pag. 464, &c. and pag. 546.

† See pag. 78, 79.

‡ April 9, 1632. See the APPENDIX, where the treaty is preſerved at large.

In

1632. In leſs than a fortnight from this period, the king had likewiſe ſome inauſpicious miſgivings, with reference to the conduct of Chriſtian, king of Denmark, whom the Imperial and Spaniſh miniſtry tried to allure into their intereſts by all imaginable temptations. The infanta in ſome degree almoſt over-reached and enſnared that politic prince: for under pretence of making him the compliment of propoſing conditions to Guſtavus with regard to a general peace, ſhe in effect made him a perſon intereſted, in caſe his Swediſh majeſty ſhould not liſten to an accommodation; for ſhe left the plan of the reconciliation partly, if not entirely, to his management. Guſtavus had ſagacity enough to deſire earneſtly to avert this blow, but, for prudent reaſons, not caring to ſend a miniſter in form on that errand, gave private inſtructions to one of his generals *, in whom he could confide, (who was going by chance into Holſtein to raiſe recruits) to make his court to king Chriſtian, and endeavour to penetrate into his intentions; commanding him to give his Daniſh majeſty obliquely to underſtand, that by a ſpeedy engagement in this proteſtant war, he might fortunately ſecure to his children the poſſeſſion of thoſe biſhoprics, which the emperor had uſurped by virtue of the peace at Lubec. Chriſtian felt the force of this argument, but at the ſame time could not diſſipate the terrors, which the ſevere uſage of the houſe of Auſtria, joined with his own misfortunes in the late war, had infuſed into him. Nevertheleſs, he diſpatched two ſenators to Guſtavus, with inſtructions to aſſure him, "That he was deeply penetrated with "a juſt ſenſe of this proteſtant enterprize; but that the oath he had taken "at the pacification of Lubec, had unfortunately reſtrained his hands:— "That he participated with Guſtavus in all his conqueſts; and would "never impede their progreſs in any ſhape;—but at the ſame time pre"ſumed gently to remind him, that, as the ſucceſs of war is often perio"dical, even under the direction of the ableſt commander, it would "highly become ſo juſt and generous a prince to give a ſolid and glori"ous peace to Germany: to effectuate which, he was ready to make a "tender of his beſt ſervices, by way of mediator or arbitrator." To this propoſal Guſtavus replied, *That his preſent paſſion and ultimate object*

* Banditzen.

was

was to procure peace to the diſtreſſed and proſcribed proteſtants, which in truth could only be effected by a new and ſtrict union between all the princes and ſtates, who made profeſſion of the reformed religion. Our enemies, obſerved he, *are inſincere; and ſeek only to create advantageous delays. Intercourſes, arbitrations, and negotiations will produce nothing but remorſe, and diſappointment: the houſe of Auſtria muſt be reduced to ſuch a point, as not to be able to interfere a ſecond time. If therefore the king your maſter will labour unreſervedly to bring about this union among the proteſtants, and conjoin himſelf with me in the proſecution of ſo good a work, whereby each party ſhall become mutual guaranty for the protection of the whole;——If he will only thus think once with me, my life ſhall be reſponſible for impoſing ſilence on the houſe of Auſtria* *. 1632.

Chriſtian liked the doctrine, but begged to be excuſed from putting it in practice; nevertheleſs, from that day ſecretly wiſhed proſperity to the arms of Sweden, and dextrouſly extricated himſelf by little and little from the ſnare, which the artful Iſabella had ſpread under his feet.

The king having ſecured the town of Rayne, and diſpatched Horn to purſue Tilly, ſhaped his courſe directly to Augſburg, making himſelf maſter of the town and cloyſter of Thierhaupten, and likewiſe of Friedberg as he paſſed along. In this march he refuſed to liſten to any propoſals of neutrality from the part of the duke of Neuburg, being diſſatisfied with that prince's former duplicity. *Sir*, ſaid he to the deputy, *Your maſter has acted contrarieties: not contented to deceive me, he has had the diſingenuouſneſs to promiſe much, and perform nothing; whilſt, on the contrary, he has allowed paſſage and free retreat to the enemy's army, ſupplied them with artillery from his own arſenal, and fired on the trumpeter, who approached his capital in amicable form, in order to deliver a letter from me to him. But providence hath now indulged me with the means of preſcribing thoſe terms, which formerly I ventured only to recommend. In a word, Sir, you are like your maſter, and your maſter is like you* †.

* Vide Chemnitz, Tom. i. p. 264, &c.

† Ibid. 258. Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. 151, 152.

1632. It is not difficult to conceive the aſtoniſhment of the diſconcerted deputy, who continued motionleſs for ſome time like a perſon thunder-ſtruck, at length withdrew, and then recovering his preſence of mind, renewed his applications by the interpoſition of prince Auguſtus, who was younger brother to his maſter, and a ſort of favourite with Guſtavus. The king's anſwer was very ſhort; *Give the duke of Neuburg to underſtand, that his future actions muſt prove the commentary upon his doctrines: and in the mean while, by way of a preliminary, let him diſpatch to my army two hundred thouſand loaves, and three hundred tuns of beer* *. About this time the Bavarians quitted Neuburg as indefenſible, having firſt removed their artillery, and broken down one arch of the bridge for fear of being purſued; and upon this the Swediſh colonel Landſperg was ordered to take poſſeſſion of it, repair the bridge, and then defend the city like a man of honour.

Thus, in three days, the king reached from the paſſage of the Lech to the town of Augſburg, coaſting along the Bavarian banks of the ſaid river with the main of his army; but conveying his heavy artillery on the Suabian ſide, for it was thought by all intelligent perſons, that the new bridge could not ſupport the combined weight of horſes and ordnance.

The rich and magnificent city of Augſburg lies ten miles to the South-weſt of Donawert. It is ſituated in Suabia, and hath two bridges acroſs the Lech. Its famous *confeſſion* will render it illuſtrious throughout all ages of the Chriſtian church; and it is probable the king, in the idea, that *the law firſt proceeded from Sion*, conſidered it as the Jeruſalem of his German Paleſtine; ſparing no pains, and omitting no attempts to make himſelf maſter of this reſpectable ſanctuary; and ſo much the rather, as the Auguſtan profeſſion had been totally interdicted therein, the whole body of Lutherans diſarmed, and the proteſtant magiſtrates replaced by freſh ones of the catholic perſuaſion. Colonel Breda, at that time, commanded the garriſon, which had been augmented by different re-inforcements to the amount of 4500 men. Yet ſtill there was great

* Soldat Suedois, 485, &c.

reaſon

reaſon to fear an inſurrection from the numerous proteſtants within the walls. 1632.

When the royal army had advanced to Lechauſen, a ſmall town within two miles of Augſburg, the Imperial governor broke down the bridge; but the Swedes erected two freſh ones, the former above the city, and the latter below it. Guſtavus then brought on his approaches on either ſide of the river, whilſt Tortſtenſon gave new proofs of his uncommon ſkill in the management of his artillery: but the king, grieved to ſee the havoc he intended to make amongſt the fine edifices, diſpatched a letter to the magiſtrates, requeſting them to diſmiſs the garriſon, and preſerve ſo magnificent a city from the deſtruction of a furious cannonade. The anſwer returned him was alike polite and amicable; ſince it was there remarked, that the troops, which poſſeſſed the town, had been obtruded on them, and that if the Swedes had firſt preſented themſelves, they ſhould have been received with preference.——That to bid the Imperialiſts depart, amounted in effect to ſaying nothing; of courſe it appeared to them moſt expedient for his majeſty, to introduce ſome negotiation with the commander of the garriſon.

Upon this Horn, as it is ſuppoſed, with his maſter's privity, wrote a very friendly letter to Breda the governor, and having repreſented the imprudence, and other unavoidable ill conſequences, of an unprofitable reſiſtance, propoſed himſelf as an amicable mediator between his Swediſh majeſty and the garriſon. Breda foreſeeing no relief, as Tilly was dying, and Aldringer diſabled, at length capitulated. Five hundred of his ſoldiers took ſervice under the king, and the reſt were conveyed to Landſberg. Count Holloch, a Palatin nobleman, was appointed governor, at the head of 3000 cavalry and infantry; and young Oxenſtiern, out of reſpect to his father the reichs-chancellor, was declared commander of the militia.

In the capitulation the king gave Breda to underſtand, that at Augſburg no exceptions muſt be propoſed in regard to popery; and then, at the requeſt of the inhabitants, who beſought him to honour them with a viſit, made a triumphal entrance, attended by all the princes, generals, and foreign ambaſſadors then in his camp, but eſcorted

1632. only by a few chosen troops, in order to prevent confusion and plunder; so that the residue of the army was not allowed to pass the barrier of the city-gates.

In this town, the birth-place, if one may so speak, of the evangelical religion *, his majesty thought it incumbent on him, to behave with all possible humility, sweetness, and moderation: yet, at the same time, without injuring or discrediting the Roman catholics in any respect, restored the Augustan confession to its original lustre (which greatly piqued the elector of Saxony, who considered himself as first protestant prince in Germany †) and consigned the whole government of the town into the hands of the Lutherans and the reformed ‡. On his entering the city-gate, he dismounted and walked directly to St. Agnes-church, where the Lutheran service was performed with great decency; the ciii. Psalm sung, accompanied by a peal of organs; and Fabritius, the king's own chaplain, delivered a sermon on the following text, Psalm xii. verse 5, 6. *Now for the comfortless troubles sake of the needy, and because of the deep sighing of the poor, I will up, saith the Lord, and will help every one from him that swelleth against him, and will set him at rest.* From the church the procession advanced on horseback to a large square called the wine-market, where he commanded the inhabitants (which was thought to be a very extraordinary step, not only at Vienna and Munich, but at Dresden, Paris, Copenhagen, Whitehall, and the Hague) to take the oaths ‖ of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of Sweden, without mention made of its allies and associates §: confirming afterwards the charter of the citizens to them, without inserting or

* The *confession* was presented here to Charles V. in the year 1530, and is commonly called the *Augsburg* or *Augustan* confession: to which we may add the *Pacificatorium* concluded here in 1555. The town depends not in any shape upon the bishop, though he has a palace therein. The differences reigning between the papists and protestants were greatly harmonized at the peace of Munster; for by a partition-settlement the employs of government were equally divided, as well as the votes in public council; where twenty-two magistrates are of the Romish persuasion, and a like number of the evangelical and reformed.

† Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs, 4°. p. 55.

‡ Historical or Authentic Relation in Low Dutch, Tom. ii. p. 64—66.

‖ Histoire Politique du Siécle, 4°. Lond. 1757.

§ The express oath is to be seen in the Swedish Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 158.

expunging

expunging any thing. And here, amongſt acknowledgments from the magiſtrates and civilities on the part of the king, one of that venerable body took the liberty to tell him, "That the Swediſh troops appeared "to him irreſiſtible." The king, foraſmuch as the compliment ſeemed to carry no immediate connexion with the converſation then ſubſiſting, requeſted him to explain the reaſons, whereon he grounded that opinion: *Is it*, ſaid he, *on account of the number, or the valour, or the good fortune of my ſoldiers?* "No, Sire, replied the magiſtrate, but pointing to a company of guards drawn up before the apartment deſtined for the king's reception *; "Who could have imagined, that a ſet of men ſo "decent and well behaved in times of capitulation could have been "thoſe very perſons, whom we have ſeen ſo determined and intrepid in "the field of action †?" 1632.

During two days-reſidence here, an uncommon adventure happened to Gaſſion; for a rich citizen, with whom he lodged, was ſo much affected with his courteſy and politeneſs, that he made him an offer of a beautiful daughter in marriage with a very conſiderable dowry. His majeſty, midſt all the cares and tumults of war, allowed not ſuch a trifling circumſtance to eſcape his notice, and gave the young Frenchman ſeveral hints, by way of inducement, to a compliance: but Gaſſion was too much of a military enthuſiaſt to embrace the propoſal; and it is probable Guſtavus liked him never the worſe for making a ſacrifice of love to glory; ſince not many days afterwards he offered him any command in his own guards, ſaying aloud in German to the officers round him, *That his corps ſhould be ſurnamed the regiment of the pillow, becauſe when that was near him, he could ſleep in ſecurity* ‡.

His majeſty having now received great advantages from the ſubmiſſion of the Augſburgers, performed an action worthy of himſelf on leaving their city; for conſidering the merit, as well as long ſervices, of old

* In the palace of Fugger. This family, originally of Augſburg, is perhaps the moſt conſiderable, that ever was raiſed by merchandize. The emperor, Maximilian I. ennobled it, and made the Fuggers counts, who immediately purchaſed large eſtates between Augſburg and Ulm. Not many years ago, there were fifteen counts of this family, who all poſſeſſed diſtinct ſignories.

† Hiſt. du maréchal Gaſſion, [par Mich. le Pure.] Tom. i. p. 63.

‡ Ibid.

1632. Ruthven, (who defended Ulm, the royal magazin, as well as intended place of retreat, in caſe of accidents) he gave him a grant of the earldom of Kirchberg, which was ſuppoſed to be worth at leaſt eighteen hundred pounds a year, clear of contribution to the ſervice of the war *, and belonged, if I miſtake not, to a count Fugger, who was governor of the town, but acted ſubordinately to Breda, when that officer threw himſelf into it by Tilly's orders ſome days before the king arrived; who now retracing the footſteps of his former march, advanced to Aicha †, where duke Albert of Bavaria met him, ſecond brother of the elector, and begged a neutrality for himſelf, his family, and eſtate, under pretence, that he had never concerned himſelf in the preſent war. No diſcuſſion was made of the truth of theſe allegations, for the contrary was well underſtood to be true: but the anſwer returned was neither ill-applied nor devoid of ſpirit; namely, *that Louiſa Juliana, the dowager electreſs Palatin, and Elizabeth, then lawful queen of Bohemia, and her children, had not interfered in the affairs of the Palatinat; yet their poſſeſſions had been confiſcated, and they compelled, under the diſgrace of a proſcription, to petition a ſubſiſtence in foreign countries* ‡. Upon this duke Albert retired to Saltſburg, and joined the electreſs of Bavaria, who had withdrawn herſelf thither.

It was hoped by the Imperialiſts, that Augſburg would hurt the Swediſh troops as much as Capua injured the army of Hannibal; but the king wiſely obviated theſe inconveniencies, by ſtaying there only two days, and encamping his ſoldiers without the walls: he had moreover two great enterprizes to execute on returning from Augſburg ‖, having his eyes fixed not only upon Ingoldſtadt, but on Ratiſbon; both which ſchemes he propoſed to effect by breaking down one of the two bridges acroſs the Danube. But Tilly had parts enough to foreſee what ſo great a genius in the art of war would attempt to execute, and entreated the elector almoſt with his dying breath to ſpare no precautions with reſpect to the

* Monro, Expedition ii. p. 120.

† Some authors and map-makers call this place Waho. It muſt not be confounded with Aichſtadt.

‡ Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 159.

‖ Brachelii Hiſt. noſtror. temp. p. 280.

preſerva-

preservation of Ratisbon and Ingoldstadt *. And thus the king's pro- 1362.
ject, however well conceived, was rendered abortive.

Far from being dismayed with such disappointment, his majesty directed his whole thoughts against Ingoldstadt singly. This town, then considered as one of the strongest places in the empire, was of course esteemed the principal bulwark of Bavaria, and had formerly, during the reign of Charles V. rendered fruitless all the efforts of the Smalcaldic party. It lies half-way between Donawert and Ratisbon, and young Tilly †, whom the old man recommended to be governor, had three large chosen regiments under his command. It was one of those fortifications, which the warriors surname *la pucelle*, and maintained that character in respect to *sieges* (for Farenbach only betrayed it afterwards) till the Austrians took it by capitulation in the year 1742.

This town belongs to the elector, though it standeth not on the Bavarian side of the Danube. It was protected on that quarter where the Swedes approached it by two or three slanting rivulets (whose bridges by some accident had been neglected to be broken down) as likewise by a very troublesome morass. One large bridge crosses the Danube, and another passes athwart the town: at the foot of the former, (called, if my accounts deceive me not, the gallows-bridge) were two outworks, extremely well fortified, and hardly possible to be taken by storm; so that it is probable the king expected some concurrence from a part of the garrison (and the rather, as the seeds of Farenbach's and Cratz's conspiracy were then supposed to be sown) though at that time nothing discovered itself to the advantage of the Swedes. Nevertheless the king made his troops approach the walls more nearly than appeared otherwise reconcileable to a judgment expert like his in the art of investing a well-defended town. Nay, what was still more, the elector of Bavaria lay encamped with all his troops on the opposite banks of the Danube, so that each army could discover the other's motions by the assistance only of the naked eye.

* Bertius de Bellis Germanic.

† Many historians, as Le Vassor, de Serres, &c. call this young man Tilly's son, but that general lived and died unmarried; and it was remarked of him, as well by enemies as friends, that he never indulged in any unlawful amour. He was probably his nephew: what became of him after this period, no where appears.

The

1692. The lines being now finiſhed, and the batteries erected, a ſudden and alarming accident befel the king; for as he was riding about on his favourite palfrey, to make obſervations, (and the ſhortneſs of his eye-ſight always carried him too near the danger) a cannon-ball, well aimed, and weighing at leaſt fourteen pounds, ſtruck the mare full in the flank, (ſo near the king's leg, that the fleſh was ruffled) and overturned her more times than one. The ſame ball, in the rapidity of its paſſage, knocked down Gaſſion without touching him; who ſtood partly on a line juſt before his maſter. It was the opinion of all the by-ſtanders, that the king was cruſhed with the fury of the ſtroke, for he lay covered in dirt and blood, and rolled over twice or thrice after he received the blow. Gaſſion, half recovering his ſenſes, ran to him, but one of the king's equerries had raiſed him from his trance; *How*, ſaid he, *was it poſſible for the enemy to hit me? I conceived myſelf to be out of danger.* In an inſtant all his generals crouded round him, and conjured him earneſtly to retire; but he mounted a freſh ſteed, and kept the field.

By this eſcape, his majeſty had the good fortune ſtill to verify his old obſervation, that no king had ever been killed by a cannon-ball; yet this deſtiny was reſerved afterwards for one of his ſucceſſors *.

I have read ſomewhere, (but cannot at preſent recollect in what author) a different account of this accident; namely, that there was an old culverin, in Ingoldſtadt, of immeaſurable length, which rarely miſſed its object at a great diſtance, and had performed wonders againſt the proteſtants in the Smalcaldic wars. Now it is ſuppoſed by this relator, that the king taſted of its unerring qualities; and the rather, as he rode a little white † mare, which rendered his perſon more diſtinguiſhable.

* Charles XII.

† It is ſurprizing to me, that hiſtorians ſhould differ ſo much about the colour of this quadruped. One ſays ſhe was milk white, another avers her to be dark-grey, and a third variegates her with white and black ſpots like a tyger; whereas the ſaid animal was dug up and ſtuffed juſt after the accident, and preſerved in the arſenal of Ingoldſtadt, for the edification of all travellers, memoir-writers, and hiſtoriographers. For my own part, I never ſaw her; and muſt leave this important doubt in the ſame ſtate, that I find it. But be the matter as it will, it was certainly ill judged in the king, to ride a creature of ſo particular a colour.

In

In the evening, when he returned to his tent, all his generals, assem- 1632.
bled in a body, besought him, in the most earnest terms, to take another sort of care of a life so valuable. As he had often received representations upon this subject, he returned them an answer, which I suppose to be in part premeditated; and for that reason chuse to insert it, having recited in the course of my history so many replies of his, which arose incidentally and extemporaneously from the incidents before him. The answer therefore, that he gave them, was to this effect; *That the cannon-ball, which had approached him so nearly, (not to mention various accidents of a similar, though less dangerous nature, and thirteen wounds he had received besides,) admonished him plainly of his mortality; and that he had no more title to plead exemption from death, than the meanest soldier, that served under him; since neither crowns nor victories could secure any human being from this general law of nature. That he had no part to take, except resigning himself to God's providence; and nothing to bequeath his comrades in war, but a firm assurance, that the justice of the cause, wherein they were engaged, had other assistances in store, besides the precarious existence of* ONE GUSTAVUS *. Indeed,* added he, *there is a circumstance, that afflicts me greatly: some have given a sinister interpretation to all my actions, and others have attempted to tarnish my reputation, by basely insinuating, that the only objects of his Swedish majesty are fresh acquisitions of wealth, and power. But the Supreme Being knows, in that respect, the sincerity of my soul; and my hope is, that he will inspire me with grace to confound the envy and calumny of the public.—The sums advanced by me, the debts discharged by me, my past conduct and future intentions, may, in the long run, convince the most perverse and blind, that the only object of my expedition was the re-establishment of Germanic liberty* †.

Either Tilly made an inexpressible fire from the redoubts next the bridge, or the events of that day were of an inauspicious cast; for soon after the king's disaster, another cannon-ball carried off half the head of Christopher, the young margrave of Baden-Dourlach, as he was dis-

* Soldat Suedois, p. 498. Merc. Franc. en l'an 1632. p. 229.

† Hist. de Louis XIII. par le Vassor. Tom. VII. 175, 176.

1632. causing him some offence in his foot. The whole body of Swedish generals was rendered inconsolable by this misfortune, for his courage was of the clearest and most distinguishing sort. But his aged father's * answer, upon receiving the news a few minutes after the accident happened, hath something in it highly worthy to be remembered; *I am a father*, (said he to those, who came to condole with him) *but am a Christian likewise.—My son belonged to God, by a prior right than he belonged to me: happy! that he died like a prince and like a soldier.—Complaints are only to be employed about those children, who live with infamy, and expire in cowardice. I have loved nothing, but with a firm resolution to resign it upon demand, except it be my conscience, and my liberty.—As the first stroke of cannon proved favourable to the only support of the protestant cause, I have reason to digest the ill effects of the second, and (upon extended views,) rather rejoice, than lament, at the eventual conclusion of this extraordinary day* †. When the king considered both the old man, and the young man, it is reported, that he shed tears on the occasion ‡.

At almost the same instant, that the prince was killed, the unfortunate Tilly expired in Ingolstadt: and as the son and father (for reasons needless to be recited) hated that general, and were reciprocally hated by him, his majesty could not help remarking, *how fatal one place and minute had proved to two such inveterate enemies* §. The king likewise had no personal affection to Tilly, disliking him much on account of the cruelties he exercised at Magdeburg, and never truly forgetting, that in one of his applications to him, he had styled him *cavalier* instead of king. Yet on this occasion, justice and nature gained the ascendant over disgust and pique; *Alas*, said he, *the* HONOURABLE *old Tilly is now no more* ‖.

* In 1622, this brave old man fought the battle of Wimfen, against Tilly and Gonsalvo di Cordoua; being then lieutenant general to the princes of the union. He then served his Danish majesty, and being obliged to leave his troops in 1626, made his escape in a small boat. Afterward he lived, with variety of fortune, the life of an exile, having been proscribed by the emperor.

† Mercure François, en l'an 1632, p. 238. Hist. or Auth. Relat. fol. Tom. ii. 67.

‡ Heylinapni Leo Arctoüs, p. 156.

§ Swedish Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 261.

‖ Monro's Second Expedition, p. 118. Adelzreiter Ann. Bav. Part iii. p. 257.

No

No soldier ever died in greater torture. The elector of Bavaria sate 1632.
constantly by his bed-side, and it is reported, that Tilly spoke to him in the following manner: "Your highness may remember, that in the "middle and advanced stages of life, I have had enough of reputation, "and glory in abundance. Oh, that instead of surviving my fame, "I had expired in the great decision of Leipsic! It had been for your "advantage, and my honour.---Two things I must leave on your highness's mind, by way of dying advice: never break your alliance with "the emperor; and make Cratz commander of your army. That officer has courage to serve you, fidelity to content you, and parts to "assist you. He will conduct your troops with reputation, and, as he "knows Wallstein, will traverse his designs. Necessity requires you should "act the dissembler, and submit to the extravagancies of that insolent "man: for except you can allure him to join you with the Imperial "army, Gustavus will enter Bavaria; and when he will relinquish it, "heaven only knows.—Not being conscious I have ever used your highness ill in the command of your armies, I shall ask no forgiveness; "contented and thankful to die, as you honour me with your attention "in my last moments, of which very few now remain upon my hands. "Let me beseech you, therefore, out of pure compassion, to leave "me; and as I have an account to render for human failings, transgressions, and errors, permit me, after having justified myself in your "opinion, to make my peace with God *." He then kissed the elector's hand, who retired with tears.

Thus died John Tchzertlas, count de Tilly, of whom we have spoken so much, not only through the course of the wars, but in a distinct note, that it may suffice to observe, he had passed through every stage of military life, from a foot soldier to the post of generalissimo. It is observed by some, that he blamed Pappenheim in his last moments †; and it is remarked by all writers, that he never indulged himself in wine or women. Yet still, beyond all contradiction, he was over zealous in his own religion: and the cruelties exercised at Magdeburg, considering the

* Bertius de bellis Germanicis. † Heylmanni Leo Arctoüs, 4°. p. 54.

1632. temperate and virtuous life he led, ſeem to me reſolvable only into ſheer right bigotry. So that one is at little loſs to aſſign a motive for what no reaſonable being can produce a juſtification! The court of Waldſtein (as the language then ran) received the news of his death with viſible marks of ſatisfaction. He was born of Walloon parents, and not very nobly deſcended: but created count by the emperor, with the title of *illuſtriſſimus*. He bequeathed the rich diamond-ring, which the infanta Iſabella gave him, to the holy virgin of Oetingen, and left 10,000 l. to the veteran bands, that had ſerved under him, eſpecially the four regiments of infantry, which had made ſuch great efforts in the wood, after the battle of Leipſic was loſt. And thus this illuſtrious chieftain experienced his own prophecy concerning war, which he had uttered formerly at Ratiſbon.

His majeſty employed eight days in beleaguering and attacking Ingolſtadt, which, in reſpect to ſieges, may be conſidered as the ſharpeſt ſervice during the whole courſe of the thirty years wars. Though wounded in making the firſt diſpoſitions for poſſeſſing two redoubts ſword in hand, yet nothing abated the keenneſs of his ardour, notwithſtanding the defendants had the command of re-inforcements in abundance; for the elector of Bavaria lay with his army under the town walls, on the other ſide of the Danube; ſo that the king was obliged to leave a body of troops all night, (for fear of a ſally, which he had reaſon to expect) drawn up in fair battaglia, within reach not only of the enemies great guns, but of their muſquetry. Yet never ſoldiers ſupported a cool maſſacre with more patience, or in better order; though the valiant Monro confeſſes, in the honeſty of his heart, "That it was "the longeſt night (for an eighteenth of April) that he ever ſaw *;" and, what was more diſagreeable, the Swedes thought it meer waſte of ball and powder to fire a gun. Monro loſt twelve men in one company by a ſingle cannon-ſhot: and more than three hundred brave fellows were left dead upon the ground, which they had occupied whilſt alive.

Next evening a thouſand commanded muſqueteers were ordered to attack the principal of the two redoubts ſword in hand; his majeſty attending

* Expedit. ii. p. 180.

tending the enterprize in person. The Swedes having made incredible 1632.
efforts, cleared the ditch, and entered the half-moon; but as young Tilly wanted no supply of hands (for by means of the bridge he could have marched not only the garrison, but the whole Bavarian army, against the assailants) his majesty found himself obliged, in common prudence, to sound a retreat. All perhaps, that could be wanted by him, was to gain the redoubts and destroy the bridge, for then the electoral forces had not power to enter into their own country; but this, for reasons assigned, appeared to be an undertaking too difficult, as well as too dangerous. Therefore, all on a sudden he raised the siege, (for which great stroke of self-denial, the continuator of Fouesti applauds him with rapture;) leaving Banier to conduct the rear of his army, who repulsed the pursuing garrison with great coolness and judgment. Nothing now remained for the inhabitants, but to dig up the king's pallisy, which had been concealed in the earth near his tent; whose skin they curiously stuffed, and reposited in their arsenal. Nevertheless, upon the whole, the citizens of Ingoldstadt were more polite to a four-footed beast, than the people of Breda were to the boat, by which their town was surprised; for the latter, having dragged it round the streets, hanselled it severely, hung it up in their stadt-house as a public trophy.

It was during this siege, (which I could not observe without breaking my narration) that the elector of Bavaria made a fresh attempt towards a reconcilement, greatly alarmed with the apprehensions of losing Ingolstadt, and fearing to draw the war into the bowels of his own country. This artful prince had three views in the present negotiation: he wanted to create delays; or seize some fortunate incident, which might casually present itself; or sow the seeds of perplexity, and misunderstanding, between the kings of France and Sweden: but Gustavus pierced through this thin veil of artifice with a single glance. Under the influence however of Munich politics, St. Etienne made a visit to the royal camp; where the king, for certain reasons, chose to receive his proposals in the presence of his Bohemian majesty, and several princes and generals. There the French minister told him, with an air of confidence, "That "the elector, who had the strongest inclination imaginable towards a

"peace,

1622. "peace, had disapproved of Tilly's enterprize with respect to Bamberg, and employed himself that very instant in devising expedients, whereby to pave the king's admission into Bavaria."—but Gustavus interrupted him point-blank in this preamble, and told him, *tetidem verbis, That he was not a person to be amused and trifled by mere sounds. Sir*, said he, *the king, your master, may have excellent intentions, and if so, they bear no conformity to the language you assume. But as to the elector of Bavaria, he seeks only to create delays and interruptions; he is a sort of prince, who keeps in his wardrobe a set of upper garments of various hues, and changes those exterior robes convertibly with his interests; wearing black one day, white a second day, variegated colours a third day;—but always concealing the Burgundian cross next his heart. If it be his sincere desire to be well received in our court, let him produce himself in one unvarying form;—let him open the gates of Ingoldstadt, disband his army, refund his contributions, restore the Palatinat, reform what is past, and give good security for all which is to come**.

St. Etienne stood astonished, to find the king as clear-sighted and determined in the cabinet, as in the field of action; and whilst he ransacked his brain to devise some answer, either solid or plausible, Gustavus resumed the discourse, and added, *That he had intercepted a letter, of very fresh date, wherein the emperor had promised to send Walstein into Bavaria, at the head of 50,000 men. With all my heart*, continued he, *the elector will have signal opportunities to shew his hospitality, and abundance of guests to entertain, friends as well as enemies, who want not for good appetites, and quick digestion. For my own part, I intend to prove an expensive visitant†.*

As the French negotiator had erred before in point of decorum, he now made a second false step, through pure inadvertency; for he obliquely insinuated, "That his most Christian majesty had a formidable "army not far removed from the empire, and might, in all probability, "greatly diminish the rejection of proposals from the duke of Bavaria."

* Goldast Scotus, p. 503. Hist. et Annal. ex ed. La Vallée. Thuan. vi. p. 269. Relat. Tom. iii. 66.

This

This was touching the king's tender in the only vulnerable part: his 1632.
eyes assumed a fierceness in an instant, and he scouted St. Etienne, as one who did not merit to be considered as a private gentleman: *Say no more*, continued he, *I pardon thy ignorance: thou knowest neither thy master, nor me. When thou makest such advances, bring me an authority signed by the king's own hand; and when thou pleadest for an unfortunate prince, like the elector of Bavaria, support thyself with dignity. The familiar freedoms of thy nation are sometimes overlooked, and sometimes despised, but in the present case, they are insupportable. Know, that I am offended, and victorious**.

By this time the elector of Bavaria had made an irruption into the Upper Palatinat, in order to cause a diversion in favour of his own dominions, and hinder the enemy from marching on directly to Munich. Gustavus well considered this movement, and entered the heart of Bavaria notwithstanding, foreseeing wisely, that if he followed the duke, who shaped his course towards Bohemia, Walstein and he might then be obliged to conjoin their forces, by express injunctions from the court of Vienna, and that the two combined armies might overpower him by dint of numbers. He therefore adhered inflexibly to his first idea, knowing, that he should thereby force the elector back; and foreknowing too, that Walstein, from a principle of private animosity, would make no digression to a point so far removed from him, as the capital of the electorate.

Leaving Ingolstadt therefore, he marched to Eychstet, where the whole army paid the honours of sepulture to the young margrave, making two discharges of all their musquetry and artillery. Next day he conducted his troops to Mosberg, a long stretch of twenty miles; and thence detached Horn and Hepburn, at the head of 8000 horse and foot, to besiege Landshut, a small beautiful town, situated on the conflux of the Iser and Ampter, and usually styled the *pupil* of Bavaria's eye. When these officers arrived, their prospect of success appeared unpromising; for 1300 Bavarian dragoons threw themselves unexpectedly into

* Le Vassor, Tom. vii. 169.

the

1632. the place, having made a march that day of ſix and thirty miles; but when they beheld a large column of Swediſh infantry advance, they changed countenance, croſſed the Iſer, and broke down the bridge. Next morning Horn ſent a meſſenger into the town, firſt by way of ſpy, and ſecondly, with the power of performing the part of a negotiator with the inhabitants: but the fellow found all the houſes locked and barricaded, nor could he procure an interview with any human being, even through a caſement. Upon this, Horn commanded all his troops to advance, and raiſed a ſharp contribution of 15,000 l. by his maſter's orders; for this place had undertaken to levy and maintain ſix troops of horſe, at its own expence, during the whole courſe of the wars. Hence it was, that the ſum demanded was paid with chearfulneſs, and a reconciling fee of 300 l. * was advanced gratuitouſly to the general.

Next morning arrived his majeſty. And when the citizens preſented him the town keys upon their knees, he ſaid to them, *Riſe, it is your duty to worſhip God, and not me* †. He then made a viſit to the palace, or as ſome call it, the caſtle, which he ſurveyed with equal pleaſure and attention, as it had been conſidered (at leaſt by the Germans) in the lights of a maſter-piece in Italian architecture: when on a ſudden, being ſeized with a ſort of fainting fit, he was obliged to repoſe himſelf on a neighbouring ſeat for ſome time. He then mounted on horſeback, in order to leave the town; but on his arrival at the Jewiſh-gate, found himſelf conſtrained to take ſhelter there, for a tempeſt of thunder and lightning aroſe, whoſe violence cannot well be deſcribed. That being once paſſed over, he ſaid to Horn, *Go back, and free the inhabitants from their incertitude* ‡; for as yet he had given them no aſſurances of pardon.

May. His majeſty then returned to Moſberg, and advancing from thence to Freyſingen, laid the city and dioceſe under contribution, haſtening onwards with great diſpatch to Munich, upon receiving intelligence (which was not afterwards verified) that Walſtein began to move towards the

* One account ſays 3000 l. but the additional cypher appears to me a typographical error.

† Heylmani Leo Arctoüs, 4°. p. 58.

‡ Ibid, 58, 59.

Upper

Upper Palatinat, and chuſing therefore to ſecure the capital of Bavaria before any other notable diverſion could be effected elſewhere. Here St. Etienne interfered again, and requeſted leave to negotiate a good capitulation with the inhabitants of Munich, but waſted ſo much time in frivolous propoſals and delays, that the king ſuſpected him, and marched on. Alarmed a little at ſuch compendious proceedings, St. Etienne beſought his majeſty to ſtifle the reſentments of himſelf and his army, and not lay the town in ruins: to which it was anſwered with an air of frankneſs, *That if the magiſtracy ſubmitted promptly, and with a good grace, care ſhould be taken, that no man ſhould ſuffer with reſpect to life, liberty, or religion.* The French miniſter ſoon conveyed this intelligence to the inhabitants, who, correſpondently to his majeſty's gracious propoſition, paid their court to him on the road; but, in imitation of their maſter, endeavoured to amuſe him with long and artful preliminaries, which had the fate to be rejected almoſt as ſoon as propoſed. At length it was agreed to make him an offer of 36,000 l. by way of exempting the town from plunder: but the king inſiſted upon receiving one third more; under which demand it was thought prudent to acquieſce. He next day entered the town at the head of three regiments only, accompanied by the king of Bohemia and ſeveral other great perſonages. The two kings took up their reſidence in the electoral palace. The garriſon received very generous uſage; for though the Swediſh horſe occupied all the paſſes throughout the country, yet it was allowed them to retire in ſafety without the ceremony of a capitulation. 1632.

Munich is a large and beautiful city, ſurrounded with vaſt plains, extremely fertile, and as finely watered as any in Europe. Maximilian, the then elector, had erected there a magnificent palace, adorned with pictures, which proceeded from the hands of the greateſt Flemiſh and Italian maſters. Guſtavus removed not a ſingle piece, which is more than can be ſaid of ſome ſucceeding conquerors. Charles I. of England, as we obſerved before, had an inclination to perform, what a great warrior effected afterwards *; but the ſtrictneſs of Guſtavus's morals, would

* Geographie Univerſelle, Tom. v. 192.

1632. not allow a depredation, though ſanctified with the excuſes of *con guſto et con l'amore.* Indeed there was a chimney-piece, of rich marble, which ſtruck the king's fancy; inſomuch, that he declared, between jeſt and earneſt, that he had a ſort of inclination to tranſport it to Stockholm: be that as it will, it did not anſwer my expectations, when I had the opportunity to examine it, and made me conclude, that our hero's excellence lay more in *military* architecture than the *civil.* He was likewiſe greatly pleaſed with the good taſte and modeſty of the monument, erected to the memory of William V. which, inſtead of being decorated with full-bodied weeping angels, ſcythes, hour-glaſſes, ſhanks, and ſkulls, conſiſted only of a well-proportioned tomb, with a crucifix a-top.

As to plate, jewels, and other valuable moveables, the Swedes found the palace entirely diſfurniſhed; every thing portable and precious, paintings excepted, being previouſly removed to Saltzburg, to which city the elector and electreſs had retired, with duke Albert their brother. And thus the family, that had diſturbed the peace of Germany for twelve years, proſcribed the perſons, or confiſcated the poſſeſſions, of half the proteſtant princes, and made almoſt every village the ſeat of devaſtation, at the expence of the lives of more than a million of people, was now obliged to relinquiſh its own abode, and (labouring under a neceſſity, almoſt as diſagreeable as lying beneath the ban of the empire) compelled to ſeek food and refuge in another prince's territories like wanderers and exiles.

When Guſtavus entered the town, many of his principal officers perſuaded him to plunder this palace, appertaining to the grand fomentor of all diſturbances, and commit it to the flames; to which his anſwer was, *My good friends, let us not imitate our anceſtors of confuſion, the Goths and Vandals, who, by deſtroying every thing that belonged to the fine arts, have delivered down to poſterity their barbarity and want of taſte, as a ſort of proverb and by-word of contempt* *. And here (whatever ſome authors may aſſert to the contrary) it appears, from the leaſt diſputable authorities, that the elector Palatin diſcovered a very manly and Chriſtian ſpirit;

* Le Vaſſor; Hiſt. de Loüis XIII. Tom. vii. p. 177.
† Singolarità, &c. di Paganino Gaudentio, 4°. 128.

for

for though his Bavarian kinſman had plundered and depopulated all his dominions, ſtormed Heidelberg, ranſacked the palace, and tranſported the famous library to Rome, he diſcovered no joy upon contemplating this reverſe of fortune, nor touched a ſingle cabinet, bronze, or picture; and at dinner Guſtavus told him, with a view queſtionleſs to his future re-eſtabliſhment, *that he might ſoon expect to eat at Heidelberg, as he could now make a repaſt at Munich.* 1632.

As the king entered this city without bloodſhed, he made a preſent of about five ſhillings Engliſh to all the ſoldiers then in his army; and as the inhabitants received him with a chearful countenance, remitted them that third part of the contribution, which he had lately demanded. No attempts were ſpared by him of the ingratiating kind: he ſhook one man by the hand, called a ſecond by his name, and ordered a third to be covered; and with a view to familiarize himſelf to the eyeſight of the populace, it was his cuſtom to marſhal his ſoldiers every morning with the aſſiduity of a ſimple colonel; nor was it unuſual with him to diſmount various times in one review, take a muſquet from the hands of the loweſt probationer, and teach him the ſeveral poſtures and motions. And here he ſhewed the Bavarians, by way of unuſual ſpectacle, the art of firing in platoons, (which we have obſerved elſewhere to be his own invention) as alſo another method he had of giving fire upon a new principle in ambuſcades.

On the feſtival of Holy-Thurſday, his majeſty ordered (for the firſt time at Munich) the proteſtant ſervice to be performed in the caſtle, as likewiſe a ſermon to be delivered on account of his late proſperous enterprize, and made choice of the ſinging Pſalms himſelf. In the afternoon he went to ſee the popiſh manner of celebrating the aſcenſion. Thence attended by two companions, he paid a viſit to the Jeſuits college, where the rector pronounced to him a very magnificent piece of oratory, to which the king replied extempore, in a manner leſs turgid, and more laconic; and as he had been witneſs, that day, to the celebration of maſs, took occaſion from thence to enter into a ſyllogiſtical diſcuſſion of tranſubſtantiation and communion *ſub unâ*; which diſpute, ſay ſome, concluded with more good manners than utility.

1632. Others again maintain, that he took Gaſſion, and another officer with him, purely to entertain the major part of the Jeſuits in diſcourſe, and made a digreſſion from the theological parts of the converſation, till at length the reverend fathers gave him ſome intimations with reference to the train of artillery, which the elector had cauſed to be concealed. On neither point is it in my power to pronounce with certainty. All we know is, he behaved with great friendlineſs to the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics in general, and, amongſt others, treated the Capuchins with viſible marks of diſtinction: which was ſuppoſed to be done out of compliment to father Joſeph, who kept a private correſpondence with him and the other proteſtant princes. It is moreover thoroughly well known, that he allowed maſs to be publicly celebrated during his whole reſidence in this city; and when a zealous Capuchin exhorted him to embrace the religion of Rome, he heard him with patience, and by his countenance appeared to be in no degree offended, making allowances for the probable goodneſs of his intentions. He then diſtributed money to the populace, and ordered alms to be given to the ſick and indigent. Yet all this humanity, conjoined with politeneſs, could not ſecure to him what he greatly wiſhed to poſſeſs; namely, ſome ſecreted manuſcripts, that had been unjuſtly taken from the library at Heidelberg.

It was now that the Daniſh ambaſſador, whom we have lately mentioned, made a ſecond offer of his maſter's ſervices in the character of a mediator between Guſtavus and the emperor: but the former ſaw through the artifice, (having ſome reaſons to doubt his northern neighbour's ſincerity) and obſerving at the firſt glance, that ſuch a propoſal ſerved only to gain time, roundly told him, that he could take no ſtep of ſuch extraordinary conſequence, without conſulting and procuring the aſſent of thoſe powers, who had called him from the depths of the north into Germany.

St. Etienne took this opportunity to renew his ſolicitations in behalf of Bavaria, but the king continued immoveable upon that ſubject, and gave him no anſwers but what conſiſted of ſharp invectives, conceived in general and indiſtinct terms.

It was matter of ſurprize with his majeſty to find the arſenal of Munich entirely diſ-garniſhed of cannon, which ſome months before

was

was well known to be the beſt furniſhed of any in Germany. It is true 1632.
he found the carriages, but they were all diſmounted of their artillery. At length, having received ſome private intelligence concerning the matter, he ſet himſelf, the next day, (according to his own phraſe) to *unbury the dead*; and breaking up the pavement, where no marks of concealment were viſible, diſcovered in large vaults beneath, one hundred and forty pieces of field and battering ordnance, twelve of which were very fine ones, of uncommon ſhape and workmanſhip, which the elector uſed to ſtyle (if the profaneneſs of the expreſſion may be pardoned) the twelve apoſtles. Three other pieces were found, ſo very large, that it was not poſſible to remove them to any conſiderable diſtance; and on many of them were to be ſeen the arms of Brunſwic, Denmark, and the Palatinat: and in the undermoſt of them all, ſurnamed *die ſau* *, was diſcovered a cartridge more efficacious in war than thoſe generally approved of, for it contained 15000 Hungarian ducats. Abundance of regimentals were likewiſe found, wherewith the king cloathed a conſiderable part of his army. And now he made a ſhort excurſion from Munich, in order to chaſtiſe the Bavarian peaſants, who had maſſacred his ſoldiers, and mangled and tortured them in the cruelleſt manner; to which, it muſt not be diſſembled, the licentiouſneſs of the Swedes had adminiſtered no ſmall provocation, much to their maſter's diſpleaſure; for the beſt diſciplined troops are apt to grow inſolent and barbarous, when it is their fortune to over-run a rich country without oppoſition.

Whilſt the king repreſſed the inſurrection of the peaſants, Cratz in his abſence attacked Munich without ſucceſs ‡: he then made a detachment of 2000 infantry and Cronenberg's regiment of horſe, and rendered himſelf maſter of Weiſſemburg, where through ſome miſapprehenſion, ſuppoſed to be intentional, the articles of capitulation were violated by the Bavarians, and 800 Swediſh infantry, and 200 horſe put to the ſword. The king wrote a ſharp letter to the elector on the con-

* In Engliſh, the female wild ſwine, an emblem of fury, the torrent of that ravaging river the *Savus* ſignifies *die ſau*, and is ſo called by the natives.

‡ Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation, in Low Dutch, Tom. ii. p. 72.

duct

1632. duct of his general; he threatened a retaliation at Munich (but it was only a threat, for he never performed it,) and demanded Cratz in perſon to be delivered up to his juſtice.

Fluſhed with this ſlight ſucceſs at Weiſſemburg, the elector of Bavaria returned from Saltzburg to Ratiſbon †, and prevailed on the magiſtracy, as well as Salis the governor, to admit ſome companies of infantry, by way of garriſon, who, under pretence of being reviewed, marched out of town on Sunday morning during the time of divine ſervice, diſcharging a certain number of muſquet-ſhots as a ſort of ſignal.---The general Cratz ‡ (that partly replaced Tilly,) who lay in ambuſh hard by, ruſhed into the city at the head of 2000 foot, and 500 cavalry; and, whab

† A moſt agreeable city with a magnificent bridge acroſs the Danube, which in the Gothic taſte may be pronounced to be an extremely fine one. The diet of the empire hath been uſually held here, having received no interruption from 1662 to 1742: when Charles VII. being choſen emperor, and making war againſt the houſe of Auſtria, convened the diet at Francfort upon the Mayn, which on the election of Francis I. was referred to Ratiſbon.

And here perhaps it may be allowed me to remark incidentally, that few places can be more inſtructive to a traveller, who goes abroad more to improve his mind, than his eyes or ears. For here he may have acceſs to men of choſen underſtandings, deputed not only from every ſtate and principality in Germany, but from courts of great conſequence beyond the limits of the empire: and thus within a circle of inconſiderable circumference, may learn, from the beſt inſtructors the maxims, policy, forms of government, military force, commerce, &c. of various nations, the northern eſpecially: advantages, not to be procured ſo eaſily either in a great metropolis, or even at the Hague, where the more curious ſtranger muſt depend not only on an affluence of fortune, but on the peculiar gifts of addreſs, and recommendations of the ſtrongeſt nature from people of diſtinguiſhed rank and knowledge.

‡ John Philip, count de Scharpſenſtein. I cannot paſs by this ſtrange phenomenon of a warrior without ſubjoining a note, whoſe hiſtory extends beyond the death of the king of Sweden: for Cratz's life was a ſeries of bravery, misfortune, and ill-management. He was an officer of long ſervice, and gave the favourable turn to the battle of Prague in 1618, for which reaſon he was created a count by the emperor. It was his maxim never to quit the field of action; and thus it was his unhappineſs to be taken priſoner at the battle of Leipſic. It was not in the elector of Bavaria's power to make him generaliſſimo over the army of the league conformably to Tilly's dying advice; for upon that promotion Walſtein threatned to abandon him to the reſentments of the Swedes without remorſe. Upon this Cratz retired, but his maſter conjured him to return, made him governor of Ingoldſtadt, and promiſed him the poſt of captain-general in three months. Walſtein and he had quarreled originally (many years before this period) about a lady. When Cratz came back to his court he gave the former a piece of intelligence relating to the enemy, formed upon his own ocular obſervation. Walſtein called an aid de camp, and bid him mount on horſe-back, and ſee if the circumſtances were truly related: upon which Cratz challenged him without ceremony, and told him he would make his ſword ſpeak plainer than his tongue.

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what was ſtill more imprudent, allowed his ſoldiers to commit moſt 1632.
outrageous

The duke de Weymar, or, as formerly, Guſtavus Horn *, thought this a ſufficient reaſon to tempt the Bavarian commander into the Swediſh ſervice, and upon an exchange of priſoners ſent an officer of parts to try his virtue, diſguiſed in the habit of a trumpeter. This negotiator ſoon found an opportunity of looking, as if he had ſomething to impart in private. Cratz complied, and having heard his propoſal unconcernedly, aſked him with a ſmile, *if the duke would make him biſhop of Aichſtadt?* Nothing more paſſed, the officer took the innuendo, and retired.

Some days afterwards, having waited a little for fear of ſuſpicion, the ſame perſon returned in the ſame dreſs, making Cratz an offer of the poſt of camp-maſter-general in the Swediſh army. In return Cratz agreed to give duke Bernard an opportunity of ſeizing Ingolſtadt by night, (the key of admiſſion into Bavaria, for Guſtavus's ſucceſſor had not the vanity of aſpiring to croſs the Lech a ſecond time) and to this purpoſe diſpatched the better part of his garriſon on ſome chimerical errand, giving out likewiſe, that a body of Aldringer's men had orders to replace theſe ſoldiers at Ingolſtadt; for the Swedes were to come at midnight, and perſonate this little army. But as ſtratagems and diſappointments are often convertible terms in the military profeſſion, duke Bernard and his detachment miſſed their way, and arrived under the walls a few minutes after day-break. Cratz boldly pronounced this body of troops to be Aldringer's regiments, and ordered the town-gate to be opened; but an officer diſcovered the Swediſh colours (which the troops had brought with them, being ſure of entering Ingolſtadt in profound darkneſs) and perceiving a trumpeter in the firſt rank, whom Cratz had diſpatched that night to Aldringer upon other buſineſs, and whom the Swedes had taken priſoner, and made uſe of as a guide, he immediately comprehended ſomething, and gave the alarm of treachery. Upon this the Swedes returned thoroughly diſappointed, and the governor apprehended it was high time to ſhift the ſcene. Walſtein ſoon diſcovered this perfidy, and diſpatched a courier to adverti ſe the elector to arreſt Cratz, and ordered Aldringer likewiſe to ſeize him, if by chance he paſſed through Ratiſbon. Cratz (who told the officers of his garriſon he was going to Vienna in order to lay his commiſſion at the emperor's feet) reached Ratiſbon juſt before the ſecond mentioned expreſs arrived, and had paid a viſit to Aldringer, if an officer had not informed him, that that general had devoted the evening to a banquet of feſtivity, and for certain reaſons would be better pleaſed not to be interrupted. At that inſtant Cratz's ſteward informed him by letter, that five companies of infantry had taken up their quarters upon his eſtate, which tempted him to mount on horſeback immediately in order to diſpoſſeſs them: but an expreſs from a friend at Ratiſbon overtook him on the road, and told him Aldringer had ſeized his equipage and baggage, and diſpatched fifty cavaliers to bring him back dead or alive. Uncertain what to do, he puſhed on for Poland, through the northern parts of Bohemia, thoſe parts being leſs crowded with Walſtein's ſoldiers. In the proſecution of this journey he met an Imperial commander (and they both knew each other very well) returning from making enquiries after him by Walſtein's orders. The officer applied immediately to a Poliſh nobleman to lend him ſome vaſſals in order to purſue and take the offender; but the Polander told him, "It did not become *a prince like himſelf* to act "the part of a ſbirro or a conſtable." Cratz then reached Cracow, but to his great mortification the king was abſent. He then ſent an explanation of his conduct to Vienna, and made propoſals of reconcilement; but Walſtein was all-powerful in the cabinet there, and no anſwer was vouchſafed him. After many wanderings from place to place, he at length found his way to the Swediſh army, and conformed to the Lutheran religion; joining duke Bernard

* Galeazzo Gualdo.

the

1632. outrageous diſorders. The elector then joined the garriſon with all his forces, and gave directions for new fortifications in various parts. As Ratiſbon hath always been conſidered in the Germanic ſyſtem as a ſort of ſacred peculiar, many people looked upon this enterprize as a very

the night before the fatal battle of Nordlingen: which gave that prince ſo much joy, that he embraced him, and thanked him in the preſence of all his officers. Nevertheleſs, he joined with Horn in the council of war, and pronounced the diſpoſitions of the enſuing day to be raſh and hazardous.

In that tranſaction he repelled the Imperialiſts in their very firſt fortunate impreſſion, and killed Aldobrandini, grand prior of Malta, with his own hand, and to his infinite regret, for he was the neareſt and deareſt to him of all his friends; but in the hurry of the action he did not recollect him. Duke Bernard ſtayed on the field as long as he could, without incurring the ſuſpicion of being thought a madman, and at length conſented with tears in his eyes to a retreat; and as Cratz had fought all day with 1600 Swedes againſt 4000 Imperialiſts, he implored him by an aid de camp to conſult his ſafety, and retire immediately. His anſwer was, that he would ſecure the retreat of the army, and have the honour to follow him by and by. There he fought on till not a ſingle ſoldier was left at his elbow, and mixing with the enemy's troops, walked up and down the field (being unhorſed long before) with his ſword and piſtols in his hand, intermixing with a few inferior officers and ſoldiers; their language and his being the ſame. At length he was left almoſt alone, and one Fontana, a Croatian captain, contemplating him for ſome moments, (for he was a fine figure, and a perſon unknown to him) whiſpered him in the ear, with an oath, that he would make an excellent priſoner. This man had certain reaſons to ſuſpect ſomething; for whilſt all the troops a few minutes before had expreſſed a tranſport of joy for the victory, the perſon in queſtion appeared remarkably grave and thoughtful. Cratz, who ſuppoſed Fontana by his air to be a French officer, told him inſtantly in that language, he would give him 5000 l. to effectuate his eſcape, and a colonel's commiſſion in the enemy's army. The Croatian took him at his word, and demanded his piſtols and ſword by way of military ſubmiſſion. Cratz delivered the former, but inſiſted that a gentleman ſhould never reſign his ſword; which punctо of delicacy in all probability coſt him his head. For as they moved along, in order to recover the rear of the Swediſh army, a thought ſtruck Fontana, that his own colonel had been killed by a priſoner, who had promiſed him a large recompence. Upon this he ſhaped his way to the Imperial camp, and meeting a flying party of Swedes, who knew their general, and made an attempt to reſcue him, he cried out aloud for help, and a ſquadron of Lorrainers flew to his aſſiſtance, who recollected Cratz at firſt ſight. His friends thought fit to deſert him upon this freſh onſet, and thus he became an eaſy priſoner: for the horſe Fontana had given him was ſo fatigued, that it could hardly move.

Being carried to the duke of Lorrain's tent, that prince told him peeviſhly and haſtily enough, that he would teach ſuch commanders as he how to traduce a duke of Lorrain to the French king. To which Cratz anſwered, That his highneſs laboured under ſome miſtake; for ſince he did not own the accuſation, it was plain he had not deſerved it, it being his cuſtom to ſay more to men's faces than in their abſence.

The king of Hungary had the curioſity to make him a viſit incognito, and ordered his ſword to be reſtored him, which the duke of Lorrain had taken away. Bernard of Sax-Weymar offered the payment of any ſum to diſcharge his ranſom, or propoſed to exchange the biſhop of Wurtzburg againſt him, a prelate and prince of far greater conſequence than the priſoner. But the court of Vienna, or rather Walſtein, perſiſted inflexible, and brought him to death, as he juſtly merited, on a public ſcaffold,

bold

bold and hazardous one. The court of Vienna was ſtartled at it, and 1632.
the magiſtracy preferred a complaint of the violation of ſyſtematical rights to the emperor, who, as he feared to irritate the elector at this juncture, beſought him, by means of the moſt lively repreſentations, to behave himſelf with great caution and lenity upon the occaſion.

During this interval, Offa, the Imperial commiſſary, newly created general, who had the ſuperintendency of affairs in Alſatia, Tyrol, and the circle of Suabia, beſieged Biberach with an army of 7000 men, compoſed out of the arch-duke's old corps, the Lorraine-troops, and thoſe, that had ſerved againſt Mantua. His majeſty ſoon determined to raiſe the ſiege, and diſpatching 8000 men to that effect, overtook them himſelf near the river Iſer, having thrown a bridge over it, and appointed, before his departure, the valiant Hepburn to be governor of Munich. Offa, on the king's approach, retired to Lindau and the lake of Conſtance. He loſt many troops before the town, and, to his particular mortification, was repulſed chiefly by the women, who not only exhorted their huſbands to behave courageouſly, but carried ammunition from place to place, and threw down fragments of ſtone from the walls on the aſſailants.

By this time the reſentments of Walſtein, who ſtood before the elector of Bavaria in the military commiſſion, began to exaſperate, as well as endanger affairs overmuch; for the court of Vienna did not care to ſee that prince humbled to the duſt, and yet dreaded the conſequences of receiving an impreſſion from Guſtavus in the central parts of the hereditary dominions. At length the generaliſſimo, who affected to be without a maſter, and above direction, found himſelf obliged, through common decency, though with infinite reluctance, to take the field in the beginning of April, and leaving the elector and Tilly (which latter was then living) to become a prey to the conqueror, employed himſelf upon more eaſy operations againſt the Saxons; namely, the reduction of Bohemia. The elector of Saxony, flushed with the ſucceſs gained at the battle of Leipſic, had a fine army on foot with reſpect to numbers, and external ſhow: but as that prince was both indolent and inſincere: and as Arnheim was always prepared to negotiate with Walſtein,

1632. ſtein, upon condition he could diſtreſs the Swedes, whom he hated, extract ſome advantage for his maſter, and, above all, make a good ſeparate bargain for himſelf;——ſo never was a conqueſt deſerted with more remiſſneſs, and leſs preſervation of appearances, than that of Bohemia was. Nevertheleſs, Walſtein, who was an adept in artifice and diſſimulation, felt the elector's pulſe firſt by way of negotiating, and made him conſiderable offers: yet they were not great enough to counterbalance the danger of relinquiſhing Guſtavus: and perhaps the Saxon miniſters, who were no way deficient in point of cunning, concluded likewiſe, that the emperor had not power enough at that time to realize his promiſes. Suppoſing both, or either to be the caſe, Walſtein in part carried the point he aimed at, which was, to render the Saxons ſuſpected to the Swedes. Some hiſtorians aſſign other reaſons, which appear to me not quite demonſtrative; as that Walſtein made theſe advances out of gratitude, becauſe the elector had ſpared his fine palace at Prague, and moreover had been alarmed a little by Battiſta Seni his aſtrologer, who predicted in that month the culmination of a planet very unpropitious and adverſe to his fortunes. Be theſe things as they will, the treaty at that time vaniſhed into nothing, though colonel Spar, by Walſtein's orders, had gained over moſt of the Saxon officers by the mediation of ſuch generoſities, as always came from Walſtein, who little diſmayed with this diſappointment, repaired to Pilſen, and reviewed his army, where, by his bounty and dexterity, he had collected together all the diſbanded veteran troops, that had ever ſerved under the Imperial enſigns, and took care to attract to himſelf each commander of note, who had declined the ſervice out of ill humour againſt the court of Vienna, or from attachment or perſonal friendſhip to himſelf. Nor omitted he to ſolicite any officer of note (of which ſort there were then many) whoſe ſwords and conſciences were equally vendible. For though he puniſhed with more than Roman rigidity, yet he rewarded with more than Roman profuſion; and for this reaſon men, who knew they had military merit, delighted to act under his directions. Nor was the court of Vienna idle in her co-operations. Orders were given to ſupply the army with every neceſſary, that could be imagined. The provinces

were

were all implored to make generous contributions, and upwards of 1632.
30000 pounds were ſent to Aldringer to put the troops in motion, which he commanded in Suabia. At the ſame time a conſiderable re-inforcement was expected from Poland, as the diet had been convened at Warſaw the month before, and as the emperor formerly had ſent 10,000 men under Arnheim to the aſſiſtance of the Poles in conſequence of a treaty of alliance concluded in 1621: but Sigiſmond (who died ſoon afterwards) had an incurable averſion to engage himſelf in any further conflicts with Guſtavus, and pleaded, by way of excuſe, the intractable nature of his form of government, and the apprehenſions he had of new diſturbances from the ſide of Tartary and Muſcovy. It is true this prince loved the houſe of Auſtria cordially and unfeignedly, but the ſtates maintained a ſort of intelligence with Guſtavus. So to content the king for this undutifulneſs of theirs, they made a very decent proviſion for a couple of his ſons, at the expence of two conſiderable biſhopricks.

At Pilſen Walſtein received a deputation from the ſenate of Nurenberg. The gentlemen, who compoſed it, repreſented to him, that the honours and civilities paid the king of Sweden were things of indiſpenſable neceſſity at that time, and in that conjuncture of affairs. Walſtein knew their errand before they ſpoke, and, with an air of politeneſs and indifference, put their memorial into his pocket without reading it. Nevertheleſs, he entertained them with a magnificent repaſt, and ordered an eſcort of troops to conduct them home.

He then, at the head of 40,000 men inveſted Prague, which was defended by 2000 regular Saxons, and about 5000 militia. The garriſon made good ſhew of reſiſtance at firſt, and after a conſiderable breach was opened, repulſed the enemy in two ſeveral attacks, which enraged Walſtein to ſuch a degree, that having commanded his infantry to make a third attempt, he ordered two regiments of horſe to puſh them on with drawn ſwords, and by theſe means compelled them to mount the breach.

Thus Leſſer Prague was taken: the garriſon retired to the caſtle, where they and the reſt of the Saxon troops agreed to ſurrender at the

1632. expence of their artillery, ammunition, and colours, reſerving nothing to themſelves except their ſwords, and ſeventy baggage-waggons, which were granted them; upon which the emperor ſent Walſtein a patent to create him duke of Great Glogau in Sileſia.

It was about this time, that the elector of Bavaria, who found himſelf ſtanding on the brink of a precipice, determined to make the bold adventure once for all freely and openly, without reſerving to himſelf the poſſibility of playing an after-game either with France or with Guſtavus. Of courſe he conſigned his life and fortunes to the emperor's protection, hoping perchance by ſuch an implicit act of generoſity to extort compaſſion; and publiſhed a manifeſto * (which may be conſidered as no mean effort of political ability) wherein having taken care not once to mention Walſtein, whom he hated, or the king of Sweden, whom he dreaded, and touching gently on his *thrice-dear* couſin, the elector Palatin, whoſe patrimony had been devoured by him, he paints in the warmeſt colouring his indiſpenſable allegiance to the emperor, as well as his obligations of gratitude, and ſuppoſes none could ſuſpect him of concluding a ſeparate bargain with a great weſtern monarch, (with whom he had ſigned and ratified the eighth of May 1631 †) but ſuch as were either profeſſed enemies to his proſperity, or detractors from his virtue. He then pays France in the ſame breath no ſmall tribute of adulation, but obliquely inſinuates, in the words of the prophet, (alluding to that crying ſin of co-operating with heretics) *That thou*, meaning France, *ſtoodeſt that day on the other ſide, in the day, that the ſtrangers carried away captive our forces, and foreigners entered into our gates, and caſt lots upon Jeruſalem; even thou waſt as one of them* ‡.

There is a certain circumſtance very peculiar in this manifeſto: for though it mentions abundance of facts, yet they are ſo cautiouſly collected, and alledged in ſuch general terms, that it is not poſſible to aſcertain the chronology of this extraordinary compoſition; ſince all we know thereof is purely this, that it was diſperſed here and there in various courts, about the ſpring of the year 1632.

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part ii. p. 182, & ſeqq.

† See the treaty in the APPENDIX.

‡ Obadiah, verſe 11.

As it is not my intention to deſcribe the war in full detail, (with exception only of thoſe parts where Guſtavus was preſent) it may ſuffice to obſerve, in regard to Walſtein, that in ſix weeks, after his acceptance of the dictatorſhip, and juſt as long before the death of Tilly, he had good ſenſe and foreſight enough, to diſpatch Don Baltazar di Maradas *, at the head of 8000 men, into Bohemia, with a view to diſtreſs and haraſs the Saxons. The vigilant Spaniard (though in truth a better courtier than a general, for he had three or four civil employments, equally lucrative and honourable, *his armis illa quoque tutus in aula*;) made a ſhift however to take Satz, the capital of a circle, by ſome called Zadeck; and having utterly ruined Bindhauf's regiment, which compoſed the garriſon, gave the firſt check to the cauſe of the proteſtants. Indeed the elector of Saxony's conduct was quite inexplicable, in an upright ſenſe, for (beſides ſome omiſſions, already mentioned, not wholly reconcileable to a ſincere alliance) he had left Bohemia, not many weeks after the reduction of Prague, at a time when he was victorious without oppoſition, and carried Arnheim his general with him, under pretence, that no one elſe was capable of negotiating with Oxenſtiern at the diet of Torgau, which was held in February, 1631, and to which the emperor diſpatched a deputy, who propoſed ſome indiſtinct advantages; but the Swediſh chancellor ſoon cut the matter ſhort, by telling him roundly, (whether with ſincerity or otherwiſe one cannot ſay,) that the king, his maſter, and his proteſtant allies, expected firſt, by way of preliminary, to ſee the expences of two campaigns refunded to them. 1632.

What ſtill rendered matters more ſuſpicious, was, that previouſly to this, the elector of Saxony, in his own perſon, received propoſals from a duke of Sax-Lauenberg †, who had reconciled himſelf to the catholic religion, and acted the part of an Imperial agent. Nor was it leſs extraordinary, that a prince, uninterrupted in his conqueſts, ſhould relinquiſh a country, at leaſt in effect, three better parts whereof he had entirely

* To this commander a pretended Low Country captain alludes, in one of Dryden's plays;

Brave man at arms! but wears his Bilboa on

Alluſions are made to him likewiſe in ſome of Johnſon's latter comedies.

† Henry Julius.

ſubdued,

1632. ſubdued, at a time when hardly any oppoſition could be made againſt him; and when his own troops, not to mention the addition of count Thurn's army, amounted, in caſe he had choſen to collect them, to 10,000 cavalry, and 27,000 infantry. I am ſenſible, it is true, that this number may appear to many readers over-charged; but then the Saxons muſt make themſelves reſponſible to poſterity for the miſtake, ſince the liſts ſtood thus, according to the accounts, which they themſelves publiſhed. Dewbatel likewiſe lay in Luſatia at the elector's elbow, and with his own Swedes, Germans, and Hamilton's Engliſh, had expelled Goëtz and Tieffenbach out of that province; and beſides this, the elector of Brandenburg had 8000 men, all prepared to unite themſelves with Dewbatel, which junction was afterwards effected.

Nor muſt we here paſs by another piece of equivocal conduct in the elector of Saxony, for though, on the reduction of Prague, moſt of the late proſcribed and exiled proteſtants returned home, after a migration of twelve years, yet they found their new friends ſo very vigilant and clear-ſighted, in the article of levying contributions, that the difference appeared to them only *nominal*, between an *evangelic* or *papiſtic* government: ſo, of courſe, the greater part withdrew themſelves, as voluntary exiles, to the very places, which they had lately quitted.

But before we permit the king to leave Munich entirely, it may be highly neceſſary, to lay open a very extraordinary converſation betwixt him and the Engliſh ambaſſador, which has created me more perplexities, than any ſingle incident through the whole progreſs of my work; and ſo much the rather, ſince, though I have ſtrong reaſons to conjecture, that his majeſty's conduct might be juſtified, if any accounts could be obtained beſides this of Vane, (who hated Guſtavus, and had neither parts nor inclination to interfere on the continent) yet the misfortune is, that no profeſſed hiſtorian, on the ſubject of this period, mentions a ſingle circumſtance relative to the preſent affair. Notwithſtanding all which, the love of truth, joined with a diſapprobation of mean partiality, forces me to lay the tranſaction before the eyes of the public, and leave it to work its own way upon the reader's mind. It had been eaſy for me to have ſuppreſſed the whole ſtory, as being the firſt producer thereof, after

after it had ſlept in undiſturbed ſecurity for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty five years: but it is not my principle to ſerve even an heroe under ſuch conditions. All men have, more or leſs, ſome failings of human nature; nor pretend I to engage myſelf in delineating a faultleſs character *: yet, by a ſingular turn of good fortune, which a perſon more ſuperſtitious than myſelf might be apt to magnify, it may perhaps atlength lie in my power to throw ſome little light upon Vane's perplexing darkneſs, and extenuate, if not entirely diſculpate, his majeſty's conduct. In the firſt place, therefore, I ſhall preſent the reader with Vane's letter, or memorial, tranſmitted by him to the court of Whitehall, which (from an affectation impoſſible to be accounted for) is drawn up in French: a language then, and now, better known in Germany than Engliſh, in caſe his pacquet had been intercepted; which appears to me no ſmall degree of imprudence. Nor was he ſo far ſkilled in the Gallic idiom, as to have pretenſions for abjuring his maternal tongue, in order to make a figure in ſome foreign language. Be that as it will, the account, tranſlated, runs as follows. 1632.

" The lieutenant-colonel Duglas †, being thrown into a common " priſon, by his majeſty's orders, for making a journey to Munich " without his maſter's permiſſion, it was my fortune the next morning, " the ſixteenth inſtant ‡, (the king being then upon the point of leaving the ſaid city) as I was going to take my leave of the king of " Bohemia, to meet his Swediſh majeſty, by pure accident, in the great " ſalon, when it appeared to me neither impertinent nor unſeaſonable " to ſolicite him in favour of the ſaid Duglas, and make an attempt to " procure his liberty; remonſtrating in his behalf, that though he had " taken this ſtep without his majeſty's concurrence or conſent, yet that nevertheleſs he had obtained permiſſion and leave to go from the Swediſh

* One or two voluminous German compilers aſſert, that Guſtavus had a natural ſon, ſuppoſed to be born about two years before he eſpouſed the princeſs of Brandenburg: but I have never yet received lights enough, to ſay any thing in ſupport of the allegation. And for the ſame reaſon, have paſſed by an Italian ſtory, of the love-diſpute between him and the duke of Saxe-Lauenberg.

† This officer, afterwards Sir George Duglas, betook himſelf to a civil employment; ſee p. 187.

‡ May, 1632.

" chancellor,

1632. " chancellor. Upon which the king kindling into ſome warmth, *ſwore*
" *he would take care to ſee the chancellor hanged.* As his majeſty went
" down ſtairs, in order to ſtep into his coach, I renewed my applica-
" tions, and beſought him, once more, to receive Duglas into favour:
" upon which, turning ſhort, he replied with vehemence, *By heaven!*
" *if you ſpeak one ſyllable more on that ſubject, I will order the man to be*
" *hanged before your eyes:* to which my reply was, *that I hoped his ma-*
" *jeſty would never commit ſuch a ſort of action.* *And why ſo?* anſwered
" the king; *by heavens! if your maſter was preſent, I would do the ſame;*
" *and if the man, who has affronted me in this manner, were held in*
" *the arms of his Britannic majeſty, I would tear him thence, although obliged*
" *to go to England for that purpoſe, and commence a war of an hundred*
" *years duration: but ſure I am, the king of England will never ſupport a*
" *ſubject in a cauſe, where I am affronted.* To which my anſwer was, *Your*
" *majeſty may ſay at Munich whatſoever pleaſeth you, but will never perſiſt*
" *in ſuch an opinion after mature reflexion.* Upon which he replied, *Do*
" *not tempt me into a paſſion.* *Sire,* ſaid I, *you cannot be offended, when an*
" *ambaſſador of Britain interferes for one of his maſter's ſubjects.* *Well then,*
" rejoined the king, *I at length releaſe him upon your parole only, but will*
" *not be affronted a ſecond time**. To which my anſwer was, *Sire, it*
" *never appeared to me in the light of an affront, to interpoſe in behalf of*
" *a cavalier, who had ſerved your majeſty with ſo much fidelity.* *Yes,* re-
" plied the king, *to ſeek to quit my ſervice, after I had releaſed him, was*
" *not only an affront, but a contravention of my military edicts* †. *Sire,*
" added I, *I acknowledge the favour, which your majeſty hath formerly*
" *granted to my ſolicitations; and it will ſtill be a freſh act of clemency, if*
" *you condeſcend to pardon him, even after a ſecond tranſgreſſion.* To which
" the king added once more, *Do not provoke me into a paſſion.* *Adieu, ſire,*
" replied I; and being on the point of departing from him, *By hea-*
" *vens!* cried the king, *the fellow is a raſcal, and I do not chuſe to be*

* The king meant Duglas, but Vane artfully enough takes it upon himſelf.

† By this time it appears, that Sir Henry Vane had interceded formerly for Duglas, on ſome other offence, and obtained his pardon.

" *ſerved*

" *ſerved by ſuch ſort of animals. May it pleaſe your majeſty,* anſwered I, 1632.
" *I have always underſtood, that the ſubjects of the king, my maſter, have*
" *rendered you the moſt excellent and faithful ſervices.* *Yes,* ſaid the king,
" *I acknowledge the people of your nation have ſerved me well, and*
" *far better than any others; but this dog, concerning whom we are talking,*
" *hath affronted me, and I am reſolved to chaſtiſe him.* It was my purpoſe
" then to have reſumed the converſation, but the king cut me ſhort,
" by ſaying, *Sir, I requeſt you not to take exception at what hath lately paſſed*
" *from my lips; it was the effect of a warm and haſty temper. I am at*
" *preſent entirely cool, and beſeech you to pardon me* *."

It is now high time to make ſome obſervations on this extraordinary dialogue, concerning which I ſhall briefly premiſe, (though the remark hath been made by me more times than one) that Guſtavus's frailty was an undue warmth of temper, which, at the ſame time, manifeſted the goodneſs of his heart; for the people, that ſerved under him, did not diſlike an harſh expreſſion from him, inaſmuch as his anger was momentary only, and the amends he made thoſe, whom he had chagrined, more than repaid them for the tranſitory uneaſineſs of a ſlight mortification. Perhaps one cannot defend him better, upon this occaſion, than by inſerting the very words of his own apology, to his generals, at a council of war; *I am thought by many of you,* ſaid he, *to ſpeak haſtily, and angrily, on certain conjunctures: but alas, conſider, my fellow ſoldiers, what a weight lies upon my mind. I am to perform all, and be preſent every where; and when the human thoughts are on the ſtretch, obſtacles and interruptions of the grand purſuit make men peeviſh. You muſt bear with my infirmities, in the ſame manner as I ſubmit to yours: one general has a tendency to avarice, another hath a paſſion for wine, a third wiſhes to wage war with the cruelty of a Croatian: yet, without going further than admoniſhing and adviſing you, I have diſcarded no man, but, on the contrary, have kept you all about my perſon, and, more or leſs, eſteemed you all* †.

Thus far with regard to the ſudden breakings out of a great and high ſpirit, like that of Guſtavus. As to Vane's narration, much may be

* Sir Henry Vane's letters in the Paper-office. † See Soldat Suedois, p. 865, &c.

1632. remarked; it is certain he diſliked the king, neither had the king a favourable opinion either of his abilities, or of his intentions. It appears, by the notes on his memorial, and from what ſhall be remarked before we leave the ſubject, that he ſets forth juſt ſo much as ſerves to gratify his own ſpleen, namely, that Duglas came to Munich by Oxenſtiern's conſtrained conſent, without the king's permiſſion. But from the face of his own recital, it appears highly ſuſpicious, that a paſſion, ſo fierce and violent, as he deſcribes the king's to be, muſt have been kindled and exaſperated by ſomething more offenſive, and more provoking, than Sir Henry chuſes to diſcover; for Guſtavus alludes to ingratitude, (having pardoned Duglas once before, at the ambaſſador's interceſſion) as likewiſe to diſobedience, perſonal affront, and a thought conceived of paſſing over perhaps into the enemy's ſervice.

It appears, in the next place, that Vane was anſwerable, in a great degree, for that very anger, in the repreſentation of which he labours afterwards to traduce the king's character: for his ſolicitation was of the teizing kind; and when he had gained his point, he ſtill wanted *more laſt words*. With the petulance and peeviſhneſs of an angry woman, he caught at thoſe circumſtances, where he knew the king's temper was inflammable, and dwelt upon them: and when he received a rough anſwer, laid the foundation of producing a ſecond, that was ſtill harſher. His ſincerity likewiſe is much to be doubted; he knew Guſtavus better, than to ſuppoſe him in earneſt about hanging Duglas; yet makes a reply with the gravity of a ſchool-divine, or a caſuiſt; and when the king ſpeaks of Duglas's ſecond affront, paſſes that by, and ſuppoſes the affront to proceed from himſelf. Nor ſtands he quite clear in point of politeneſs, and common good manners; for when Guſtavus felt the infirmity of paſſion coming upon him, (as Vane ſtill adminiſtered freſh fuel to it) and beſought him twice to drop the converſation, and not puſh matters to greater extremities; yet he ſtill perſiſts, even after he had obtained the object of his wiſhes. Under this claſs of incivility I rank likewiſe, the telling a paſſionate perſon, that he threatens more than he ever could expect to realize upon mature reflection. Whoever knows the human mind, knows, that ſuch a reflection carries its own poignancy

manacy along with it; and ſure it was highly rude and indecent to aſ- 1632.
ſure the king, that he might perform at Munich what he durſt not preſume to command in England.

It is my good fortune to know enough of the chronology of the hiſtory before me, to ſubjoin a further remark. Vane was either reſolved to exaſperate Guſtavus, or ill underſtood the better half of his ambaſſadorial trade, which conſiſts in ſeizing the *moments of addreſs*; ſince, by the *diary* of the king's actions, it appears, that he was *then* ſtepping into his coach, in a great hurry, in order to raiſe the ſiege of Biberach, and give Oſſa battle. Now on ſuch an occaſion, it may well be ſuppoſed, that his majeſty's ſpirits were all on a flame, and his mind wholly occupied on a ſubject, where interruption only (without impropriety, teizing, or ill manners) would naturally excite ſome haſty and unguarded anſwers.

Nevertheleſs, after various perplexities and difficulties under this head, it may be poſſible, at laſt, to obtain ſome knowledge of the groundwork of his Swediſh majeſty's reſentments, and that from a perſon no leſs inſtructed than Fowler*, ſecretary to Duglas, afterwards created a baronet, who, in conſequence of this embroilment, exchanged the laurel for the olive, and paſſed from England to Poland in the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, with inſtructions to adminiſter his mediatorial aſſiſtances at the treaty of Stumbſdorf, in Pruſſia, 1635. As Fowler loved and honoured his maſter extremely, it is highly natural to expect no great partiality on the Swediſh ſide; yet enough is ſaid, whereby one may be enabled to annex ſome vindication to the character of Guſtavus.

Once for all therefore we will make an abſtract of the author's narrative †.

Duglas tranſported a company of Scottiſh infantry into Sweden, in the year 1623; and was afterwards advanced to be lieutenant-colonel in

* Hiſtory of the troubles of Suethland, and Poland, &c. Relation of the treaty of pacification, between Poland and Suethen, concluded at Stumbſdorf, in 1635. Brief commemoration of the life and death of Sir Geo. Duglas, knight, lord ambaſſador extraordinary from England, fol. Lond. 1656, inſcribed to the lord-protector.

† Fowler's Hiſtory, 216—219.

1632. Sir James* Ramſey's regiment of foot; and as that officer happened to receive a diſagreeable wound, (as we have mentioned before in its proper place) he commanded the corps at the ſiege of Wurtzburg-caſtle, if my relation *fail* not; and† at the taking of Creützнach, he, by the king's commands, repreſſed the inſolencies of the ſoldiery, in ſo ſatisfactory a manner, that his majeſty deſtined him to be the governor of that moſt important place.

But before this commiſſion could be ſigned, a reverſe of fortune, from a commander, rendered him a priſoner; for on account of ſome ſtrange expreſſions, in an addreſs, or letter, to the king, his maſter, (who was naturally warm, and very jealous, in points of honour) ſent orders to confine him; but on re-conſidering the whole affair more coolly, forthwith commanded him to be ſet at liberty, and directed, that his commiſſion of governor ſhould be delivered to him.

"And here it may be thought, ſaith Fowler, that our lieutenant-"colonel had cauſe to reſt contented, having received ample ſatisfaction, "by a preferment ſo honourable ‡:" but the Scottiſh gentleman was more irritable and iraſcible than the Swediſh monarch, proteſting he had received an affront, which he would bear from *no hand whatſoever*; and therefore when Oxenſtiern tendered him the commiſſion, he demanded a paſs for Munich, in order to controvert the matter with his ſovereign: This, the chancellor told him, he could not, and dared not grant; but upon over-perſuaſions, (as he perſonally loved the man) he at length, with reluctance, granted him a ſhort furlo, that he might, if he pleaſed, attend the king, and demand his diſmiſſion.

What made Duglas the more peremptory and importunate, was the hope of ſheltering himſelf under Vane's wing, the Britiſh ambaſſador then going to Munich; who never in his heart loved Guſtavus, and therefore, it is probable, encouraged Duglas to embroil the miſunderſtanding afreſh. And this greatly exaſperated the king, who thought the am-

* Some ſay Alexander Ramſey. See p. 115.

† Here Fowler ſuſpecteth a miſtake: we will ſubjoin, that he ought to have ſaid Marienberg-caſtle.

‡ Such it certainly was, for the king endangered his life in taking this fortreſs, which he conſidered as the ſtrongeſt place he had ever beſieged.

baſſador

baſſador and ſoldier had both conſpired to give him the bravado in the name of the Britiſh nation. 1632.

Nor did Duglas uſe any addreſs, or management, upon this occaſion; but, inſtead of employing his friends to ſeize the *mollia tempora* of applying to Guſtavus, preſented himſelf abruptly before him, in a public tennis-court, where the kings of Sweden and Bohemia were amuſing themſelves.

This want of reſpectful duty, and common good breeding, ſoon ſtruck a mind like the king's, naturally warm on receiving affronts: *Sir*, ſaid he, *why are not you at your poſt of command? Sire*, replied Duglas, *I have none. Commit him to priſon then*, rejoined the king, and ſpoke no more *.

This ſpirited act of authority, which the ambaſſador miſtakenly conſidered as an inſult on the prince he ſerved, and the whole Britiſh nation, made both him and the king alike peeviſh before hand, and equally inflammable.

Thus have we given a ſlight re-capitulation of all that Fowler ſays in behalf of his patron, which ſeems (according to the beſt of our judgment) to encline the turn of the ſcale in favour of the northern monarch. Fowler declares too †, that he knew all the dialogue, which paſſed between the king and the ambaſſador, and yet, for certain reaſons, thought convenient to ſuppreſs it. For my own part, I have ventured to recover it from darkneſs, and hope (as it was my buſineſs to conceal no one conſiderable fact in hiſtory) that I have thereby done no injury to the manes of Guſtavus, who, to ſhew his humanity, and forgiving temper, after a ſhort recollection, releaſed Duglas a ſecond time. The former part Vane himſelf acknowledges, in a ſubſequent

* It was certainly Duglas's duty, to have aſked his diſmiſſion by letter or memorial, (ſtaying on his poſt till a proper ſubſtitute could be found to replace him) and not have left ſo important a charge in the midſt of war, and the royal army ſo far removed from him. By all military laws, he merited death for diſobedience; nor could he ſay to the king, he had *no employ*, (as he did with vivacity and impertinence) till he had firſt petitioned to be diſcharged, and had beheld his ſucceſſor. For if the commander of a town, upon any diſguſt, not repreſented, is at full liberty to leave his charge, what prince, or general, can be ſafe with ſuch a ſervant, or who can be ſecure from treachery, or deſertion?

† Page 219.

1632. letter * to ſecretary Coke, dated from Augſburg, nine days after the firſt mentioned diſpatch: " the king of Sweden, ſaith he, (three or four " days ſubſecutive from this embroilment †) ſent my lord Spenſe to my " lodging, profeſſing to be exceeding ſorry for the diſcourſe he had held, " eſpecially wherein it touched the king, my maſter, which, if it were " poſſible, he would redeem at the deareſt rate. That he was his ma- " jeſty's brother, and ſervant, whoſe friendſhip he valued more than any " others, having none but him, on whom he could rely: that though " his ſatisfaction had been public, as well as his offence, yet, not con- " tent therewith, he would have written to his majeſty, by an expreſs, " to excuſe the heat of his paſſion; but either he muſt have accuſed " himſelf, or caſt the burthen upon me, as if my ſolicitations had pro- " voked him to that paſſion, which he willing to avoid, deſired me to " make a favourable report to his majeſty."

But to return to the affairs of Germany: within a few days after this embroilment with Duglas, an embarraſſment of a very different nature preſented itſelf to Guſtavus; for his old rival in war, Sigiſmond, king of Poland, died of an apoplexy ‡, after a weariſome and turbulent reign of forty five years duration. On this event, the Poles were divided in their affections, between Vladiſlaüs (who was the elder ſon of Sigiſmond) and Caſimir; and during the interregnum, prince Radzivil §, who loved Guſtavus, and had made him a viſit in the late king's decline, (for Sigiſmond had many warnings of his approaching fate) received orders from the ſenate, to command the army, then prepared to act againſt the Muſcovites. Some very ſenſible hiſtorians, and Le Vaſſor ||, amongſt the reſt, ſeem diſpoſed to think, that Guſtavus had an eye to this kingdom in his own perſon, which they ground on no other proof, than that Radzivil held a correſpondence with him, and that he diſpatched ambaſſadors into Poland, to watch the motions of the future

* Letters of Sir Henry Vane in the Paper-office.

† His majeſty could not make the acknowledgment ſooner, for he was abſent, in order to raiſe the ſiege of Biberach.

‡ April 29, 1632: and Vladiſlaüs was elected, if I miſtake not, the October following. See more of this negotiation below.

§ He had been mortified, becauſe Sapieha, palatin of Vilna, had been preferred to him, as ſupreme commander in Lithuania. Kobierziſki Hiſt. Vladiſl. p. 920.

|| Tom. vii. 179, &c.

election.

election. But his Swediſh majeſty, at that time, had building enough 1632.
to erect, without enlarging (and that greatly too) the ichnography of his plan; nor was he a prince to amuſe himſelf, at ſuch a conjuncture, with a proſpect ſo remote from him in point of diſtance, and ſo chimerical in its own nature, if one rightly conſiders the perverſeneſs, as well as changeable diſpoſitions, of the Polanders. Had he not engaged himſelf in this German expedition, true it is, he had pretenſions to urge, and an head and hand capable to ſupport them; but at preſent it appears to me, that he laboured only to form a party in the diet, ſufficient in ſtrength to prolong the *truce* between him and the Polanders, which ended otherwiſe in three years; a circumſtance of great conſequence to a warrior, who had his hands full, and wanted no collateral buſineſs by way of *ſuccedaneum*. All other ſteps taken by him, ſeem conformable to this firſt idea: and if he preferred Caſimir to Vladiſlaüs, it was becauſe the former ſeemed leſs attached to the court of Madrid, as well as that of Vienna.

We have related before, that Cratz made himſelf maſter of Weiſſemberg, whilſt the king marched from Munich, (where, amongſt other things, as we ought to have obſerved, he ſeized 8000 new regimentals) in order to give Oſſa battle, who had inveſted Biberach, and cruſh the inſurrection of the Bavarian peaſants: but the former, having loſt the beſt part of his artillery, retreated towards Lindau, and the lake of Conſtance; and the latter ſubmitted without reſiſtance. Upon which occaſion, it was obſerved of Guſtavus, that his enemies could never project an undertaking, which he did not counterwork, by deviſing a remedy the firſt moment he attained the knowledge of their intentions. So that, upon the whole, it is difficult for us, which to admire moſt, the inventive powers of his genius, or the celerity, wherewith he executed any deſign, freſh conceived*; for it was a maxim with him, that the grand ſcience of war conſiſted in ſeizing incidents, or keeping always in a ſtate of preparation againſt ſuch ſtrokes, as may be unforeſeen. He then committed the army to duke Bernard's care, who purſued Oſſa almoſt to the threſhold of the Alps, and cut to pieces one of his fineſt

* Monro's Second Expedition.

regiments,

1632. regiments, that of Annibal count Hohen-Ems, though the commander had thrown himſelf into a walled village. Eight enſigns were loſt, but the count, and 400 ſoldiers that ſurvived, were ſent priſoners to Ulm.

Mean while the king, attended by a few followers, flew to Augſburg, and taking with him from thence, and the country adjacent, a ſtrong detachment, conceived great hopes of relieving Weiſſemberg, a place of great importance to him, as it ſecured the retreat from Augſburg to Nurenberg; but the Bavarian general had performed his buſineſs, before it was poſſible for the Swediſh army to arrive, and dreading the approach of Guſtavus, evacuated the town almoſt as ſoon as he poſſeſſed it; which may be conſidered as no ſmall omiſſion.

It was during the prelude, in Bohemia, towards a more ſerious and general campaign, but at what period we cannot preciſely ſay, that a party of Imperial troops took Torſtenſon priſoner, after a ſharp rencounter, who was then known to be the beſt officer of artillery in Europe, and uſeful to the king, his maſter, beyond expreſſion. But ſuch ſingular pieces of good fortune ſerved only to ſupply Walſtein with freſh opportunities, of exerting that generoſity, and magnificence, which were peculiar to him; for he paid Torſtenſon's ranſom to the Croatians out of his own purſe, and reſtored him to Guſtavus without delay *.

He then finiſhed the reduction of Bohemia, by inveſting Egra, where ſomething happened alike heroical and extraordinary, with regard to himſelf: for the magiſtrates knowing there was a young lady in the town, whom he paſſionately eſteemed, arreſted her, without ceremony or previous notice, and ordered her, upon pain of death, to command the general to deſiſt from his enterprize. This woman, caſt by nature in no common mold, made a ſemblance of complying, with great frankneſs, and ſealing up the following billet, addreſſed him thus; *Regard not my life; I am prepared to die, upon condition your excellence can obtain true glory, and ſerve your maſter with fidelity and ſucceſs* †. But the females of that age aſpired to vie with the men in acts of fortitude: Banier's wife ‡, following her huſband, in his expedition into Saxony, was brought

* Riccius de Bell. Germ. 4°. 412.

† Memoires de'Electrice Palatin, 4°, 197.

‡ The counteſs of Lovenſtein.

to

to bed of a male-child in her coach; which reſembles an accident of the ſame ſort, which happened to Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus *: and at the battle of Rhinfeld, in particular, ſeveral ladies ſtayed in the field during the ſtreſs of the action; nor did they retreat, when the troops of their huſbands (who were Imperialiſts) appeared to be unſucceſsful. So that ſome were killed, ſome deſpoiled, and the remaining few eſcaped with difficulty †. 1632.

By this time Walſtein began to edge round towards the eaſtern ſides of the Upper Palatinat, on whoſe ſouthermoſt ſkirts lay the elector of Bavaria, with all his forces. And now it behoved Guſtavus to make an exertion of thoſe great talents, which Providence had beſtowed on him, for he had a conqueſt to ſecure behind him of ſeven or eight hundred miles length, and half the breadth, and two armies to confront, the one equal to his own, and the other doubly ſuperior. Yet, far from being puzzled or diſmayed, he maintained a preſence of mind, that aſtoniſhed even his own generals; and without calling in a ſingle army to his aſſiſtance, (of which he had no leſs than five ſmall ones in the parts adjacent) he rather adviſed them to purſue their ſeparate operations; and inſtead of thinning them by detachments, augmented them rather from his own corps. With the compoſed coolneſs therefore of a man victorious, he even diveſted himſelf of many commanders, whom he wanted moſt, if that can be ſuppoſed; for he detached Horn towards the Upper Palatinat, and permitted duke Bernard to purſue Oſſa, (whom indeed his brother William replaced in a ſhort ſpace) and left Hepburn commander in chief at Munich, and over the whole duchy of Bavaria; whilſt Oxenſtiern, Banier, duke Julius, adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg ‡, and Sir Patrick Ruthven, all commanded ſeparate bodies, in or near the circles of Suabia and Franconia. He then made a treaty of accommodation with the city of Straſburg, through whoſe territory Haracour had lately marched a detachment of Lorrainers, to the aſſiſtance of Oſſa and

* Memoires d'Electrice Palatin, 4°, 196.

† Ibid. 198.

‡ The king had ſome ſuſpicions of this prince, and having confirmed the alliance with him, reſolved to ſtation an army near him, to enforce the obſervation of articles, that had been agreed upon *de novo*.

1632. Montecuculi the elder; a circumſtance not extremely agreeable to the king's ſyſtem; and therefore, for theſe reaſons, he ſpared no pains to bring the Straſburgers into terms of friendſhip; and the rather, becauſe he thereby ſecured his chancellor from a like diſagreeableneſs in his government of Mentz, and in the protection of the Lower Palatinat, which department was alſo conſigned him. He had an apprehenſion too, that a reinforcement of Spaniſh troops might paſs the Valteline from the Milaneſe, and unite themſelves with Oſſa; and on this account, wrote a letter, with his own hand, to the cantons of Switzerland, who had lately aſſembled at Lucerne, and were now adjourning themſelves to Baden. Its tenour ran to this effect; and as I have an old tranſlation thereof now before me, I ſhall content myſelf with correcting a few inaccuracies of language, and faults of connection, here and there.

"Gentlemen,

"Being informed, that the king of Spain attempts, by all poſſible "methods, to perſuade you to grant free paſſage to his troops, out "of Italy, into the parts of Germany now near me, in oppoſition to "the progreſs and proſperity of my arms, and to the advancement of "his own pernicious and unjuſt deſigns, as well as the ſupport and "aſſiſtance of my enemies, and their proceedings; I have thought good "to exhort and admoniſh you, in the moſt affectionate terms, to recol-"lect within yourſelves, that the republic of Switzerland hath ever hi-"therto flouriſhed in high reputation, and glorioully maintained its li-"berties, againſt all encroachers and invaders whomſoever, in oppoſi-"tion principally to the two houſes of Burgundy and Auſtria, each of "whom hath made frequent attempts to diveſt you of thoſe invaluable "bleſſings; particularly that liberty, which exceedeth all other ſorts; "namely, the free exerciſe of conſcience; not to mention various efforts "tending to the deſtruction of your civil rights and freedom.

"Therefore, gentlemen, let me beſeech you to remember, *that* good "correſpondence, which I have always maintained with your common-"wealth, and for theſe reaſons, permit me to adviſe you, to ſtand vigi-"lantly upon your guard from hence forward, perſevering firm and

"conſtant

" conſtant within the bounds of an exact neutrality, conformably to 1632.
" that right underſtanding, that ſtill ſubſiſteth between us; neither
" commanding nor allowing paſſage to the enemy, nor granting him
" aſſiſtance or favour under any ſhape. Otherwiſe, I ſhall find myſelf
" obliged to begin firſt, and declare hoſtilities againſt you; and then (in
" caſe an event ſo diſaſtrous ſhould take place) you yourſelves would
" draw down the war upon your own heads, and all that ruin, deſola-
" tion, and calamity, that uſually attend it. But I have conceived
" much better hopes of you, my friends; and, for my own part, here-
" by aſſure you all in general, and each in particular, of my beſt love
" and affection towards you *."

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

This letter was accompanied by a couple of Scottiſh colonels, with inſtructions to ſolicite leave for levying two regiments of Switzers.

The anſwer † returned thereto was very polite and cautious, containing a fair aſſertion, that no demand had been made hitherto on the ſubject in queſtion, by the court of Madrid: nor ſhould a repreſentation of that nature be liſtened to, whenever it ſhould happen to be preſented. That the neutrality, ſo generouſly propoſed, was embraced at the ſame time with the utmoſt thankfulneſs, upon ſuppoſition, that it interfered not with any pre-exiſting obligations: and laſtly, it was acknowledged, that as the progreſs of the Swediſh army ſeemed to approach the Alps, it was hoped the Cantons ſhould enjoy their proportionable ſhare of royal favour, and ſuffer no diminution of rights and revenues in ſuch poſſeſſions of theirs, as lay in adjacent provinces, then made, or thereafter to be made, the ſeat of war.

His majeſty, by this time, being returned to Augſburg, and having conquered in two years, or brought over to his intereſt, near three hundred cities, fortreſſes, and walled towns, collected together his own little army, which conſiſted of about eighteen or twenty thouſand men, and marched to Donawert.

* See more of this negotiation, and letter, in Tom. ii. p. 55, the Hiſt. or Auth. Relation, in High Dutch, fol. † Mercure François, Tom. xviii. p. 359.

1632. He then took the two epiſcopal cities of Aichſtadt and Dillingen, as likewiſe Pappenheim-caſtle, which lies eight miles to the weſt of Aichſtadt, removing the beſt ordnance in all three places to his grand magazine at Augſburg. By the ſeventh of June he arrived in his old encampment at Furt, near Nurenberg, where duke Bernard joined him, who had purſued the Imperialiſts to the lake of Conſtance. What his intentions then were, ſoon appeared to the public, by the anſwer he made the magiſtrates, who requeſted him to honour their city with a viſit; *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *I ſhall not deny myſelf the pleaſure; but at preſent, I had much rather ſee Walſtein than Nurenberg* *. The truth was, the king intended to have paſſed through the Upper Palatinat, (where Horn then lay) and given Walſtein battle, before the elector of Bavaria could have joined him; but the country was ſo ravaged and waſted, partly by war, and partly by expreſs order from the Imperial general, that the enterprize was rejected, becauſe it was thought impoſſible to realize it. So that the king, who had actually began his march towards the Walſteiners, returned to his ancient lines, and entrenched himſelf conformably to the great abilities he poſſeſſed in that then-unknown branch of the military ſcience. And here his ſubſiſting himſelf, in this hazardous ſituation, for the ſpace of ſixty one days, and his reſiſtance of the efforts of 60,000 men with only 20,000, (not to mention, that he had the confidence, upon receiving ſome ſmall re-inforcements, to attack his adverſary ſword in hand, though entrenched up to the eyes, and protected with interlaced trees, and battering artillery, beyond number) will be always eſteemed, by ſuch generals as are maſters of the finer parts of their buſineſs, as the higheſt pitch of ability, which the human mind can attain, in the profeſſion of arms.

Indeed this conduct of his majeſty appears nothing near ſo wonderful in our days, as it certainly was in the laſt century, foraſmuch as the practice has been copied, more or leſs, by all experienced commanders ever ſince: yet the exertion of the idea, in its maſterly manner of execution, is firſt due to the great Guſtavus. The thing, it muſt be allowed, ever has and will be a real and equal truth in all ages; but then

* Swed. Intell. Part ii. 181.

the

the perſon, who makes the experiment, muſt be like the man, whom I 1632.
have lately mentioned. When a genius, like Guſtavus, hath once adjuſted certain previous circumſtances, he may ſafely face a treble number of troops for a long duration; a duration, that may almoſt depend on his own free choice, and may aſpire at the performance of things ſeemingly impoſſible, upon very ſlight foundations, provided they are juſt; in reſemblance of the great maſter of mechanics, who uſed to ſay, that if certain poſtulata could be granted him, he would undertake to move the world with a ſingle thread: Δὸς πᾶ στῶ, καὶ τὸν κοσμὸν κινήσω.

In theſe encampments againſt forces ſometimes doubly, and ſometimes trebly ſuperior, (as was the caſe partly at Werben, and more particularly here) it is impoſſible for me, either to analyze the king's abilities, or explain the various principles upon which he proceeded. It may ſuffice to remark, that in military fortifications, of all ſorts, he had then no equal, and particularly in the management of his artillery: it was he, that firſt garniſhed the more aſſailable parts of his camp with thoſe ſort of redoubts, the carrying of which reſembles ſtorming ſo many ſeparate towns ſword in hand.

Under this article of ordnance I ſhall juſt mention a ſlight circumſtance, having touched upon the point, in other parts of my hiſtory, more than once. In the former part of the laſt century, cannons were made much longer than they are at preſent; concerning which ſomething was ſaid in the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, with reference to the piece of artillery, which ſtruck the king's horſe; till at length it was conjectured by ſome, that a cannon formed two feet and a half ſhorter than even thoſe in common uſe might convince mankind, that a ball moves with greater force through a leſs ſpace, than a larger. This Guſtavus proved by repeated experiments, in the year 1624, when an iron ball, of forty eight pounds weight, was found to go farther, from a new ſhort cannon, than another ball of ninety ſix pounds weight out of a larger piece; whereas, in other reſpects it is certain, the larger the bore and ball, the greater the range *.

* As to the king's leather-cannon, one Brunius, a German, hath publiſhed a diſſertation on the ſubject.

By

1632. By this time the duke of Bavaria invaded the Upper Palatinat with all his forces, and whilſt he reduced Amberg, the principal city of the country, diſpatched a part of his army to inveſt Sultzbach, which belonged to prince Palatin Auguſtus, whom we have often mentioned. This place, after ſome reſiſtance, capitulated; but Schomberg, who commanded the detachment, violated every article of the agreement; for he enlarged the garriſon contrary to the terms ſtipulated, deſpoiled the citizens, plundered the prince's caſtle, and raiſed one thouſand pounds by way of contribution. This ſcene of perfidy ſharpened Guſtavus's reſentments, and determined him (as we obſerved above) to enter the ſaid Palatinat, and give the elector battle before he could form his junction with Walſtein: but the country was ſo waſted and ruined, that it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt a ſecond army therein, and the Imperial generaliſſimo (who longed to ſee the duke deſtroyed, and yet found himſelf obliged to preſerve appearances) had commanded a body of 3600 cavalry to advance to the aſſiſtance of the Bavarians.

Mean while, Walſtein, elevated with his late ſucceſſes in Bohemia, diſpatched colonel Spar to the elector of Saxony with freſh propoſals of accommodation, who, as things now began to take a leſs favourable turn with regard to himſelf, condeſcended to caſt his eyes obliquely upon them. But how great was his aſtoniſhment, when he perceived, that Walſtein raiſed his tone to an immeaſurable height, and declared, that the loſſes the elector had ſuſtained at Leipſic, when Tilly ravaged it, were more than counterbalanced by the reprizals made by the Saxons on the town of Prague: that to re-inſtate himſelf into the Imperial favour, he ſhould advance two months pay to the army, freely and ſpeedily reſign the bona eccleſiaſtica he had impropriated, and join in the common cauſe of expelling Guſtavus out of the empire: and then, by way of acknowledgment for all theſe compliances and advances, the Bohemians were to enjoy the free exerciſe of the evangelical religion.

In truth, Walſtein underneath theſe appearances determined to make Saxony an example of terror, and therefore requeſted conceſſions impoſſible to be granted, or extremely diſhonourable. He beſides had a great number of penſioners in the electoral army (the titular prime-miniſter

minister was one, though Arnheim indeed was every thing) and always 1632.
expected some advantage either from mutiny or desertion. Some letters too had been discovered, previously to this period, between him and the general, which gave the Swedes no small suspicions *. But matters were not yet ripe for defection on the Saxon side.

It was therefore Walstein's design to intercept the retreat of Arnheim's army, in the noted pass and defile between Aussig and Leütmeritz, concerning which we have spoken amply elsewhere. To this purpose he approached his enemies as near as he could without alarming them, and ordered some troops (under pretence of taking in an inconsiderable town or two) to file off privately towards Saxony. He then made new proposals, and not disadvantageous ones to Arnheim, and sent an officer of great experience, whose person was unknown to the Saxons, to deliver their conditions to him, being disguised in the habit of a trumpeter. Thus he learned the posture and situation of the enemy's camp. It was unlucky for Walstein, that Arnheim had been in former days his pupil, his confident, and his favourite. The scholar soon penetrated into the designs of the master, but profoundly dissembled all sort of suspicion, and affected to exhibit an ignorance of the march of any troops, whose business it was to intercept him: and wrote back by the trumpeter, that he had authority and orders to treat, and was ready to do so at a minute's warning, and then dispatched couriers every hour with fresh expresses, growing each moment more compliable. That night he passed his cannon and army over the bridge at Leütmeritz, which he broke down immediately after him, having previously detached a chosen body of troops to secure Aussig, and consequently both sides of the Elb: and by preventing the Walsteiners in this single circumstance, entirely ruined all their scheme. At Pirna he crossed the Elb on a bridge of boats, and entrenched himself strongly, waiting for his master and Banier, who had promised to re-inforce him with 10,000 men. Though this retreat depended more on political than military genius, and though it cannot be compared in all points with that of Banier in the year 1630, and many others during the course of the

* Chemnitzius de Bello Suco-Germanico, Tom. i.

thirty

1632. thirty years war; yet it muſt be acknowledged to be a very fine one, and may be conſidered as the maſter-piece of Arnheim's performances in the capacity of a general. Thus in half a campaign the emperor recovered Bohemia with the ſame eaſe, that he loſt it in a preceding one.

During this interval, Pappenheim, general of the catholic league in Lower Saxony, had ſeveral rencounters of various nature and fortune againſt the Swedes, availing himſelf of the miſunderſtanding, that ſubſiſted amongſt their commanders. The magiſtrates of Hildeſhein ſent him a meſſage of accommodation, to which he returned for anſwer, that he would make them a viſit very ſoon, and ſave them the trouble and expence of a formal deputation; notwithſtanding which, he never had the power to keep his word. Amongſt others, the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel ſet himſelf to oppoſe his conqueſts, and met with ſeveral diſagreeable checks here and there; about which time an event broke out, which had like to have done the Swediſh cauſe conſiderable miſchief: ſome Daniſh ſoldiers had been cut to pieces in the town of Friedberg, by the troops of the archbiſhop of Bremen, who was an ally of the crown of Sweden. The courts of Vienna and Bruxelles took care to aggrandize the breach of faith to the utmoſt: and Pappenheim dextrouſly laid hold of an expedient, which miſſed little of detaching the Daniſh king from the Swediſh, and throwing the former into the arms of the emperor: for poſſeſſing many towns in the dioceſe of Bremen, (where the prince of Denmark was co-adjutor) and finding it expenſive, and perhaps hardly poſſible to keep them, he offered to ſell them at a price convenient to his Daniſh majeſty, thereby hoping to produce a miſunderſtanding between Sweden, Denmark, and Bremen. But when the ſtates of the ſecond of theſe countries were convened to take the propoſal into conſideration, the prudence of the ſage and moderate ſoon got the better of a few impetuous and turbulent ſpirits, who gave heedleſſly into the ſnare. And thus the miſconduct of Friedberg being entirely placed to the archbiſhop's account, an embaſſy was decreed to Guſtavus in order to reconcile theſe reciprocal grievances, and place matters for the future on a ſolid and amicable footing. In a word, there

there was ſomething peculiarly gallant and heroical in the demeanor of all his Swediſh majeſty's enemies during the invaſion, which he made into Germany; for no arts, intrigues or promiſes could ever induce Denmark, Poland, or Muſcovy to diſtreſs or perplex him. Or ſuppoſing this not to be the caſe, and that they took no ſecret pleaſure to ſee the houſe of Auſtria reduced to a ſtate of humiliation, then it is plain, they dreaded leſt Guſtavus ſhould conclude a ſudden peace with the emperor, and deſtroy them without the poſſibility of being ſuccoured or ſupported by the latter. 1632.

The Swediſh general Todt inveſted Staden; but Pappenheim gave him battle, and compelled him to raiſe the ſiege by throwing three regiments into the town, who croſſed the river Schwinga upon portable bridges. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be acknowledged, that the Swedes retreated in good order; and as the Bavarian colonel Boninghauſen, a principal commander under Pappenheim, was diſpatched after them with a large body of cavalry to haraſs the rear, they prepared an ambuſcade for him, and cut to pieces two thirds of his detachment. Enlivened with this lucky reverſe of fortune, Todt returned to his point, and had the honour to beleaguer Pappenheim in the town, who, according to his cuſtom, made a furious ſally, and carried his troops through the Swediſh army; which he effected the more eaſily, as Todt and the duke of Lunenberg hated each other, and performed nothing in concert. Upon which the former was recalled to the king, and replaced by Bauditzen.

As Pappenheim's preſence was deemed highly neceſſary in other places, and as it was thought impoſſible to maintain his conqueſts in the archbiſhopric of Bremen, he reſtored the keys of Staden to the magiſtrates, and having exhorted them to continue their allegiance to the houſe of Auſtria, recommended his ſick and wounded ſoldiers to their humanity and protection. By this voluntary ceſſion the Swedes became maſters of the Elb on either ſide from Hamburg to the Baltic.

He then paſſed into the territory of Brunſwic, and the biſhopric of Verden, and extracted no ſmall advantages from the new miſunderſtandings, that aroſe between the duke of Lunenberg and the archbiſhop

1632. of Bremen; and having made a general deſtruction of forage and proviſions in the country round him, left a part of his troops under the command of count Gronsfield, and advanced with others into the territory of Heſſe-Caſſel; and then diſpatched orders to the ſtates aſſembled at Zell to enter into no meaſures prejudicial to the Imperial intereſts, ſince that would oblige him to march over the ruins he had already made. But the ſtates of Lower Saxony perceiving plainly he was on the wing of departure, conferred the ſupreme command on the duke of Lunenberg, and conſtituted Bauditzen lieutenant-general under him. It was thought by ſome, that Pappenheim meditated this retreat in order to conſult his friends, and attempt to ſucceed Tilly in the employment of generaliſſimo to the princes of the league: but that appears to me highly improbable; for (beſides a diſlike to be near Walſtein) he loved no ſuperior, eſpecially one of ſo interfering a temper as the elector of Bavaria; and therefore preferred a ſeparate command in a ſtation leſs diſtinguiſhed.

When he diſlodged from Lower Saxony, the Swediſh generals reviewed their army there, which amounted to 9000 foot, 5000 horſe and 700 dragoons. During his abſence they re-poſſeſſed ſo many places, that he found himſelf obliged to return to Brunſwic, and ordered Gronsfield to join him. He then made Bauditzen an offer of ſelling Nienburg to him for 9000l. but the latter ſent him word, "that he "hoped to poſſeſs the place as a ſoldier, and not as a merchant." The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel defeated four regiments under Boninghauſen, and took that officer priſoner.

Thus was almoſt every town in Lower Saxony, Weſtphalia, and Heſſe, taken and retaken half a dozen times in the ſpace of a twelvemonth, at the expence and woe of the poor inhabitants, and with little advantage to the contending parties; for thoſe, who conquered in the field, ſoon became maſters of the rivers and the towns.

War was carried on with like ſucceſs, and upon the ſame principles, in the circle of the Rhine, where William margrave of Baden-Baden, Oſſa, Montecuculi, and Haracour with his Lorrainers ſupported the part of the emperor; whilſt Oxenſtiern and the Rhingrave, with one

ſmall

small army, and the dukes of Birkenfelt and Weymar with another, 1632.
sustained the cause of Sweden. To the relief of the former parties the count of Embden made a very dextrous march at the head of 8000 Spaniards through the bishopric of Liege, and crossed the Moselle about the middle of April with little or no molestation; though the inhabitants mortally hated the nation, which his troops belonged to, and that for reasons of the freshest date. Oxenstiern formed a resolution to intercept one half of his army in its progress; and for that purpose dispatched the Rhingrave at the head of the very chosen part of his cavalry, who lodged that night at a village called Nieder-Ulm. Of this Luca Cagro, commissary general of the Spanish forces, procured intelligence, and dislodged at midnight with 1200 horse to give the Rhingrave a camisado; but the latter being apprised by his spies of the Spaniards intentions, posted himself in an advantageous pass mid-way, and gave them so rude a reception, that they soon betook themselves to flight and overturned 1000 horsemen, who had advanced out of the lines to support their retreat. The Swedes took eight colours, and pursued the enemy so far, till the cannon of the camp compelled them to retire. To restore matters after this signal affront, don Philip de Sylva joined the count with 3000 infantry, and ten pieces of artillery; in consequence whereof the town of Spires * was besieged and taken by capitulation; for which Horneck the governor was immediately arrested by Oxenstiern's order, and condemned to death by a court-martial; nevertheless his majesty was pleased to pardon him at the queen's intercession. The Spanish general extorted 16,000 l. by way of composition out of the poor inhabitants, which he refused to apply to the emperor's use; and discovered a coffin in the house of the knights of the Teutonic order, where Horneck had secreted the greatest part of his wealth.

This unfortunate panic, which seized Horneck, made Oxenstiern extremely vigilant in strengthening the fortifications of Mentz and Wormes; and at the same time care was taken to re-inforce the garrison of Manheim. The chancellor then erected two bridges across the

* The Imperial chamber here, which we have mentioned more than once in the course of our history, was removed to Wetzlar in 1693.

1638. Rhine and the Mayne; and when the French ambaſſador complained to him, that the governor of Mentz had ordered all the eccleſiaſtics to retire upon the approach of the Spaniards, he immediately cancelled the ſaid governor's decree, and aſſured the ambaſſador, that what had been done was contrary to his maſter's intentions, and his own orders.

Some days afterwards her Swediſh majeſty ſignified an inclination of taking up her reſidence at Mentz; upon which the grave ſtateſman, with the politeneſs and gallantry of a young courtier, accompanied with all the nobility and princes, that ſerved in his army, paid his attentions to her at Coſtheim on the other ſide of the Rhine, at the head of the flower of his cavalry; and ranged two bodies of infantry, each conſiſting of 4000 men, on the oppoſite banks of the river, who made the queen and court-ladies an unaccuſtomed compliment in one general diſcharge of their fire-arms. Her majeſty, attended by her own guards, entered the city with a train of twenty coaches, and lodged in the archiepiſcopal palace.

About this time the margrave of Baden-Baden received orders from Vienna to demand the town of Spires in the emperor's name; but count Embden told him, that every ſubject was to ſerve his reſpective ſovereign, and that he could not order the garriſon to diſlodge, till conformable inſtructions arrived from the court of Bruxelles. Nevertheleſs, he began now to find himſelf greatly ſtraitened in the neighbourhood of Spires, and Oxenſtiern preſſed him more and more, having ſurprized a courier with ſome of his diſpatches, by which he became informed of the enemy's wants and diſtreſſes. It is true the Infanta Iſabella took all poſſible care of this general's ſafety, and don Gonſalvo di Cordoüa received commands to march to his ſupport with 8000 freſh troops; but the vigilance of the Swediſh chancellor was ſo great, that it was difficult to form this junction, and of courſe Cordoua advanced to Triers, and then deſiſted.

Embden was much diſconcerted at this diſappointment, and having left a garriſon of 1000 men in Spires, filled the magazines of Frankendale, and furniſhed it with a defence of 1500 infantry, and 250 horſe, owed his ſafety to a feigned march, and a well-managed retreat. To effect this, he ordered his troops to aſcend the Rhine, and join Oſſa, but at midnight

night turned his courſe ſhort, and made all imaginable expedition to 1632.
Triers. Oxenſtiern (whoſe army was now enlarged) watched his motions with 18000 effective men, but Embden haſtened with ſuch extraordinary diligence, that it was next to impoſſible to overtake him. Nevertheleſs the chancellor continued to purſue him with the groſs of his army, and diſpatched the Rhingrave with all the cavalry, to embarraſs his retreat, and force him to halt, (if that could be) and involve himſelf in a general action. In the valley of Steinbach the Rhingrave at length reached him, and obliged him to turn round and defend his rear, which he did with great firmneſs, but cautiouſly avoided a full and deciſive engagement, refuſing to ſeize little advantages and ſkirmiſhing only, till the artillery and baggage had gained a place of ſafety. Cordoua joined him at Triers, and Merodé at the head of ſome Imperial troops encreaſed their numbers.

As the elector of Triers had made a ſeparate treaty * with Loüis XIII, and as France had engaged to become the guaranty of his dominions (for we have made it manifeſt, that ſhe always loved to have a finger of interference in the affairs of Germany) ſo now, as that prelate, who had loſt Coblentz, Philipſburg †, and all his ſtrong places, except Ehrenbreitſtein or Hermanſtein, found himſelf inveſted, tormented, and devoured on every ſide, it was thought neceſſary to march 24000 men to his aſſiſtance under the command of the marechals D'Effiat and La Force. The Imperialiſts were chagrined above meaſure (nor was Guſtavus thoroughly pleaſed) when the elector made a conſignation of fort Hermanſtein to the French; which indeed that prince did not greatly affect to do, but the two generals told him, "that in proportion as he became ſafe, he became forgetful likewiſe," and that they expected realities from him, as well as promiſes. This fort had the good fortune to command the Rhine, and was rendered next to impregnable by ſituation and art. As to Coblentz, the elector appeared very willing to reſign it into the hands of the French. It is a town of no ſmall importance, as it ſtands on the conflux of the Rhine and

* It was ſigned at Ehrenbreitſtein, April 9, 1632, and is preſerved in the APPENDIX.

† This town belonged to Philip Chriſtopher, elector of Triers, as biſhop of Spires.

Moſelle

1632. Moſelle in ſuch a manner, as that nothing but the firſt mentioned river ſeparated the ſubjects of Triers from the Spaniards. Nevertheleſs the latter contrived to throw a ſufficient garriſon into it, which piqued the two marſchals of France not a little, for no nations hate one another more cordially than the French and Spaniards. But Guſtavus ſoon made his allies happy in this reſpect, for he diſpatched Horn from Mentz, with an army of 14000 freſh troops, in order to diſperſe the Imperialiſts, chaſtiſe the chapter of Triers, and repoſſeſs Trarbach and Coblentz: which latter place, by a convention between the two kings, was delivered up to the French, and the inhabitants re-imburſed the Swedes for the charges of the expedition, as well as the ſiege.

Horn afterwards made himſelf maſter of Graffenberg and Trarbach, a ſtrong fort on the Moſelle about thirty miles from Triers, both which places were garriſoned by Spaniſh ſoldiers. He then entered Spires, for the Caſtilian governor diſlodged at his firſt approach; and laſtly, poſſeſſed Straſburg, which had long fluctuated between the then-contending powers, and at length made a formal declaration in favour of Sweden.

Mean while the elector of Triers had not power to conſign his own metropolis into the hands of France, for the chapter (which was in the Imperialiſts intereſts, as more attached to the catholic religion) had rebelled againſt him, and ventured, (titularly at leaſt,) to degrade him; inſomuch that a count Iſenberg, who ſerved the emperor, had taken care to ſecure the city for his maſter. The elector then ſent a trumpeter to his own commander at Philipſburg, but this man's loyalty had received a taint from his Spaniſh neighbours at Frankendale, and all the anſwer he returned his ſovereign was, that he acknowledged no authority but what came from Vienna, nor could afford him any other admiſſion than ſuch as could be procured by the point of the ſword: and, to manifeſt the ſincerity of his intentions yet further, he burnt all the houſes, that ſtood near to the fortifications, and having manned his walls, placed his artillery in a poſture of diſputing the event.

The two marechals not caring to waſte time on an officer of ſo ſingular an humour, advanced with their troops into the duchy of Deux-

ponts,

ponts, and paid their compliments to the duke, who received them in 1633.
a manner, that was almoſt peculiar to himſelf. This prince had uncommon talents of wiſdom, politeneſs, dexterity, and perſuaſion. During a civil war of twelve years continuance, he had aided none, and offended none: and though the ſeveral marches of Imperial, Lorrain, and French troops had produced ſome inconveniences to his ſubjects, yet every general, upon the firſt converſation with him, found himſelf ſo ſtruck with his eloquence and addreſs, that far from emburthening the inhabitants, he ſought to eaſe them. La Force was ſoon recalled, upon advice, that monſieur had entered France. D'Effiat croſſed the mountains of Voghesi * with all his cannon, and raiſed contributions from Straſburg, not in money (for that Guſtavus might have oppoſed) but in neceſſaries for the ſupport of his army. He had inſtructions from the cardinal to behave politely and humanely to all people, and of courſe always aſked for quarters even in neutral, or friendly countries. Having advanced to Lutzelſtein, he there died of a camp-fever. Upon this event, the marechal D'Etrée received the brevet of command in chief, which the viſcount Arpajou, general pro tempore, reſigned unto him.

It was D'Effiat's purpoſe to have croſſed the Rhine at Germersheim or Spires, and beſiege Philipſburg; but De Charnacé, the French ambaſſador to Guſtavus, told him, that (beſides the difficulty of the attempt) his Swediſh majeſty, who already poſſeſſed the greater part of the biſhopric of Spires, would never allow the French to fix their footſteps in that dioceſe. Upon which the reſolution was formed to inveſt Triers.

During this period the contending generals were not inactive in the circle of Suabia and the territories adjoining, where Oſſa, Furſtenburg †, and Montecuculi acted againſt Banier, duke William of Weymar, Scharaliſki, Ruthven, and the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg, concerning whom we have ſpoken already. Nor was the circle of Franconia leſs quiet, for the duke of Saxe-Coburg, and

* This chain of mountains, which Claudian, if I remember right expreſsly, mentions, takes its riſe near Daun in the Sungau, and ſtretches on to the duchy of Deux-ponts, and a part of the Lower Palatinat. From the Voghesi-mons tains ariſe the Maeſe, the Moſelle, the Marne, and the Saon.

† This was not the perſon, who commanded the main body at the battle of Leipſic.

the

1632. the margrave of Culmbach, commanded the Imperial party, and the colonels Haſtver, and Muſſel, conducted the Swediſh. But to deſcribe the various rencounters, conflicts, and little battles, that happened here and in the ſeveral departments above mentioned, would ſwell my account to ſuch a ſize, that though it might aſtoniſh my readers, yet it would bear too hard upon their patience at the ſame time. It may ſuffice therefore to conclude this delineation of the face of the war, in parts ſeparate and remote from Guſtavus, with obſerving only, that if he had not recalled duke Bernard to Nurenberg, on the expectance of Walſtein and Maximilian's junction, it is probable, that ſpirited and fiery young warrior would have carried the Swediſh arms through the Tyroleze, and expelled the arch-duke from Inſpruck, his own metropolis.

It appears, by this time, that the ſtream of the war ran entirely againſt the emperor; yet nothing embarraſſed or afflicted him ſo much as the forlorn condition, to which he ſaw the elector of Bavaria reduced. He not only pitied this unfortunate prince, but knew him to be capable of deſerting the cauſe; and feared alſo, leſt Guſtavus ſhould puſh the war into Upper Auſtria. Couriers upon the heels of couriers were diſpatched to Walſtein day and night, to diſſuade him from invading Saxony, (which was then his intention) and implore him to carry his aſſiſtance into Bavaria. At length the ſplenetic general complied, merely becauſe it was indecent and dangerous to refuſe any longer. But, in all probability, what moſtly determined him was, that ſome of his perſonal enemies, or ſome, who wiſhed well to the houſe of Auſtria, had ſpread a report, that he feared to confront the king of Sweden. The ſureſt way to animate or exaſperate the heroes of the ſword, is to throw a ſuſpicion on their conduct, or their courage; for then reaſon, philoſophy, and even preſence of mind, (the moſt ſhining of all their qualifications) take their flight from them, and reſide in other breaſts. It was under theſe circumſtances, that Tilly loſt the battle of Leipſic, and the valiant Hepburn, favourite of Guſtavus, reſigned his commiſſion, and refuſed to pardon the king, when he requeſted his forgiveneſs. In a word, a thorough enthuſiaſtical warrior can ſupport any thing but an impeachment

of his military character; and from my knowledge of history, ſuch as it is, it appears probable to me, that more generals in proportion have died of chagrin, and a broken heart, than poets, and enamoratos. In the wars we are now ſpeaking of, the amiable duke of Feria paid his life a ſacrifice to the perverſeneſs of Aldringer; for Aldringer, it is well known, was ordered by Walſtein to contradict that general in every point, which he had at heart; and Spinola, whitened with the ſervice of forty campaigns, whom fortune courted many years after ſhe is accuſtomed to deſert others, retired at laſt to a little niche in the terreſtrial ſyſtem hardly known *, crying out, *m' hanno levato l'honore, m' hanno levato l'honore*; and graſping in his hand on death-bed his catholic majeſty's letter, which authorized him to act according to the very manner, in which he had acted †. 1632.

But to return to my narration: Walſtein having reduced Egra, Elnbogen, and Leütmeritz, left Don Baltazar near the laſt place, and Holk in the neighbourhood of the ſecond, with two ſeparate armies, and then joined the elector of Bavaria at Luditz, near Egra. Perceiving therefore it was now high time to draw Guſtavus towards the Baltic, he judged it proper to advance towards the centre of the Swediſh conqueſts, and made more than a ſemblance of poſſeſſing Nurenberg, a town, whoſe intereſts his majeſty had greatly at heart, for the ſake of the inhabitants and himſelf. No man could be more eager to form this junction, than the elector; inſomuch that he mounted his muſqueteers behind his horſemen, to perform the march with greater expedition. Nor could the king impede the union of the two armies; for his ſcheme of entering the Upper Palatinat, and poſting himſelf between them, proved impracticable on the firſt attempt; and of courſe the paſs of Rhinſberg lay free and open to the admiſſion of the Bavarians ‡. Yet ſtill it was neceſſary to poſſeſs Nurenberg, even at the expence of making a long circuit in marching; for if that town (ſincerely attached to the king from inclination as well as religion) had been pre-occupied by the enemy, it was highly probable, that the armies in Suabia, under duke William of Weymar, Banier, and Ruthven, had been intercepted, and

* The fort of Scrivia.

† Galeazzo Gualdo. Vita di Mazarini.

‡ Monro, Second Expedition, 129.

1632. cut to pieces, in their advancing to ſupport their maſter. By this poſition likewiſe Guſtavus ſecured to himſelf the dioceſe of Wertzburg, and lay open to receive the ſeparate corps under Oxenſtiern, and others, then ſtationed in the circle of Franconia, and the Lower Rhine. As Walſtein was now advancing, and the ſervice threatened to become extremely warm, the king, like a ſenſible and prudent prince, took care to diſcharge the arrears of his officers and ſoldiers.

When the Imperial general left Egra, he brought up the rear of his army himſelf, count Gallas conducted the main body, and Aldringer led the van. As he croſſed a wood, a muſquet-ball paſſed through his coach, and miſſed both him and Tertſki, his brother-in-law, very narrowly. Whether this was done by accident, or deſign, cannot well be aſcertained; however Walſtein, for political reaſons, reſolved to take it in a ſerious acceptation. When he and Maximilian met, though each of them were maſters of the moſt profound diſſimulation, yet their perſonal reſentments ran ſo high, that neither one nor the other had the power of concealing them; but the elector had the mortification to be obliged to make the firſt advances. The number of the two combined armies amounted to 60,000 effective men, and upwards; though Walſtein (who loved to rhodomontade like a true Auſtrian) gave out a liſt, on approaching Nurenberg, of 59,000 infantry, and 24,600 cavalry, beſides Croatians*. Be that as it will, this was the largeſt army, that had appeared in Europe ſince the days of Charlemagne: but it was a maxim with its leader, *Que la fortune favoriſe toujours le gros eſcadrons*: Nor ſpared he any pains, by falſe reports, fictitious declarations, and pretended movements, to draw the king off from Nurenberg; but the latter knew his buſineſs, and remained immoveable, at the head of 18,000 or 20,000 men, at moſt, it being a maxim likewiſe with him, in his turn, *That a great general, with a ſmall army, can hardly ever be obliged to fight.* Upon this account he had, for ſome days, formed a reſolution to encamp himſelf near Nurenberg, and on that ſpot juſtify his theory, and exhibit to the

* In other words, the liſt ran to this effect; 197 companies of foot, at 300 men in each company; and 246 troops of horſe, (beſides ſome irregulars) at 100 in each troop; the Bavarian army included, conſiſting of 58 foot-companies, and 124 troops of horſe.

world,

world, one of the moſt ſhining efforts in the art of war, that hath or can 1632.
be found in hiſtory. Yet being, to a certain degree, in an hoſtile country, he had three great difficulties to contend with; namely, how to ſupport his army; how to prevent an enemy, of ſtrength trebly ſuperior, from forcing his lines; and how direct the re-inforcements, that were to join him, to advance their marches in ſuch a manner, as not to be intercepted and cut to pieces. As to the *firſt*, he had penetration enough to ſee, that the Nurenbergers loved him, and that the town had ſufficient proviſions, as well as bills of exchange, to ſupport his army, till he ſhould have ſtrength to march abroad and confront his enemies in open field: beſides being inferior in numbers, it was not in his power to ſubſiſt his camp by convoys and remote magazines. As to the *ſecond*, he diſplayed the full perfection of one of thoſe talents he particularly valued himſelf upon; for never ground was better choſen, and, if the times be conſidered, no camp had ever been fortified in ſuch a manner, and upon ſuch principles of art. Nor had outworks, and redoubts, of three miles circumference only, ever been protected with 300 pieces of artillery. And laſtly, as to the *third point*, there alone lay all his diffidence; for though Horn, Banier, duke Bernard, and others, were each of them, as it were, a ſecond Guſtavus, yet he felt the ſharpeſt anxieties, when he reflected, that theſe generals might miſcarry in their attempts to join him, and then his ruin was next to inevitable.

The town of Nurenberg had behaved more generouſly towards the king, than any one free Imperial city in the empire; for it had declared in his favour, as long before as the November preceding. Nor was his majeſty of a temper to ſee himſelf outdone in acts of ſhining and more diſtinguiſhed friendſhip.

Here, round the ſuburbs of the town, he fixed his camp; and as Walſtein was ſuppoſed to be in full march to attack it before it was completed, (than which the king expected nothing with greater degree of probability) one half of the army performed the duty of pioneers, day by day interchangeably, aſſiſted by a conſiderable number of peaſants, as well as citizens; to whom the king allotted a portion of work

1631. diſtinct from the Swedes, in order to excite an emulation between the two parties. But Walſtein ſaw the plan, and dreaded to aſſault the work, even in its infancy. For eight diſtinct forts were erected, one particularly ſurnamed the royal, all guarded with abundance of cannon, not to mention batteries, baſtions, half-moons, and every other ſort of fortification. The ditch of circumvallation was in all places twelve feet wide, and eight deep; and in critical ſituations, its width was eighteen feet, and its depth twelve. Advantage likewiſe was taken of the river Pagnitz, and of all troubleſome and irregular ground. So that the whole camp, (not comprehending ſpace allowed for irregular angles, and out-lines of defence, intrenchments, and redoubts, of various ſhapes, all conformable to the genius of the ſpot of earth,) contained, as nearly as I can calculate, (and the account came from Hepburn) about 219 clear ſquare acres; and thus the king, by this grand maſterpiece of contracting his boundaries, reſerved to himſelf the full power of bringing more hands to act than Walſtein could overcome. Perſons of leſs abilities would have wanted proportionably greater ſpace to move in. The common demands for food and forage muſt have ſpread the troops at greater diſtances, (as appeareth evidently to have been Walſtein's caſe) and the providing magazines, and eſcorting them to the head quarters, muſt have ſeparated the army too much, and weakened it by daily rencounters, however fortunate and ſucceſsful. But the king, taking previous care to ſee Nurenberg excellently provided, made it, at one and the ſame time, his granary, his ſtable, and his ſhambles, for the ſpace of eight weeks and five days: and one thing is very remarkable, that though the town fed the royal army, (which afterwards encreaſed) and maintained at leaſt 20,000 mouths beſides, for many gentry and peaſants flocked into it; yet corn, at laſt, aroſe not to a much higher price than it then ſold for in London.

The mind is loſt in aſtoniſhment, when one conſiders, the wonderful foreſight made uſe of on this extraordinary occaſion. Indeed it may be aſked, how the king, with ſo ſmall an army, could furniſh and protect his camp with ſuch a number of cannon as 300 pieces? But the queſtion ſolves itſelf, when we reflect, that part of the artillery along the ramparts

parts was at his diſpoſal, and that the arſenal of Nurenberg, both then and now, was as well furniſhed as moſt in the empire. And here one may ſubjoin another remark, namely, that when I make his majeſty's troops amount to the number of 20,000 men, the garriſon of the place, a ſort of city militia, is ſuppoſed to be comprehended within the calculation. This body of troops conſiſted of twenty four companies, and carried for arms, on their enſigns, the twenty four letters of the alphabet. 1632.

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe conveniences, (though it muſt be acknowledged one half of them was created by the dint of parts and genius) it hath been thought by many *, not without ſome appearance of reaſon, that the king fixed on Nurenberg, more from a principle of generoſity and gratitude, than from any local advantages: for had he, ſay they, withdrawn firſt to Mentz, and then returned and encamped beneath the walls of Bamberg, he might have eaten out the territories of a prelate, who had uſed him baſely, and joined his own armies, a point then of the higheſt conſequence to him, with one third part of the danger and difficulty. Yet ſtill, (ſetting apart the obligations of gratitude, and ties of reciprocal affection) Nurenberg ſeems to me, upon all accounts, to be the place preferable; it had both proviſions and money in great abundance; it had a diſtrict round it, of about ſixteen Engliſh miles ſquare, all ſubjected to the king's good pleaſure; it was connected with a conſiderable number of free towns, and little proteſtant adjoining ſtates; and had artillery in abundance, which the king wanted above all things: whereas at Bamberg, the dioceſe had been devoured interchangeably by each contending party; the ordnance would have been removed, or rendered uſeleſs; magazines within the town there were none; and the inhabitants were all zealous Romaniſts, and profeſſed enemies. And as to the arrival of the Swediſh armies, the king had planned that meaſure with cool reflection, and had great reaſons to hope he ſhould effect that junction under the walls of Nurenberg, and within the eyeſight of Walſtein.

* Le Vaſſor, &c.

As

1632. As a proof whereof, in this his worſt ſituation, he diſpatched a perſon he valued *, to the elector of Saxony, exhorting him to behave like a man of ſpirit, and ſhew no ſymptoms of deſpondency; *Tell him*, ſaid he, *whatever appearance things may carry, I will make him a viſit ſoon, attended by my valiant and faithful army.* His majeſty had ſtill a further view in this embaſſy; for he charged his negotiator with a ſecret commiſſion, and that was, to pacify an unaccountable jealouſy and averſion, which ſubſiſted, on the Saxon ſide, againſt the king of Bohemia. He then informed the French king very compoſedly by letter, *That he was not diſtreſſed to ſuch a degree as the enemy ſet forth; but, on the contrary, had troops ſufficient to oppoſe againſt him; and that the bravery of his ſoldiers was never to be extinguiſhed, except by death. We perform our exerciſes*, continued he, *every day in the field of Mars, and will give Walſtein to underſtand, what, and how much, men are capable of performing, who fight the cauſe of public liberty, and defend princes and nations, who groan under tyranny and perſecution* †. He had preſence of mind, at the ſame juncture, to diſpatch an ambaſſador to Ragotzki, prince of Tranſylvania, under pretence of accommodating ſome differences between him and the fair Catharina of Brandenburg, relict of the late Gabriel Bethlem; but in reality, to induce him to attack the emperor in his Hungarian dominions. From Tranſylvania, the ſaid miniſter had orders to haſten on to Conſtantinople, in order to learn the ſentiments of the divan, in reference to the Germanic wars: but in the latter place he obtained nothing, except fair words and an obliging reception.

By this time the Imperial general arrived, and having viewed the king's entrenchments, determined at once (contrary to his intentions on the road) not to aſſault him, but attempt to ſtarve him: and it was upon

* Auguſtus, count Palatin of the Rhine, who paſſed on from Dreſden to Berlin, and finiſhed a ſecond negotiation there; but returning to join his maſter at Nuremberg, died at Weinſheim in Franconia. He was a young man, from whom the king had great expectances, both as a ſoldier and a politician.

† Le Vaſſor, Tom. vii. 345. Whatever the king might write, yet Richelieu was ſo terrified with his majeſty's ſituation, that, fearing Walſtein might totally deſtroy him, and of courſe render the courts of Vienna and Madrid too powerful for that of Verſailles, he immediately made propoſals of an accommodation with the duke of Orleans.

this principle he pronounced, vain-glorioufly enough, "That Europe 1632.
"ſhould ſee, in a few weeks, who was maſter of Germany, whether Guſ-
"tavus or himſelf." In truth, this extraordinary perſonage (putting fear out of the queſtion) did not chuſe to bring his dictatorſhip to ſo ſhort a concluſion; upon which the elector of Bavaria, who diſliked both his phlegm and his vanity, preſſed him earneſtly to force the Swediſh lines, ſword in hand; "Sir, ſaid Walſtein, aſſuming an air of coldneſs, be-
"gin the attack with your whole army, and I will ſupport you with all
"my forces."

Mean while Walſtein contemplated the new entrenchments made by Guſtavus, with the ſame attention, as a geometrician could be ſuppoſed to ſtudy a freſh work of Euclid's, juſt recovered from obſcurity; being reſolved to force it, if the attempt was practicable, confiding more than a little in the ſuperiority of his numbers: but upon examining the fortifications erected, and precautions taken, he changed his reſolution, for he was thoroughly aſtoniſhed; having chanced to forget, that a few troops judiciouſly poſted, and entrenched up to the eyes, were at leaſt a match for whole Imperial legions, who were to act in a ſtate of expoſure above ground. He then coolly traced out a camp, almoſt within ſight of the king, yet three miles diſtant from him. Its defence was very ſlight and inſubſtantial, conſiſting only of a ſmall ditch, protected in various parts by interlaced foreſt-trees, baggage waggons, and gabions. He then cauſed his troops to lodge in eight different diviſions, and covered ſuch an extent of ground, that the whole appeared more like a populous country than like a camp.

As to ſubſiſting an army, there indeed lay his chief excellence; for in the management of his artillery, (of which he had enough) he was no great genius, and had few good hands; nor was he, as an honeſt Briton ſaid bluntly of him, *in any degree a notable ſpade-man* *. But in reſpect to proviſions and forage, he ſhewed himſelf a purveyor of the firſt claſs. Amongſt other things, his proviant-bread was admirable; which in hard times makes half the ſtanding diet of a ſoldier, and an-

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part iii. p. 9.

ſwers

1632. fwers all purpoſes very well, when nothing better can be obtained. As he had troops to ſpare in great abundance, it was his intention to check the Swedes in all little excurſions for the ſupport of their camp; and this he partly effected, having more men every day at leiſure, than the king could bring to act upon the moſt trying emergency.

The country behind him, and on each ſide, lay all open to his devotion, and proviſions and ammunition were conveyed to him even from Vienna and Munich; the firſt by water-carriage, as near to him as Ratiſbon. He poſſeſſed all the towns and paſſes in the circle of territories, which ſurrounded him, excepting only beyond that little ſegment, which the king occupied. He then ſtationed two large bodies of troops in the dioceſe of Bamberg and the Upper Palatinat, and cauſed his Croatians, like beaſts of prey, to ſcour the whole country night and day, in a line croſs-wiſe from Munich to Bamberg; a tract of excurſion, which meaſures at leaſt one hundred miles.

Having, as we remarked before, ſlightly ſketched out the ground-plot of a camp, he drew up ſeventeen regiments at the head of his intended lines, by way of bravado, a practice extremely common in thoſe days, being a fine *pons aſinorum* for thoſe hot-brained fighting warriors, who miſtake animal vivacity for true courage. Be that as it will, the king humoured Walſtein in this ſort of interlude, (though determined in his own mind not to hazard an engagement at that juncture) and drew out his cavalry in line of battle, juſt under the enemy's noſe; for he well knew, that a ſmall river divided the two armies, and ſerved both for a barrier and an excuſe. This river, called the Pegnitz, having traverſed Nurenberg from eaſt to weſt, paſſeth between the two camps, and ſupplied both armies; but as the weather was extremely dry, and the ſeaſon of the Dog-ſtar began to approach, the Swedes and Imperialiſts ſuffered much from the ſcantineſs of water, and from its being corrupted, ſo that petechial fevers multiplied exceedingly *.

It ſoon became manifeſt to all men, that Guſtavus's conduct not only puzzled Walſtein, but created ſerious apprehenſions in the mind of

* Brachelii Hiſt. noſtror. Temp. p. 282.

that

that general; for it made a visible change all at once in his way of think- 1632.
ing, and speaking. He altered that decisive tone, which he had formerly used in matters of war; from confident, he became distrustful; and what was once haughtiness and obstinacy, began now to soften itself into something, which carried the appearance of deference and docility. He found himself obliged to make his military motions step by step, having to do with one, who was capable of ruining him from the inattention of a single moment. So that his greatest chance consisted in the hope of compelling the king to listen to some necessary accommodation, occasioned partly by hunger, and partly by the intercception of his re-inforcements. And perhaps he had some expectances too of corrupting the fidelity of the town of Nurenberg; but that was an airy and insubstantial expectation. Therefore as one single stroke (if the comparison may be allowed) oftentimes determines the character of a general, as much as a painter; he saw, with grief, that Gustavus had but one place to encamp in, and *that* he chose. No town but Nurenberg could support him; and in any other spot, Walstein might have starved him in a fortnight's space, and hunted him, like a fugitive, from one extremity of the empire to another.

It was something astonishing to all mankind, that two armies, on whose conduct the fate of Germany depended, should lie gazing on each other for eight weeks, without striking more than one single blow, if we except (and that indeed was unavoidable) the little onsets, ambuscades, and conflicts betwixt partizans, who roamed here and there to procure forage, and intercept convoys: yet in all the space of time abovementioned, it is not certain, that a musquet-ball was exchanged in earnest, or one considerable alarm given, by either party, from the two encampments. Of all which the truth was this: Walstein durst not attack, and the king, for prudent reasons, declined engaging; yet such was the vivacity of his high spirit, that he declared himself, more than once, to be quite out of temper with Walstein's shiness; who, though he well knew the weakness of the Swedes, yet knew likewise their valour and discipline; and of course, as Gassion tells us*, resolved to

* Memoires, Tom. i. p. 60.

1632. make it "a campaign of ſtarving." And hence it was, he declared ſo confidently, "That the myſtery of re-eſtabliſhing his maſter's affairs did not conſiſt in giving frequent battles; that his predeceſſors had played this game many years, without obtaining the object of their wiſhes: therefore, ſaid he, I ſhall take the liberty to wage war upon different principles."

This plan was not unworthy of a great general, and Walſtein had parts to comprehend the idea in its full advantage; yet it is plain, he proceeded upon ſelfiſh and ambitious motives beſides: his grand object was to protract the war; he ſerved his Imperial maſter ſparingly and grudgingly; and had no deſire to remove hoſtilities from the threſhold of the Bavarian territories, whoſe elector he conſidered as the principal cauſe of his late diſgrace.

Mean while the king diſpatched couriers to the ſeveral generals he intended ſhould join him, and ſubjoined to each letter a delineation of their reſpective marches. He then amuſed himſelf, at intervals from more immediate buſineſs, with reviewing his troops every day, and ſeeing ſome ideas in exerciſe realized, which his inventive genius had lately brought to light. As the trial of ſkill conſiſted in ſtarving with good grace, he reſolved to fight the firſt moment he could encreaſe his handful of men to a moderate number, knowing preciſely, how long and in what manner to ward the blow, or when return it; and in the interim employed all his thoughts how to procure a mouthful of bread, when Walſtein had none. And, indeed, the effects of this foreſight and œconomy ſoon made their appearance; for by this time, he reduced that magnificent perſon (who affected a table ſpread with princely profuſion) to ſix diſhes at dinner, for himſelf and officers, and two bottles of wine, both which reductions he was obliged afterwards to diminiſh farther and farther. For the king, with his ſmall body of troops, haraſſed his convoys, and deſtroyed his magazines; not to mention, that Walſtein's ſupplies came by land-carriage from Ratiſbon, having no navigable ſtream to befriend him. For as to the Radnitz, which ran through his camp, notwithſtanding it came from the country of his firm ally, the biſhop of Bamberg, yet it was too narrow, and too ſhallow, to admit boats of any

ſize;

fare; and, to augment the inconvenience, the ſtream was againſt him. 1632.
So that Guſtavus, upon the whole, was the beſt purveyor; though indeed it is hard to comprehend, how an inland town, like Nurenberg, could be ſupplied in the manner it was; for neither meat, nor ammunition, nor bread, were wanting; and the quantity of oats was beyond deſcription. Amongſt other things, the city furniſhed his army, each day, with 8,000 loaves. And thus, though Walſtein took care to poſt his troops on every road, that approached to Nurenberg, and by the ſame methods, that he deprived his enemy ſupplied himſelf, being maſter of all the paſſes, and having a communication open with Forcheim, where the Germans gravely tell you Pontius Pilate was born *, as likewiſe with Wurtzburg, Cronach, and all Bavaria; yet ſtill the king lived better than he; not that he could diſpute every inch of ſuperiority with him, (being four degrees inferior to him in reſpect of cavalry †) but by procuring better intelligence, and watching the critical moments of advantage and ſurprize.

Yet ſtill Guſtavus, though bleſſed with a ſuperiority, that appeared miraculous, felt ſome miſgivings in his own breaſt, in ſpite of all his magnanimity and reſolution, with reference to the dangers, that attended his little armies, which were now in full march towards him from various quarters. Far from diſcovering the leaſt external ſymptoms of diſmay, he aſked the ſeparate opinion of every general, and condeſcending even to ſend for Gaſſion ‡, (then not arrived to the rank of a lieutenant-colonel) explained to him the critical and perillous ſituation of his army, with familiarity and confidence; expreſſing no kind of diffidence with reſpect to his own conduct, but manifeſting ſome apprehenſions with regard to the fate of his re-inforcements. From whence it appears, that the braveſt of men (and ſuch Guſtavus truly was) can be alarmed with danger, though not dejected. Such pre-ſentiments make the great general to be

* The verſes on the occaſion are ſo claſſical, both in ſtyle and quantity, that one cannot abſtain from citing them:

Forchemii natus eſt Pontius ille Pilatus,
Teutoniæ gentis, crucifixor Omnipotentis.

† See Le Blanc. Hiſt. de Baviere, Tom. iv. p. 393.

‡ Vie du Maréchal Gaſſion, par Michael Le Pare, Tom. i. p. 69.

1632. what he is, upon ſuppoſition that they diſturb not his preſence of mind; or, in other words, the free exertion of the powers of his underſtanding.

Mean while Guſtavus depended as much upon the want of good agreement between Walſtein and Maximilian, as Hannibal ever expected advantage from the miſunderſtandings, that ſubſiſted betwixt the Roman conſuls and the generals under them. But the Bavarian elector, being a perſon equally well ſkilled in penetration and diſſembling, ſoon found, that oppoſition, far from humbling Walſtein, only ſerved to enflame and exaſperate him; and ſubmitting therefore with the beſt grace he could, had the mortification to ſee his new and well-beloved acquiſition, the Upper Palatinat, laid waſte and devoured by his own allies. Nay Walſtein went ſo far, as to refine upon the paſſions of reſentment and malice; for perceiving, that his rival hated Guſtavus with a mortal hatred, he affected a thouſand politeneſſes and civilities towards him, and ſpoke of him in the ſtyle of ſomething more than human. And one circumſtance, about this period ſeems highly probable and generous in Guſtavus; for when he ſent a route of the roads, planned out by himſelf with uncommon judgment, to every commander, who was to march to his aſſiſtance; *Gentlemen*, added he, in the concluſion of his letters, *your king, and military protector, can only direct his abſent diſciples, in general terms: incidents will ariſe, which no human foreſight can pre-determine: ſeize the moments; ſnatch the proffered opportunities, which take birth and flight in one inſtant. I reſign into your hands full diſcretionary power;——uſe it worthily both of me and yourſelves* *.

We have kept ſilence for ſome time, with reſpect to the ſituation of affairs between Guſtavus and Charles I. but ſomething happened to preſent itſelf here, which co-incides almoſt to a day with the due chronological order of hiſtory. Vane, piqued (as the party offending uſually is) with the late converſation betwixt him and Guſtavus, had withdrawn himſelf, by way of reſentment, from Munich to Ulm, and renewed his ſolicitations about the reſtitution of the Lower Palatinat,

* Vide Chemnitz, Tom. i. p. 341.

(moſt

(most of which the Swedes had then conquered) according to his old 1632.
cuſtom, or, in other words, with impropriety and teazing; and what
enclines us the more to form this conjecture, is, that the king of Bo-
hemia neither co-operated with him, nor imparted his deſigns to him,
as Vane himſelf confeſſeth.

In a few words, the ſtreſs of the difficulty lay here. Guſtavus had a full deſign to conquer and reſtore the Lower Palatinat: but as he knew the Spaniards, then very powerful at ſea, might interrupt his commerce, (a point, if he had leiſure, very near and dear to him) and perhaps ſend a fleet to give laws to the Baltic, he made it a preliminary *ſine qua non*, that England ſhould declare a naval war againſt Spain; than which, as with great judgment he foreſaw, nothing could be eaſier to her, or more agreeable to the bent of the nation, if the king had wiſhed in earneſt to ſee his brother re-inſtated. But Charles hung like a dead weight upon this topic, and refuſed to comply.

To the preſent part of the queſtion Vane ſays nothing; but an extract from his letter *, with reference to the preceding paragraph, may be worth tranſcribing.

"The king of Sweden, within theſe few days, hath plainly told the "king of Bohemia, that he would neither conclude with him, nor my-"ſelf, until he had ſpoken with the elector of Saxe.

"This I have certain information of, though not from the king of "Bohemia. Whereupon I thought fit to write him the incloſed letter. "* * * Thus you ſee the hard game I have to play; and which "is ſo much the more difficult, in regard of the great intelligence there "is between the king of Sweden and ſome of his majeſty's ſubjects, "by intercourſe of letters out of England into the army. But this is "a tender point, and tenderly to be dealt in; and therefore no notice "to be taken of it at preſent. What iſſue the preſent conjuncture may "produce, is not to be foreſeen; but I conceive it worthy of his ma-"jeſty's great wiſdom, and the ſtate's, ſeriouſly and timely to take into "their conſideration the true balancing the eſtates of Chriſtendom, "for they are now upon a criſis."

* Dated from Ulm, June 22, 1632, MS. *Paper-office*.

He

1632. He then adds, that the king of Sweden, "though he had raised himself, by contributions and otherwise, yet did not pay his troops a farthing, but suffered them to plunder *; and if he shall be obliged to retreat, and pay them no better, they may possibly disband of themselves †: therefore he (Sir Henry) hopes, that he shall have orders to put the king to a point, for what he holds in the Lower Palatinat, and to return to England."

As to occasional rencounters in the field, (for nothing passed between the main armies) never troops were kept in better breath than the Swedes, and Imperialists: but this sort of war *in retail*, or *la petite guerre*, as the French call it, merits not to be recorded, as it decideth nothing; excepting here and there in a particular instance, which shall be just mentioned as I pass along. Yet one thing highly deserves to be transmitted down to posterity; the king, in frequent conflicts with the Croatians, (a set of beings he mortally hated, as way-layers, robbers, and murderers) devised a new practice in the art military, for mixing dragoons, (who then carried a shorter musquet, and not carabines) with his own light cavalry, they either served on foot, as occasion required, or did great mischief on horseback, as their pieces discharged a heavier weight of ball.

Amongst these lesser actions of a significant cast, the valiant colonel Dewbatel, at the head of his own regiment, supported by some few of Sperreüter's ‡ men, for having defeated a party of Croatians, fell in unawares with 6000 Walsteiners; upon which event, he led his soldiers on four or five times to the charge, and made incredible efforts to cut his way through the enemy, till at length, having lost one half of his

* For the confutation of this unchristian and infamous report, in every branch, (which Vane hath dwelt upon in other letters, and we have replied to occasionally *in loco*) compare particularly the pages 228—230, 254, &c.

† This is a suspicion highly tinctured with malice; for in the whole course of the king's wars, I find no desertion, which, besides other things, proves incidentally, that his pay was punctual. But Vane remembered well the old rule, *Calumniari fortiter, at aliquid remanet.*

‡ What this officer's real name was, I know not; for the king one day in Poland, returning over the field of battle, saw a soldier pierced through with a pike, and the instrument remaining in his body, without discovering any symptoms of pain or uneasiness; which struck his majesty so much, that he surnamed him on the spot Sperreüter *or knight of the spear*,

little

little army, he found himself unhorsed in the engagement, and conducted 1632.
prisoner to the Imperial general. His majesty having received intelligence of this rude and unexpected shock, posted away full trot, with a select body of cavalry, in order to disengage his brave commander, but unfortunately found the field of battle covered with the dead bodies of his soldiers, and nothing else; for the Imperialists very wisely retired the very moment after they had performed their business.

Walstein received Dewbatel with uncommon marks of esteem, and commanded Peroni, steward of his household, immediately to discharge his ransom, which in those days, for an officer of that rank, ran sometimes to the amount of one thousand pounds. More reasons perhaps than one induced him to perform this act of politeness: he knew the man to be a favourite with Gustavus, and hoped probably, by such an instance of generosity, (which indeed was congenial to his natural temperament) to open an honest warrior's heart, and extract some useful intelligence from him. And therefore from these motives, and under pretence of admiring his turn of mind and disposition, he created occasions of holding several private conversations, which ran chiefly upon encomiums with regard to Gustavus, and on the earnest desire he had to give peace to Germany, and produce a reconcilement between the emperor and his majesty of Sweden.

Not many days afterwards, some Swedish partizans, with Gassion amongst them, had the good fortune to seize Darnius, an officer of Walstein's, in whom that general placed a peculiar confidence, who was hastening without a sufficient guard from one quarter to another. Him his majesty examined strictly *upon oath* (such was his usual custom with prisoners of condition) and finding, that Walstein intended to remove to his camp, the next day, a large magazine from Freystadt, which contained all, that could be amassed in Bavaria, the Higher Palatinat, and the bishoprics of Ratisbon and Aichstadt, he conceived an idea of intercepting or destroying the convoy, and put the execution thereof into Dewbatel's hands, who by this time was returned from the Imperial army *. This officer, impatient to justify his majesty's choice, left

* Hist. or Auth. Relation, in Low Dutch, fol. Tom. ii. 81, 82.

him

1632. hint towards the close of the evening, (having received his private orders) and mounted on horseback at the head of three regiments of cavalry, (his own dragoons being one) which the king allowed him to select from all the army. Gallion had a private order from his majesty some minutes before, and had the honour to assist in this expedition with his own shattered regiment, which consisted only of 300 horse. They arrived at Freystadt, a small town near Neumarck, about fixteen miles from Nurenberg, about two hours after midnight; secured the corps de guard unperceived, and fixed three petards to the town-gate, the last of which succeeded. Dewbatel shaped his entrance one way, and Gallion the other; so that in two hours the whole garrison, being oppressed on either side, was either killed or disarmed. Then the Swedes had leisure to load 200 waggons with military stores, and burnt more than 1000 loads of corn and hay; after which they began their retreat, composedly and in good order, driving with them an incredible number of cattle. For who could have imagined, that the Swedes, with so small an army, would have undertaken an enterprize, which befitted the persons only, who had a superiority of forces? Mean while the king, who knew what Walstein would do on this occasion, as well as Walstein himself, advanced with a body of 2000 cavalry, to secure the return of his men. Eventually as he concluded, the Imperial general took the alarm in an instant, and dispatched Spar, serjeant-major of battaglia, with his own regiment of musqueteers, and some other infantry, eight select troops of Gonzaga's and Coloredo's horse, and twenty squadrons of Croatians, to make an example of these adventurers. But as his majesty lighted accidentally on Spar, without seeing his own troops, or being seen by them, they retired without any molestation, and knew nothing of all that happened, till the fortune of the day had been decided. The Imperial general, who out-numbered the king doubly, (for his majesty thought by joining his own troops to preserve an equality in proportion) felt himself animated with the glory of fighting a battle, in miniature, with the great Gustavus; and, of course, gave him so desperate a charge, that colonel Reis was shot through the body, and a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and

Cratz-

Gratzenſtein, one of the pages, were both killed at their maſter's ſide. 1632.
As Reiſs led the commanded muſqueteers, the king was obliged to diſmount and conduct them himſelf: there he perſevered with incredible patience, knowing well, that his men would never deſert him. At length the Croatians began to diſappear, by little and little; the regular horſe behaved well in part, but the Imperial-Iriſh regiments, of Gordon and Leſly, performed wonders; for having gained the covert of a ſmall wood, they fought on till they had not a ſingle charge of powder remaining; and then, by mutual conſent, filed off among the trees, but the ground behind perplexed them in their eſcape. Gonzaga's horſe ran away, for which Walſtein convened him before a court-martial, though he had the honour to be couſin to the empreſs, and though it appeared, on his trial, that he kept the field after every man of his regiment had deſerted it. This rude rencounter happened in the neighbourhood of a village, called Burgtham, about three miles from Altdorf *. The king, during the conflict, was ſo pleaſed with the behaviour of Leſly and Gordon, who proved afterwards the two aſſaſſins of Walſtein, that he declared publickly, if he took them priſoners, he would diſcharge them without delay, and pay their ranſom himſelf. And this he did; but ſome obſtructions deferred the execution of his promiſe, for the ſpace of five weeks. When the confuſion of the action was partly diſſipated, ſome Swedes ſaw an horſe richly capariſoned, faſtened to a thorn-tree, and aſking an Imperial horſe-boy †, if he knew the owner, received for anſwer, that it was his general's; and amidſt ſome oſiers and ruſhes juſt by, (for the ground there was very moraſſy, and the cavalry could not clear it,) at length Spar was diſcovered, who, making ſome reſiſtance, received two very rude ſtrokes from the club-end of a muſquet, and ſoon loſt the maſſy gold chain, which hung round his neck. This officer was ſomewhat unfortunate, for he had paid one ranſom the preceding year; and what perplexed him afterwards in his examination, and gave the king ſome advantage over him, was, that he had paſſed his parole not to ſerve againſt the Swedes, for a certain duration of time.

* Invaſions of Germany, *cum Fig.* 12°. p. 76.

† Theſe horſe-boys, in both the ſervices, were probationer-cavalry. Lond. 1638.

1632. But when brought to his majeſty, in the field of action, the king only ſaid, laughing heartily, *Ah, monſieur Spar, I ſee you love me ſo dearly, that you cannot poſſibly refrain long from my company**.

Beſides thoſe already mentioned, Tertzki likewiſe, Walſtein's brother-in-law, was taken priſoner. The enemy loſt 800 choſen men on this occaſion; but only two pair of colours, having taken care to tear the others into pieces. His majeſty rewarded the common ſoldiers, who brought him theſe colours, very generouſly, gratified many officers, and complimented all, ſpoke to ſeveral inferior men by name, and applauded them highly. At night he returned Dewbatel public thanks before the principal commanders of his army; and thought the advantage ſo conſiderable, as to ſend for his chaplain, and order mention to be made thereof in the devotions of next day.

Gaſſion, with his comrades, reached the camp before his majeſty arrived thither; upon which, with fifteen choſen horſemen, he remounted immediately, and went in ſearch of his maſter, whom he found returning. The king embraced him with a ſmile, and aſked his intentions: "Sire, ſaid he, (in military Latin, for he then could not talk German) "you once promiſed me the honour of dying near "you, and I haſtened now to take my chance." *Frenchman*, replied Guſtavus, (for that was the compellation he always gave him) *take my word, I will engage in no battle, but you ſhall ſhare in the blows given and received on either ſide.*

As Spar had violated his parole of honour given at Francfort upon the Oder of not ſerving againſt Guſtavus and his allies for a certain period of time, he proved a priſoner, that might be depended upon, as he lay expoſed to the rigor of the then-eſtabliſhed military practice. Being examined by the king in perſon twice upon oath, he anſwered, on the faith of a Chriſtian, that he knew nothing of Walſtein's deſigns, as that general made no participants in his ſecrets: but the commonly received opinion (with which his own co-incided) was, that "he aimed only to compel him by hunger into a treaty." The king inſiſted no farther, and was perhaps the only prince or general (as the

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part iii. p. 22.

cuſtom

custom then run) that would have pardoned Spain in such a situation, as 1632.
that officer stood.

In this partizan-war (a sort of piracy and murder, offensive to a generous spirit, and so much the rather, as it rarely determined any thing) his majesty began to discover great uneasinesses; for many of the best generals, including the common soldiers almost to a man, began to grow cruel and rapacious. This hurt the king's mind both as a Christian and a warrior; for it was a maxim with him, that avarice was illiberal in a military man, and that barbarity usually implied cowardice. Besides, he foresaw plainly, that want of morals would soon create want of discipline; and that then his once-invincible army would be reduced to the level of the common standard. Nay, he remarked, that even Walstein in the present campaign preserved a subordination and regularity, which were quite the reverse of that licentiousness, with which formerly he had indulged his troops. Sending therefore for every commander to his tent from the lieutenant-colonels to the lieutenant-general, the latter being the second post then in all armies; and assuming (which is very difficult) an air of affliction and firmness at the same time, he delivered his sentiments in the following words:

Gentlemen,

You partly belong to those numbers, who have shewn themselves unfaithful and disloyal to their own country *, *having endeavoured to procure and complete its ruin to the utmost of your power. You, my generals, and all you, my inferior officers, I have ever esteemed you as brave cavaliers, and make this confession now to your honour; testifying at the same time, that upon all occasions of service offered, and more particularly in the hour of battle, you have given me such demonstrations of your valour, as have intirely satisfied my most ardent wishes. But when I reflect on the ravages, extortions, and cruelties lately committed* †, *(and believe me, my friends, the seeing you all*

* Meaning Germany; for the German officers and soldiers were neither so moral, nor so well disciplined as the Swedish.

† In Bavaria; where uninterrupted success first rendered them insolent.

1632. *before me enlivens my memory with the ſtrongeſt recollection) and that you, perſons of rank, birth, education, and competent incomes, have been guilty yourſelves of thoſe very inſolencies, and companions of thoſe, who neither obſerve diſcipline, nor ſee it obſerved;——I own my mind is ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and horror. Turn your eyes inward upon your own conſciences; and I aſk no more. Is it not a caſe afflicting and deplorable; is it not a ſight odious to the Supreme Being; that one Chriſtian, even of the ſame profeſſion in religion, ſhould deſpoil another! that brethren ſhould render brethren miſerable, and friends deſtroy friends! Demons themſelves, as far as can be conjectured, have more juſtice and leſs barbarity.*

How often hath anguiſh cut me to the heart, when the voice of fame reports, on numberleſs occaſions, that the Swediſh ſoldiers are more cruel and more licentious than the Imperialiſts? But here lies a miſtake. All my troops are denominated Swedes, but the offence ſpringeth from the native Germans: and had I known the caſt and complexion of the nation in the ſame manner as I now ſtand informed; and that you, Germans born, had no more natural affection for your maternal country than hath ſince appeared, rendering it no better ſervices, and diſcovering no greater fidelity towards it; believe me, on the honour of a ſoldier, I would never have ſaddled an horſe in your behalf; much leſs hazarded my life, kingdoms, and reputation for you, as alſo the perſons of thoſe brave and faithful men, who accompanied me hither.

No—ſince I now perceive, that you are animated with a rage for deſtroying your country, it had been the effects of my choice and judgment, both, to have left you preciſely in the ſtate I found you; that is, in other words, plunged and buried in the depths of ſlavery, as well mental as corporeal.

Let your own conſciences bear teſtimony, that it is not my uſual cuſtom to deny any of you a requeſt, that is reaſonable; and the Supreme Being knoweth beſides, that I never intended more than (by the co-operation of divine aſſiſtance) to reſtore every man to his own, and his own to every man; and for the acquiſitions propoſed to be made in Franconia and Bavaria, it was my fixt intention to diſtribute them impartially to the nobility and gentry of the German nation, and leave no man's good ſervices unrewarded. But this diabolical practice of ravaging and deſtroying lays a dead weight, I muſt confeſs, on my beſt purpoſes, and checks the vigour of my Chriſtian reſolutions.

But

But answer me, my fellow soldiers, have you not the spirit and dignity of 1632.
sentiment to reflect a little, what kind of idea posterity will form concerning you in future histories!——Remember likewise, I conjure you, what perplexities you are creating to your honour and consciences, and what visitations and punishments you are now drawing down, not only on your own persons, but on your country and successors, by these outrageous acts of oppression and inhumanity. Oh, that you could once reflect what an account you have to settle at the great tribunal! Happy, thrice happy had been my condition, if I had still remained in my own kingdoms, and not travelled so far to behold such enormities as I have beheld!

*You will say, perhaps, that you want money; and yet it is evident to all mankind, that I pay you and the whole army punctually, to the full extent of my power: but by your depredations, extortions and ravages, you bring the honour of my credit in question, and deprive me of the very means to support my forces. And whence, I demand a second time, proceeds it, that you are not satisfied? What share have I received in any instance from all your plunder?——Just nothing. Here therefore I protest, in the presence of the Supreme Being (for what I say is religiously veracious) that in all this war I have not enriched myself to the amount of six German dollars *. Nay I can make it appear to demonstration, if any doubtful person amongst you desireth to be satisfied under this article, that I have drawn from my own patrimonial treasures, since I left Stockholm, at two and thirty several remittances, the full and complete sum of three hundred and sixty thousand pounds; all which I have expended for your advantage, and for the re-establishment of such princes, as are united with me in the same truth of religion. This, it is true—— (for there may be some tincture of vanity in the recital) I ought perhaps to have cast in shades: but one thing there is, which I can never allow to be buried in oblivion, and that is, the loss of so many brave and excellent officers, whose virtues indeed surpass all estimation. Here gratitude and human nature must break forth: for I valued such persons beyond all my riches.——And*

* About one guinea English. In the original he pointed, it is said, to the boots he had then on: *I have not gained*, observed he, *this single pair of boots, which I now wear.* See Scheffer's Memorab. 149.

to

1632. *to proceed ſtill further, what have you, gentlemen, from the firſt to the meaneſt, ever contributed towards the expences of the war?*

Henceforth therefore I requeſt and command you to deſpoil no man of his goods or poſſeſſions. As you have ſpirit and intrepidity, leave the marks of them on the breaſts of your enemies; but diſdain not the honour of a warrior by committing outrages on the unarmed and the innocent.

BE CONTENT WITH YOUR WAGES*, *as a ſoldier ought; and ſubſiſt not by pilfering and plunder, like banditti and Croatians. Otherwiſe you, from the higheſt to the loweſt, will be always infamous; and I, with ſuch aſſiſtants, ſhall never become victorious* *.

Thus ſpoke the king, and the ſpeech produced by me, almoſt verbatim, carries its own marks of authenticity with it, being of ſuch a caſt, that few hiſtorians will have the vanity to ſay they could pretend to invent it. The effect was, it ſoon melted the rugged audience into tears, and produced afterwards a thorough reformation. Nor was a ſyllable returned by way of juſtification or excuſe. Nevertheleſs, his majeſty purſued the blow with a general proclamation, to which it was annext by way of penalty, that thenceforwards he would pardon no man, of what rank ſoever, either by birth or ſtation military, in caſe he appeared to be a delinquent. *And if*, added he to ſome German officers, *you dare pretend to deſert or mutiny, I have enough left of my faithful and valiant Swedes to cut you all to pieces even in Walſtein's preſence: for having reaſon and Chriſtianity on my ſide, I will be obeyed.* He then cauſed a lieutenant to be hanged, whoſe ill ſtars conducted him to be the firſt offender; and when a poor peaſant complained of a common ſoldier, who had ſtolen the ſupport of his family, a ſingle cow, he ſeized the fellow with his own hands, and calling for the regimental executioner, commanded him that inſtant to perform his office: *Friend*, ſaid he to the criminal, *every ſoldier is my child: yet it is better for thee to die, than that the wrath of God ſhould deſcend, on account of this tranſgreſſion, upon me, and thee, and the whole army aſſembled round us* †.

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part iii. p. 24, 25, 26. See alſo Chemnitz, Tom. i. p. 317: and, The Hiſtorical but Authentic Relation, fol. Low Dutch, Tom. ii. p. 80, &c.

† Chemnitzius de Bello Sueco-Germanico, Tom. i. 316.

Walſtein

Walstein still continued his politeness and deference towards Gustavus, 1632.
and restoring to him a captain, Reischel, after having entertained him at his own table, and discharged his ransom to the Croatians, besought that officer to assure his majesty, "That he considered him as the first "general in the world, and should die contented, if he could only have "the honour of concluding a peace between him and the emperor." His majesty received this message at table with a smile, and answered, *That Walstein, it must be confessed, was a person of magnificence; and as he was always ready to do him justice, so he was too honest a man to wish his death, especially till he could once have the pleasure of giving him a good shake by the collar in open field* *.

By this time maladies began to be extremely rife in either army; for the water of the Pegnitz, which supplied them both, grew scanty and disturbed, and the putrefaction of dead horses was such, that petechial fevers raged to a degree, which can hardly be credited. His majesty suffered most from want of green forage, and was master only of a small of meadow-ground to that purpose. It was now reported not only at Vienna, but throughout all Europe, that Gustavus had humbly sued for peace. True it is, the pacificator general of the empire † made a tender of his services; the Danish ambassador renewed his late attack, and interposed a little; Christian-William, late administrator of Magdeburg, and cousin to the queen of Sweden, had private permission, (being before a prisoner) to leave Vienna, in order to sound the king's dispositions; and Spar proposed to make terms with Walstein from his own free motion: but his majesty continued coy, and desired to be excused from hearing the bare mention of any single preliminary. And as a proof of the sincerity of his declarations in this respect, he wrote to Oxenstiern, commanding him to join him; *but*, said he, *conceive not your master in such a situation, as to suppose yourself obliged to run such bold and hazardous risques, as men usually do in affairs of desperation: proceed coolly and solidly;*

* Mercure Franç. à l'an 1632. p. 388.

† So the king always styled, in a ludicrous manner, the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, who was supposed to be a secret pensioner to the emperor.

let

1632. *let no apprehenſions hurry you from the free exertion of your underſtanding: I can look the enemy in the face for a longer continuance.*

It may be worth while now to conſider this great maſter-ſtroke in the art of war, the conduct of Guſtavus; who lay begirt with numbers trebly ſuperior to his own forces, from the beginning of June till the 21ſt of Auguſt; for that day his ſeveral armies reached him. Their firſt conjunction with themſelves was operoſe and difficult, and their combined march, in order to join their ſovereign, was long, tedious, and dangerous. The chancellor Oxenſtiern then lay in the electorates of Mentz, Triers, and Cologn, where he had the Spaniſh troops upon his hands, whom Horn held in play with a ſmall army during his abſence. He had a junction likewiſe to form with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who was to ſteer his courſe through Pappenheim's troops; but fortunately for him, that vigilant general was then making his romantic journey to the relief of Maſtricht. When it was, that the king wrote firſt to Oxenſtiern with directions to advance, I once knew, but the memorandum is miſlaid; nevertheleſs, it was, if I miſtake not, about the middle of June; but the chancellor could not poſſibly move till the eleventh of July.

Duke William of Weymar, his younger brother Bernard being recalled to Nurenberg, lay then near the lake of Conſtance, ſo that Milan firſt, and all Italy afterwards, began to tremble. But this perhaps is only a figurative manner of expreſſion in the author I am now peruſing *, and took its riſe probably from the zeal of the honeſt Finlanders, who being no great geographers, aſked the peaſants about Lindaw, how many day's march it might be from thence to Rome!

This general, about the time that Walſtein *inveſted* the king, (for that indeed is the propereſt expreſſion, which can be uſed on the occaſion) received orders to haſten from the foot of the Alps almoſt to the Baltic; namely, to the duchy of Magdeburg, and the biſhopric of Halberſtadt, in order to glean up the Engliſh and Scottiſh remains of Hamilton's army, who were now reduced to two regiments, the firſt commanded by Ballandine, and the latter by Alexander Hamilton.

* Loccenii Hiſt. rerum Suecicarum, p. 596.

But

But our vigilant and induſtrious countrymen ſaved their future general 1632.
a part of his labour; for venturing forwards of themſelves with generous reſolution, they reached Halle in Saxony, where they found the blue and green brigades, four companies of Mitzval's infantry, and two regiments of cavalry. Thence paſſing through Lutzen and Zeitz, they found their commander, who had few forces with him, except his own guards, that attended him from Suabia; and then croſſing the foreſt of Thuringia, reached Franconia, where five Saxon regiments joined them, of which two were horſe. At length they pieced in with the chancellor at Wurtzburg about the tenth of Auguſt.

The general Banier, who led the third army, lay then near Augſburg, where he commanded againſt Cratz, late Bavarian velt-maréchal under Tilly *. On receiving his inſtructions he croſſed the Danube, nor durſt his enemy purſue him; and gliding by the weſtern ſide of his maſter's camp, (ſo far was the king from wanting his aſſiſtance) advanced to Weinſheim in the margraviate of Anſpach, with a view to facilitate the approach of Oxenſtiern and duke William of Weymar. But how vaſt was his ſurprize, and how greatly did he admire the king's judgment and intrepidity, when he found his brother Bernard poſted there with a ſtrong detachment from the royal camp! Hence it is plain, that Guſtavus with his handful of men deſpiſed all the efforts of Walſtein; and felt no pain but how to enable his combined armies to reach him with ſafety, blending and conſolidating them together in one point from the greateſt diſtances, overlooking the loſs of days and weeks, with reſpect to his own diſtreſſes, and expoſing himſelf to all ſorts of dangers, upon condition only, that he could once make them ſtrong enough to confront Walſtein, in caſe he marched from his lines to intercept their approach; which he knew to be both poſſible and practicable with proviſo, that the Imperial general had ſpirit enough to undertake the enterprize.

* It may be worth while to remark here once for all, that the poſt of velt-maréchal was beneath that of the lieutenant-general; which the French hiſtorians are ignorant of in their accounts of theſe wars: for they talk of a velt-maréchal as commander in chief; whereas it appears from hiſtory, that Francis Albert, duke of Sax-Lauenberg, after the king's death, was appointed velt-maréchal of the Saxon army under lieutenant-general Arnheim.

1632. The Swediſh troops being thus ſurprizingly aſſembled together advanced ſlowly and cautiouſly (for ſuch were their directions) to Hertzog-Aurach, which, as it was a walled town, protected with a ſtrong caſtle, the king took, (in ſpite of Walſtein) for their conveniency, a few days before. From this place they proceeded gently to Bruck, which lieth ten miles to the north of Nuremberg, where the river Aurach falls into the Pegnitz: and on the weſtern ſide (the town and caſtle ſtanding to the eaſtward, which ſhews what an excellent defence the king's prudence ſecured for them,) they fortified and encamped themſelves for three days. There Guſtavus made them a viſit, and led them triumphantly to his camp under Walſtein's noſe. They amounted to 26,000 hardy veterans, who deſired nothing more than to come to blows. His majeſty acknowledged their zeal and diligence, their affection and fidelity, with a tranſport of joy; and ſoon availing himſelf of their ſpirit and ardour, determined to bring this contention of gazing and ſtarving to a ſhort concluſion.

Walſtein began to change countenance at this conjunction; and as he had not adventured to attack the Swediſh re-inforcements in their approach, people from thence formed favourable preſages in behalf of the proteſtant cauſe. The king burnt with impatience to talk to the Imperial general in an higher ſtyle. For when he had troops to act, it was never in his humour to allow them to ſit with their arms folded: and he, whoſe eyes penetrated into every thing, and whoſe ears were open to every thing, had chanced to maintain a correſpondence with a couple of ſutlers in the Imperial army; but one of them, who happened to be detected in ſtealing Cronenberg's ſervice of plate, confeſſed the treaſon, and impeached his accomplice. They were both broken on the wheel the ſame day; and thus the king's correſpondence was entirely ruined.

The king having ſet aſide a day of public thankſgiving for the arrival of his armies, and borrowed money of the Nurenbergers at ſix *per cent.* in order to advance a month's pay to his forces, balanced immediately in his own mind, whether he might not have recourſe to forcible means, inaſmuch as artifice had failed him, and his intelligence been

been destroyed at the very source. At length he formed the heroical 1632.
resolution, (to which an unlucky circumstance afterwards contributed) of besieging and attacking Walstein in his own lines, determined either to enter his camp, or compel him to dislodge. This general, as well as the elector of Bavaria, astonished at the sight of such extraordinary preparations, sent express upon express to Pappenheim, beseeching him to assist in rescuing them from their dangerous situation: but that commander, who loved neither of them, and who made the sacrifice of his plain-dealing to no man, affecting independency, and having his own particular ambition and humours, made them no return but ceremonious excuses, and well studied delays; for he considered himself as the only antagonist worthy to oppose Gustavus, in the character of generalissimo of the Imperial armies. The reason he was so ardently sought for appears to be the following one: Walstein, for fear of starving, had sent Holk into Misnia with ten thousand men; so that he only exceeded the Swedes by fourteen thousand, and such troops, as he could draft from out-posts and neighbouring garrisons; which might make about half an equivalent for those he had detached.

His majesty, with little ceremony, thundered upon Walstein from three vast batteries of cannon; and that general, who by this time had learned to copy Gustavus in expecting great things from the force of artillery, erected his batteries in all convenient places, and gave his officers charge, under pain of his highest displeasure, (which with him was but another phrase for disgrace, degradation, or death) never to be transported by any heat of passion, or any seeming fitness of opportunity into an engagement, that was more than barely defensive and repulsive. As this attack was undertaken, discontinued, and re-assumed for several days, it so happened, that whenever the king's troops advanced too near, or exposed their flanks, the Walsteiner's treated them very rudely, but always contented themselves with the first advantage, and never once gave a momentary opening (which Gustavus watched for, and allured them to;) whereby things might be drawn on to a general action; so implicitly was Walstein obeyed. And indeed never was a commander better calculated, to break the spirit of that danger-

1632. this ſort of officers, who do great miſchief merely by poſſeſſing animal courage, without coolneſs and conduct. In one of theſe engagements Banier received a muſquet-ſhot in his arm, juſt above the elbow-joint, which remaining there, gave him inexpreſſible torment.

The king then diſmantling his batteries, employed two days in paſſing the greater part of his forces over the Rednitz, at a ſmall diſtance above the town in Furt; in croſſing which little river, William Harvey, only ſon of the earl of Briſtol, was unfortunately drowned. He was a young man, endued with all amiable good qualities, and ſerved that day with the curioſity of a ſtranger, being then returning home from a tour of three years duration over France, Italy, and Germany.

In making this motion, the king propoſed to diſlodge Walſtein from a part of his encampment; for by ſeizing a certain eminence, he had then full power (which he wanted before) to bring three new-erected batteries to perform their duty. The Imperial general foreſeeing the conſequence, retired backwards to the old caſtle of Altenberg, (which name implied an high ſituation) and there took care to intrench himſelf afreſh. The foreſt of Altenberg ſpread itſelf round him; the aſcent of the hill was ſteep and craggy. There he immured himſelf behind a three-fold barrier of trees, each riſing in a ſemi-circle one above the other; and in ſhort poſſeſſed a lodgment hardly poſſible to be penetrated, provided the defendants acquitted themſelves like men of honour.

It is thought, that Aldringer, who was a perſon of ſharp and ready parts, induced the king by an artifice to aſſail a poſt, which upon cool examination, if left to himſelf, he would certainly have declined. For at nine o'clock, juſt after morning-prayers were finiſhed, (which were longer than uſual, as the day was a feſtival *) a valet de chambre of Aldringer (who had himſelf been a valet de chambre, and riſing by his dexterity and courage knew how to chuſe an enterprizing genius) was brought priſoner into the king's preſence. This adventurer, who threw himſelf purpoſely into the way of the Swedes, told his majeſty, with an air of confident firmneſs, that the Imperial commander was then

* St. Bartholemew, Auguſt 24.

actually

actually decamping, in order to comply with the remonſtrances of his troops, who declared they were ready to die as ſoldiers ought, but that they had no inclination to periſh by famine. The king from his eminence ſoon diſcovered the enemy in great motion, and ordering his men to advance, learned at length this fatal truth, that they were only haſtening to ſeize a poſt *, which, if Aldringer's ſervant had not miſled his judgment, he had ſurely pre-occupied. Piqued therefore to ſee himſelf over-reached by a ſuborned diſſembler (concerning whoſe future fate or puniſhment we know nothing) he ſaw the deſperate nature of the undertaking, yet reſolved to proceed; ſtung to the heart with the phlegm of Walſtein and the artifice of Aldringer. Thus when the paſſions are thoroughly diſturbed, there appear to be certain moments in war, where the parts of a finite being are hardly ſufficient; ſince ſomething of human infirmity will ever adhere to the moſt perfect man. 1632.

The king forming his reſolution in an inſtant, and ordering the dragoons and a part of his cavalry to diſmount, advanced ſword in hand at the head of the van-guard of the left wing †, having ordered each poſt to be relieved every two hours; but the main attack againſt the ruinous caſtle of Altenberg was ſupported wholly by commanded muſqueteers, all drafted from the ſeveral brigades, who left their colours below the mountain with their companions ‡. There was an arched projection on one ſide of the hill over-hung with trees; and in this hollow the king lodged his body of reſerve. Many other deſperate attacks were made, and one particularly on the poſts, where Aldringer

* An old fortreſs called The Burgſtal.

† The curious may like to know, how the poſts of honour were diſtributed on this important day's ſervice. Duke William of Weymar was lieutenant-general; and his buſineſs was to take the command in caſe of accident: his brother Bernard conducted the cavalry, and general Strief, an old Manfelder, ſerved under him. Some ſubſtituted perſon acted for Banier as commander of the infantry, and Torſtenſon directed the artillery. Hence it appears, that Oxenſtiern had riſen to no great employment as a ſoldier; nor had the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel (both then preſent) any diſtinguiſhed command. Guſtavus never made compliments of rank or ſeniority in a battle.

‡ Theſe aſſailants were all ſubdivided into little bodies, conſiſting of 500 men; and an experienced colonel (for the king had ſometimes five in a brigade) a lieutenant-colonel, with other proper officers, were aſſigned to each body.

1632. and Caraffa were lodged, and where Walſtein, Gallas, and Aldringer ſtood during the courſe of the engagement. The firſt diſappointment ſeemed rather to ſharpen his majeſty's courage, than rebate its keenneſs; for all the batteries being now mounted, he thundered upon the enemy continually with more than two hundred pieces of cannon, to which Walſtein replied with unwearied diligence. The king, though ever fixed in one place, formed the diſpoſition of each attack, and diſpatched his orders accordingly; and the whole combined operation proceeded only upon one principle, which was, to poſſeſs the ſummit of the mountain; a taſk rendered difficult by nature, and more ſo by the intervention of art, and the obſtinate reſiſtance of the Imperial troops; for Walſtein's army was a piece of machinery, which he forced to operate almoſt as long as he pleaſed. On the contrary, Guſtavus's men loved and adored him on a principle of honour, and fought death out of free choice and pure magnanimity. Yet the height of the mountain was unattainable, though not a ſingle Swede behaved amiſs. The reader may form ſome idea of its ſtrength from the following circumſtance: word was brought Walſtein by an aid de camp, that *the king had mounted the hill*; to whom he anſwered haſtily, with a mixture of profaneneſs and ſurprize (for he was extravagant in his language beyond all imagination) *That he would not believe there was a Supreme Being in heaven, if that caſtle could poſſibly be taken from him* *. Now, if a man reflects coolly on this monſtrous expreſſion (which nothing but the fidelity of an hiſtorian would have allowed me to repeat) I think it is pretty plain it aroſe more from diſconcertment than impiety; and I mention it partly to ſhew, that Walſtein wanted preſence of mind upon great emergencies, and being highly perſuaded, that the place was not to be conquered by human means, broke out into a profuſion of downright nonſenſe, as well as profaneneſs.

And now began the ſharpeſt ſervice, that had been ſeen during the courſe of the thirty years wars; ſo that the old officers on either ſide all agreed, that the battles of Prague and Leipſic were but a ſort of holiday-reviews, when compared with the ſevere work of this day.

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part iii. p. 50.

The

The Swedes were expoſed and naked from head to foot: the Wal- 1632.
ſteiners, on the contrary, lay buried in their entrenchments, not to mention parapets of felled oaks diſpoſed in treble and fourfold rows, inſomuch that it was impoſſible for the Swediſh cavalry to act, or even ſuſtain their infantry. The conflict laſted ten hours without intermiſſion, which probably never happened in the ſame degree of violence, either before that time, or ſince; and the fire of the cannon and muſquetry was ſo fierce and unremitting, that the whole mountain appeared to be on flame *, as if the king purpoſed to perform ſomething eminent in the way of artillery near Nurenberg, where, according to moſt accounts, the invention of cannon made its firſt appearance. Walſtein wanted no advantage, that could be wiſhed for: and though 6000 men filled the principal poſt, yet he had the power to replace them from his camp every half hour; and beſides, within the walls of the caſtle, he had the opportunity to lodge one thouſand ſoldiers, who, removed from the reach of cannon-ball, ſtood prepared to ruſh forth upon the leaſt emergency. Many Swediſh regiments returned ſix, ſeven, and eight times to the attack, for the king never left the front-line, ſince it was a ſervice of ſo deſperate a nature, that a commander in chief was obliged to put himſelf upon a worſe footing than the meaneſt ſoldier, that ſerved under him. In a word, it was thought, both parties engaged (we are ſpeaking of infantry and dragoons) almoſt to a man, ſome in one place and ſome in another; for the deſperation of the Swedes, and the obſtinacy of the Imperialiſts, were not to be paralleled.

Amongſt the ſeveral attempts upon Walſtein's camp, duke Bernard's attack appeared upon trial to be more practicable than that of the king; and when the report thereof was communicated to his majeſty by an aid de camp, colonel Hepburn was diſpatched immediately to ſurvey the ground, and bringing word, that the account was juſt, the king flew thither and examined the ſituation himſelf. *Sir*, ſaid he

* By the account of the military ſtore-keepers, the king fired that day almoſt 200,000 cannon-ſhots. Chemnitz. Vol. i. 313. But this ſeems to be a miſtake, for each piece of ordnance muſt have been diſcharged near 1000 times.

to

1632. to Hepburn, *you have made a true and faithful narration; yet I muſt not aim to make my principal impreſſion here: it demands at leaſt my whole body of infantry, and then the artillery and cavalry are left naked to the enemy's mercy, who may chuſe where to make their capital effort, or aſſault me, if they pleaſe, in two places at once.* This account hath been delivered down to us by Hepburn himſelf, a perſon at that juncture not greatly prepoſſeſſed in his maſter's favour, and confutes a rumour, which then paſſed currently over the empire; namely, that Guſtavus might have carried his point, and diſlodged Walſtein, if he could have departed from his obſtinacy, and following duke Bernard's advice, reſigned an ill choſen poſt in exchange for a ſecond, that was better circumſtanced. But ſo far was this aſſertion from being a true one, that on the contrary, all the generals teſtified their approbation of the king's ſedateneſs of judgment, as well as quickneſs of deciſion.

Having mentioned ſomething relative to Hepburn, it may be worth while to obſerve here, that one or two ſharp expreſſions had paſſed between him and the king a few days before, upon which the former angrily declared, that he would never more unſheath his ſword in the Swediſh quarrel *. Therefore in the preſent action he attended the king as a ſimple ſpectator, who, when duke Bernard's important information arrived, turned round and cried out with ſome eagerneſs, where is any able officer to haſten away and ſurvey the ground †? But the confuſion and ſlaughter being ſo great, that none could be found (for each commander had full employment in his reſpective poſt) the brave Scottiſh warrior made a tender of his beſt ſervices; *Go*, ſaid the king, *I am much obliged to you.* Having returned to Guſtavus, and made his report, and accompanied him a ſecond time to the ſpot of ground in queſtion, he returned his ſword into the ſcabbard; "And

* Part of this account is taken from P. Bougéant's Hiſtoire des guerres, &c. qui precedérent la paix de Weſtfalie, and it is the only paſſage, wherein I have derived the leaſt aſſiſtance from him: for though his work is a clear piece of proſe, well methodized, yet his materials are few and hungry, nor are his three original authors, whom he copies, judiciouſly choſen.

† Others ſay, that colonel Erpach being mortally wounded, Hepburn, at the king's requeſt, ſupplied his place, and maintained the poſt.

"now

"now, ſire, cried he, I ſhall never draw it more in your behalf." To 1632.
which his late maſter made no anſwer at that time, either becauſe his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation, that he had not a moment to ſpare; or more probably, becauſe he thought the uſage ſo harſh and abrupt, that he rather diſdained to make a ſuitable reply to it, and therefore conſidered ſilence as the only anſwer, which carried with it moſt expreſſion, and the greateſt degree of dignity.

His majeſty, as the afternoon began now to decline, perceived plainly, that nothing could enſue that day, but fruitleſs attempts and inevitable ſlaughter; and therefore leaving (for the honour of his troops) the muſqueteers, employed in attacking the hill, to maintain their ground, commanded the groſs of the army to form itſelf on the plain below. But before theſe orders could be completely executed, a large part of Walſtein's cuiraſſiers iſſued out of their lines, and fell with all the fury and inſolence of conquerors on a body of Swediſh infantry, conducted by Torſtenſon, who, with muſqueteers and pikemen, faced a four-fold number of aſſailants with incredible firmneſs; till at length, half overpowered by numbers, he ſaved the remains of his men (keeping ſtill next the enemy) at the expence of his liberty, which he ſoon regained in exchange againſt Spar. Mean while Cronenberg, with his own regiment of 1500 horſe, ſurnamed the invincible, flew like lightening upon Stalhauſe *, who commanded 200 Finland cavalry; but the latter had the courage and fortune to repel the Imperialiſts, and purſued them, till the cannon of Altenberg-caſtle reſtrained him from advancing farther.

And now night, the moſt expeditious as well as moſt effectual of all truce-makers, introduced a breathing ſpace at leaſt, after a day's work of moſt deſperate ſervice. The honour of the action remained equally diſtributed between either party; the Imperialiſts kept their entrenchments, and the Swedes ſlept all night in plain ground, juſt in the front of the enemies lines; ſo that nothing ſaved the former, (as they themſelves confeſſed) but the great advantage of ſituation. And thus ended

* This colonel, a Finlander by nation, roſe purely on account of his merit, being originally a footman to Sir Patrick Ruthven. He was remarkable for ſpeaking excellent Engliſh.

1632. the unparalleled conflict of Altenberg, which, in the ſenſe of ſome, was a ſort of victory, for Guſtavus miſſed his aim, and Walſtein maintained his ground: ſo that, according to the example of Marcellus, and the other Romans, who repelled Hannibal to the gates of Nola, he and his generals all concluded, that they had obtained ſome very ſignal advantage; and flattered themſelves with the expectation of future victories, having once beheld the day, when they had *ceaſed to be beaten* by a conqueror, equally redoubtable with the great Carthaginian.

In addition to the misfortunes of the Swedes, there fell moſt violent rains, which laſted till morning, ſo that the king ſate till day-break in his coach, and his domeſtics lay round a nominal fire, for it was hardly poſſible to make it burn.

Walſtein, who mounted not on horſe-back till news was brought him, that Guſtavus had ſtormed the caſtle of Altenberg, had his horſe killed under him by a muſquet-ball; and by another ſhot, the king loſt a part of the ſole of his boot, next the toe; and a domeſtic was killed at his elbow by a ſtroke of cannon. Duke Bernard, that day, gave ſpecimens of conduct and courage, which no ways miſbecame the ſucceſſor of Guſtavus. He gained an eminence, that was almoſt upon a level with the old caſtle, and by the king's orders erected a battery thereon; but in the interim, the Imperialiſts retired to a ſecond diſtance, and having intrenched themſelves afreſh, clogged the new aſcent with the downfall of ſo many trees, that it was impoſſible for the troops to mount without expoſing their whole body to inevitable deſtruction.

Though hiſtorians make the loſſes to be nearly equal on either ſide, (that is to ſay, about one thouſand killed, and fifteen hundred wounded, in each army) yet ſure it is, that the Swedes muſt have ſuffered moſt conſiderably, as appeareth from the very nature of the deſcription. Among the latter fell general Boetius, count Erpach; Crailſham, a Britiſh officer of good repute *, and many others: and the Imperialiſts loſt Maria de Caraffa, a young nobleman of great hopes, Chieſa, and Fug-

* Invaſions of Germany, Lond. 1638, 12°.

ger,

ten all colonels; which latter died bravely in the opinion of ſome, 1632.
though not in the character of a man of honour; for being examined by the Swedes, in his laſt moments, (and the king, if I miſtake not, ſtood by) he called for a bumper of wine, and ſaid, "Gentlemen, it is "now no time to diſſemble; my general, in his turn, will aſſault you;" and having thus drank, he expired immediately. As to what the Imperialiſts ſuffered, we know nothing with preciſion; but the liſt of the wounded, on the Swediſh ſide, was very great; for as many officers were diſabled for a ſeaſon, as were thought ſufficient to conduct 6000 men.

Next morning his majeſty, after having paſſed a wet, cold, and tedious night, reflecting, during the whole continuance of it, with great compaſſion, on the fate of the commanded muſqueteers, who lay directly under Altenberg-caſtle; and aſking his domeſtics anxiouſly, at break of day, if any officer of the field was near him, received for anſwer, that none but Hepburn was there, who, as we obſerved before, acted only in the capacity of a volunteer. Him the king requeſted earneſtly, to make a viſit to the poor ſoldiers above mentioned, and remark likewiſe, if any place could be diſcovered, from whence the ordnance might be brought to act againſt the old caſtle. He then deſired him to call, in his return, upon duke Bernard, and command his troops whilſt the ſaid general came to receive freſh inſtructions. And here, I think, all theſe circumſtances, in conjunction with ſome, that have preceded, may ſerve to ſhew, that though the king was warm and haſty; yet, when the tranſport of his reſentment was over, he ſubſided always into the friendly and condeſcending character; and aſked favours, very often, on purpoſe to give an opening to a reconcilement. When Hepburn returned, he made report to his majeſty, that the muſqueteers were almoſt buried in dirt and water, but that he had explored a ſpot of ground, from whence, if the earth was raiſed a little, four pieces of battering artillery might be brought to bear againſt Altenberg-fortreſs, at the diſtance only of fifty paces: *I had rather*, ſaid the king with great emotion, *you had found me a place at ten times that diſtance; I cannot*

1632. *bear the thoughts of ſeeing my men torn to pieces a ſecond time* *: and therefore, having held a ſhort conſultation in his own coach, (to which duke Bernard had been lately ſummoned) he gave orders for one general retreat; which was performed with that ſedateneſs, regularity, and firmneſs, that Walſtein durſt not uncouple one ſingle band of Croatians, to haraſs his rear. Indeed good part of the ſtreſs of the difficulty turned upon bringing off the commanded muſqueteers with reputation and ſafety, for they lay more advanced towards the enemy, than any other Swediſh troops: and his majeſty felt ſo much uneaſineſs in this particular, that though duke William of Weymar had undertaken to ſee the buſineſs performed, and had ſent Monro (then the firſt time acting as colonel, which made his general deſtine him to ſome diſtinguiſhing ſervice) to conduct the retreat, at the head of 500 choſen muſqueteers; yet Guſtavus, ſtill impatient concerning the event, reſolved to ſee with his own eyes, how that officer and his ſoldiers acquitted themſelves; and overtaking Monro, whom he obſerved to be wounded, (having received, the day before, a muſquet-ſhot in his ſide) had the generoſity, and humanity, to bid him return to his tent, leſt his health might be endangered; and taking the partizan courteouſly out of his hand, performed the duty of a ſimple colonel himſelf, and brought his men back with ſuch compoſure and reſolution, that the enemy, far from preſſing on his heels, durſt not diſcharge a ſingle muſquet. It is true, many may think this office, humane and compaſſionate as it was in itſelf, to be beneath the dignity of a crowned head; but it was the king's *humour*, (as Tilly ſaid on a leſs important occaſion concerning himſelf) and that muſt ſuffice for a general anſwer; for it was a maxim with his majeſty, (and perhaps the only dangerous one, which he ever embraced) *That no duty miſbecame the greateſt commander, which was compatible with the honour of a ſimple colonel* †.

And now, whoever ſhall conſider the whole together of the tranſaction at Altenberg, diſpaſſionately and ſenſibly, will perhaps admire Guſ-

* Monro; Second Exped. † Character of Guſtavus Adolphus, Lond. 4°. 1633.

tavus

tavus more, in this inſtance of diſappointment, than in all his ſhining 1632.
and moſt proſperous victories. Miſled by falſe intelligence, and warped a little in his judgment by the warmth of his temper, and an impatient ſenſibility of diſgrace, it is certain he took the ſtep too precipitately; and thus much ſome of his generals modeſtly ſuggeſted: but then in what manner did he retrieve an error, whoſe ill conſequences in another commander had been unavoidable?---He ſeized his opportunities, and ſhifted, and reſumed his hold, with ſuch acumen of judgment, inducing the army, by his own example, to act with a reſolution not to be paralleled; that though the chances againſt him were at leaſt ſevenfold to his diſadvantage, yet he brought the amount of loſs, on either ſide, to be nearly equal; formed his retreat, the next day, with ſuch boldneſs and gallantry, as gave his enemies the option of a ſecond battle; and then entrenched himſelf afreſh under their beards, where he remained unmoleſted, from the twenty-fifth of Auguſt till the eighth of September.---All military engagements, of equivocal ſucceſs, are beſt judged of by their conſequences; but this action was attended by no conſequences, either good, bad, or of a mixt complexion. For it occaſioned no ſingle variation in the king's future motions; nor did it influence his decampment, which took place a fortnight afterwards, as care ſhall be taken to ſhew in its proper place.

The king, after this bold but unavailing attempt, changed his plan undiſmayed; and removing to ſome little diſtance from his laſt lines, ſketched out a new camp, ſtill nearer to Walſtein's than the former one; for a cannon-ball could do execution, from one to the other, at its greateſt range. And now matters being reduced, for a time, to a ſtate of pauſe and quiet, the Engliſh ambaſſador made a farther attempt, without being furniſhed with a freſh degree of power, and of courſe received a repulſe more ſtrongly worded than the laſt had been. And for this, we have his own authority againſt himſelf, his maſter, and the miniſtry *. "The king of Sweden *complained*, ſaid he, that he had "been *amuſed and led on with ſubtilty and fineſſe* by the ambaſſador, and

* Letter, dated Aug. . . . 1632, MS. Paper-office.

"ſaid

1632. "ſaid publickly, *That this was a* RIGHT ENGLISH TREATY, for they "uſed to be *eternally in treaty*, but *never concluded*".

What piqued the king, was the perſeverance and ſhuffling of the Engliſh court. He wanted an *offenſive* treaty of *definite* duration, but could not gain it; he requeſted a naval war againſt Spain, but could not procure it: and knowing Charles's mutable and timorous temper, reſolved to chain the Proteus, or elſe leave him at full liberty. He had conceived likewiſe a diſapprobation of Vane's errand, from the firſt moment he ſaw his inſtructions, at Mentz, under the great ſeal of England, which were never altered afterwards in any material circumſtance; and the tenor of them ran irreverſibly, that the ambaſſador ſhould engage in no league, but ſuch as was purely of a defenſive nature. From whence it appears to demonſtration, that the re-conquering and reſtitution of the Palatinats, (points wherein the honour and religion of England ought deeply to have been concerned) were never thought of ſincerely, conſiſtently, or in good earneſt. And this the elector and electreſs Palatin both knew, who deſpiſed their profeſſing and proteſting brother accordingly. Sorry I am, that ſuch truths as theſe ſhould paſs from my pen, at ſo great a diſtance of time; I know the reverence that is due to the aſhes of a crowned perſon, and touch them with a cautious and unwilling hand: for, as a man of private virtue, and an encourager of the fine arts, I reſpect the memory of Charles I. and make ſome allowances for the untoward circumſtances of the period, into which Providence was pleaſed to throw him.

But to return to the negotiations before us, concerning which ſome farther informations may be given the curious, by producing an extract from a third letter * of Vane's to ſecretary Coke, which ſeems to me to precede the laſt cited in order of time; but the date of the day being either omitted in the original, or overlooked by the perſon, who had the goodneſs to tranſmit the copy to me, I can only ſay, that they both came from Nurenberg, or the king's camp, in the ſame month, namely, Auguſt, 1632. "Having been in treaty, ſaith Vane, in conformity

* MS.

"to

" to your laſt directions, with the king of Sweden, we not agreeing *de* 1632
" *genere fœderis*, nor upon the *indefiniteneſs* of the time,—he preſſing
" a league defenſive, (*offenſive* quere) and *time certain*; I, going accord-
" ing to my inſtructions, from which your honour knoweth I am not
" to depart; on the nineteenth of the preſent, after four hours con-
" ſultation, with ſome of his council, on this affair, he ſent his ſecre-
" tary Camerarius * to me, with this declaration, that he had ſo long
" been in agitation between himſelf and me, that he gave his majeſty
" many thanks for the honour he had done him, in ſending his ambaſ-
" ſador *to offer him* an alliance; and gave me thanks for the pains I had
" taken therein. The concluſion was, *That he would not accept of the*
" *auxiliary treaty, nor of the condition propoſed by me; and for the inde-*
" *finiteneſs of the time, it was againſt all form of proceeding in alliances.*
" *That he ſhould write to his majeſty, to give him thanks for the continuance*
" *of his good offices towards him.*"

From all which it appears, upon the whole, that Guſtavus knowing well his Britannic majeſty's timidity, inſiſted upon a public declaration of a ſea-war againſt Spain; and being well apprized of that prince's equivocal ſhiftings, (which aroſe from fear too) demanded a time ſpecified for the duration of the alliance; paying little regard, either to Britiſh ſubſidies, or the tranſportation of Britiſh forces, having well digeſted in his mind, what had formerly been done, in that reſpect, for the elector Palatin, and more lately with reference to himſelf. Therefore not being able to poſſeſs Charles wholly, he diſdained to compound for the tythes of his friendſhip, the payment of which he foreſaw to be precarious; and thus the matter ended, with honour to the penetration and magnanimity of Guſtavus.

Walſtein and he lay gazing at one another in a ſecond ſtate of inaction, if we except only rencounters, ſurprizes, and the interception of convoys. The latter, for want of more important employment, cut to pieces a regiment of Croatians, near Eubach, a ſet of warriors he mortally hated, being of ſomebody's opinion in that age, (I forget now who the perſon was) that defined a Croatian, *to be a ſort of Chriſtian, who did not acknowledge the eighth commandment:* and then remarking,

* A politician of great abilities, as appears formerly the elector Palatin in England. from ſome letters I have ſeen. He had ſerved

that

1632. that Walſtein derived all his proviſions either from Bavaria, or the Upper Palatinat, (which latter road lay through the town of Neumarck) placed Sperreüter on the Bavarian ſide, with 5000 men, near the paſs of Wilſburg and Weiſſenburg; and lodged 3000 choſen horſe on the Neumarck ſide, (from whence an Imperial convoy was expected hourly) who miſſed little of ſeizing the generaliſſimo himſelf, who, being advertiſed of the Swediſh deſigns, ventured forth in perſon to ſecure the arrival of his troops. A page belonging to him was taken priſoner, who reported, that his maſter eſcaped by gliding through the labyrinths of a thick wood. But ſtill I have ſome doubts concerning the fact; for Walſtein rarely placed himſelf in the way of danger; which, whether it proceeded from prudence, or timidity, (ſome extolling him for ſuch practices, and ſome depreciating him,) cannot well be aſcertained at this diſtance.

During this interval, a body of Croatians, who had placed themſelves in ambuſcade to intercept another party of Swedes, lighted by meer chance on a band of gown-men, that belonged to the univerſity of Altdorf, and made them all priſoners of war, without any reſpect to the *jus publicum*, or the German muſes. Thus the profeſſors Agricola, Nether, and Bruno, had the misfortune to loſe all they poſſeſſed, except their learning. But a detachment from the king's army made reprizals on the town and rich monaſtery of Caſtel, about thirteen miles to the eaſt of Altdorf, where they found two Jeſuits, one of whom, attempting to eſcape through a window, miſſed his footing on the ladder, and broke his neck; but the other, being carefully ſecured, ſerved for an exchange againſt the Literati.

Mean while the king grew impatient to ſee moments of importance waſted upon depredations and ſkirmiſhes, that determined nothing. He therefore, once for all, formed the reſolution of poſting Horn (now returned from the electorate of Mentz *) and Banier †, then recovered from

* Others ſay duke Bernard, of Saxe-Weymar; which, upon recollection, appears to me moſt probable.

† We will here, once for all, ſay ſomething of this excellent officer, who, when he was between a child and a youth, fell from a window four or five ſtories high, without groaning or ſhedding a tear; which, when Guſtavus heard of, he

from his late wound) at the head of two ſmall armies, near the town of Lichtenau, a ſtrong fort in the burgraviate of Nurenberg, not far diſtant from Anſpach: thereby propoſing to make this body of troops ſuperior in force to all flying parties, and alluring Walſtein, at the ſame time, to march out with his whole army in order to diſlodge them; and then the king expected a fair opportunity to give him battle upon equal ground. As things thus ſtood, no military ſcheme ever appeared to be better concerted, for he left his adverſary but three choices, without any ſubterfuge or ſuccedaneum, namely, fighting, ſtarving, or decamping; ſince an army, poſted at Lichtenau, had the power of cutting off the chanel of intercourſe with Bavaria and Suabia. But an unforeſeen accident deſtroyed all this ſublime plan, in one moment, and gave his majeſty the keeneſt mortification. 1632.

Scheverlin, a patrician of Nurenberg, defended the fortreſs, which

he pronounced him born for great events, and made him a ſoldier. He was deſcended from one of the beſt families in Sweden, and reſembled his maſter extremely in perſon, with which the king was not diſpleaſed. It was computed he had killed eighty thouſand men, in the ſeveral pitched battles where he had commanded, and taken ſix hundred colours. As a ſoldier, his retreat from Bohemia may be looked upon as a maſter-piece; for in this branch of ſcience, he excelled all officers before or ſince. As a politician, his reconcilement of the proteſtants, after the battle of Nurenberg, and the peace of Prague, to the Swediſh intereſts, may be looked upon as an act of prudence and firmneſs worthy of Oxenſtiern himſelf. His letters to the maréchal Guebriant, and others, ſhew him to be very great and very determined. Nevertheleſs there was ſomething of a levity in his ſecond marriage. He buried his wife, who was a counteſs of Lovenſtein, whilſt he laboured under the chronical illneſs, which occaſioned his death: no huſband appeared to be more inconſoleable; but in his return from the funeral, chancing to meet the margraveſs of Dourlach on the road, he was ſo aſtoniſhed with her charms, that he made his applications to her, and married her in a few days.

In his laſt teſtament, he bequeathed Torſtenſon, then in Sweden, to the army as his ſucceſſor; and requeſted his conſort, in the ſtrongeſt terms, never to allow his body to be un-bowelled and embalmed, 1640-1.

He had received an excellent education, which made the king call him one of his *learned* generals.

One ſlight circumſtance more ſhall be mentioned concerning him. His retreat, when environed by the enemy and the Elb, at Torgau, at a time when all Germany gave him over for loſt, and by which he preſerved a very fine army with little or no loſs, hath ever been conſidered as a maſterly performance in the military art, and an *emblematical* print was publiſhed thereof, from whence came the well-known expreſſion of *cul de ſac*. [*Memorab. Suec. Gent.* 46.] The emblem took its riſe from Banier's own words on the occaſion: "The Imperialiſts, ſaid he, "encloſed me in a bag, and though they tied "the mouth of it with great ſtrength and dili"gence, yet they forgot to darn up a trifling "hole, which lay at the bottom."

1632. the king (who always deſigned it to urge on, though not for the purpoſes now related,) took care to ſee well provided in every reſpect. The governor, till then, was a man of character, and had behaved reputably, when Walſtein's troops beſieged him ſome weeks before. But now, his fortreſs being inveſted a ſecond time, (as Walſtein either knew the importance of the place, or gained ſome intelligence of the king's deſigns) he made a ſacrifice of his honour and good fame all at once, and entered into a capitulation without any one urgent neceſſity. Some ſuppoſe him to be corrupted, but that no where appears; it was an act of meer timorouſneſs, and deſpondency; for as the Swedes had faced the Imperialiſts ſo long without ſubduing them, he became firmly perſuaded, that Walſtein would deſtroy Guſtavus; and ſuch indeed was the opinion of the public, from the beginning of their trial of ſkill to the concluſion. And thus the king underſtood the crime; for he ordered the magiſtrates of Nurenberg to ſecure his perſon, and prepare his proceſs: but as the man did not belong to him, and as the puniſhment of him became not an example to his own troops, he deſpiſed all reſentments againſt a baſe ſpirit, and gave himſelf no concern, whether he was condemned, or acquitted. Thus was a plan of extraordinary conſequence deſtroyed by the miſbehaviour of a ſingle perſon, whom no one doubted; and what doubly ſharpened the king's affliction was, he had an ulterior view in poſſeſſing Lichtenau. It was a ſtrong poſt, capable of ſecuring his diſlodgment, concerning which he now began to meditate; and was equally neceſſary to him, upon ſuppoſition, that Walſtein ſhould defeat him. He had now his whole ſyſtem to reform afreſh, and paſſed two or three days in meditation, walking to and fro, by himſelf, in his tent or the fields, as was his uſual cuſtom upon ſuch occaſions. At length he determined not to puſh a puncto of honour into an act of cruelty; and as Walſtein, who had no compaſſion, was reſolved to ſee, which army ſhould ſtarve laſt, the king, for the ſake of his brave followers, took the apparent diſgrace (though indeed it was an example of ſolid glory) to diſlodge firſt, his grand ſcheme being now deſtroyed, with regard to Lichtenau. Which ſhews us, how

inventive

inquisite the parts of a great commander ought to be, and how absent 1632.
that quality in ourselves; since otherwise the fruits of a whole campaign may be blasted at once, by the misconduct or baseness of an officer, to all appearance inconsiderable. And indeed it was high time for the one or other party to decamp, since perseverance was nothing better than cool murder. The king, though warm and hasty, was declined naturally to be compassionate; nor could he bear to see brave men perish piece-meal like felons in a prison. The spoils of the Dagd fear had been unseasonably hot, the waters of the Regnitz were foul and corrupted, the stench of the dead horses (there being hardly people to bury them) was insupportably noisome; and putrid fevers raged to the degree of a pestilence. Wallstein had more room, yet suffered more, for his numbers were greater, and his management less circumspect.

His majesty being now on the wing of departure, and the grand work of Italy supposed to be concluded, the marquis of Hamilton, who by this time had neither men nor command, took his final leave at Nuremberg upon the Aisch, where he was dismissed by the king with distinguishing marks of esteem and affection; and all the British officers had leave to attend him an half day's journey. The indefatigable Stephen took this opportunity of quitting the Swedish ensigns, proposing, as it is thought, to make a tender of his services to France, but had the misfortune in that kingdom to be killed in a duel. And thus fell the truest soldier, that Scotland (not unfruitful in men of that stamp) ever produced. The king loved him, and confided in him above any colonel that served under him; and, some days before their disagreement, ap-

[illegible]

* Besides, what appears to us from Vane's papers, Chemnitz, the king's historiographer, (who wrote upon excellent materials, gives us a short but feasible account, of all that passed, with respect to the British ambassador and British general. Venius primum cum campiductore Marcus Hamiltonius, nunc cum regni cancellario Mogantiæ, regia jussu, inchoata res, sed neutrobi consummata, ad regem Monachium Bavariæ se contulerat, & conventum fine illic de pleriisque: nec obscura de indecisis, (gravissis nempe cum moderatione) spes apparebat, conclusionem fœderis hoc tempore haud dubium iri. Referente igitur ad Noribergam tela. Sed a Britannico legato conditiones propositæ omnino novæ, de facienda rei mutuæ: adjectis nonnullorum articulorum appendiculis, è quibus nil serio agi, nec fœderis quæri perfectionem rex suspicabatur. Marchio itaque Hamiltonius dedit vela in Britanniam, ut dicunt, venti. *Interpres hujus processus causas indagare, regem Magnæ Britanniæ, semotis arbitris, de iis edocere, obsignatasque non probas conditiones illas tandem*, nihil in mandatis datum. Tom. i. p. 316.

1632. pointed him commander of half the infantry in the camp of Nuremberg: but his juſt and noble ſpirit had not the power of making greater condeſcenſions than thoſe we have formerly repeated.

Mean while the Auſtrians made unwearied applications for aſſiſtance to the diet at Warſaw; but the Polanders had a king to chuſe; and perceiving likewiſe, that affairs took a ſerious turn in the empire, more and more, had not much inclination to embark in a ſyſtem of difficulties, which appeared to be of no ſhort duration. Beſides, national conteſts in Poland, like rebellions at Naples, are a ſort of political holiday; the inhabitants rejoice in them, as much as ever the Spaniards took delight in the *juego de los toros & cannas*; nay, the very ladies are all cabinet-counſellors and politicians; and the huſband frequently recites to the ſenate the lecture he has firſt received in his wife's dreſſing-room *. Beſides all which, at this very juncture, as well as at moſt others, each man thought of advancing his own intereſts, and gratifying his own reſentments, and beſtowed only a few empty wiſhes on the emperor and his cauſe: and as to a ſupply of forces, it was alledged, that all they could collect were hardly ſufficient to maintain the public peace at home, as they were upon the eve of a great event, the election of a ſovereign.

Paſſing by every circumſtance of this litigious cabal †, except ſuch as relate immediately to my preſent ſubject, it was debated in the diet, under the third head of enquiry, whether the treaty, projected with Sweden, ſhould not be confirmed and cloſed; and the nobility, almoſt to a man, were for the affirmative. Guſtavus, amongſt all the tumults of war, had a watchful eye to theſe tranſactions, (not chuſing however to engage in them over-deeply) and diſpatched a gentleman, veſted with full powers, to make the Poles an offer of ſecuring their kingdom from the Muſcovites and Tartars, and procure a good underſtanding betwixt the government of Poland and the neighbouring ſtates.

Fame reports Guſtavus to have inſinuated dextrouſly, that deputies on his part, for the future, had pretenſions to demand free entrance, and

* Mem. communicated. † Le Soldat Suedois de Fr. Spanheim, 711—717.

vote

vote in this assembly, by virtue of the territories he held in Prussia, 1632.
and elsewhere, which were feudatory to the crown of Poland. But the senators were full as cautious as the king was enterprizing; they made him protestations and excuses in abundance; but referred the grand decision to the eventual circumstances of things.

The elector of Brandenburg's request was attended to with more alacrity; but the senators eluded the article of allowing him a deliberative vote in elections, alledging, that such a concession was inconsistent with their oaths, and the allegiance which they owed their country; yet besought him to employ his best offices with Gustavus, in order to bring about a more lasting and more effectual accommodation; beseeching him likewise to name a place where the respective deputies should meet, and (to shew their sincerity) recommending some town in Prussia, or the neighbouring provinces, for that purpose.

Secretary Arnoldin and count Morspurg took care of the Imperial affairs at this diet; but perceiving the Swedish party to be over powerful, they passed on to Muscovy, by their master's orders, to conclude some sort of treaty with the great duke. Mean while Gustavus gave a final audience to the ambassadors of Russia and Tartary, who made him an offer of breaking into Poland, Silesia, or Hungary. The king received their proposals with courtesy and thankfulness, but waved the acceptance of their services; partly because he found employment sufficient already on his hands, and partly because he detested a war that must be carried on with barbarian ferocity.

And at or near this period (as far as may be conjectured) his majesty received a deputation from the peasants of Upper Austria, who had the spirit (for the sake of the evangelical religion) to form a revolt under the emperor's eye, and complain in unpolished, but animated expressions, of the violations committed on their fortunes and consciences *. These uneasinesses had blazed forth in the very beginning of the thirty years wars, and though the fire seemed extinguished to outward appearances, yet the embers were perceived to glow at bottom. Upon the present

* Soldat Suedois, 723—730.

occasion

1621. entirely they acted with so much secrecy and judgment, that the court of Vienna suspected, and not groundlessly, that some clandestine intelligence had been carried on between them and the Swedes. Oppressions, confiscations, decimations, and tortures only seemed to harden these resolute protestants. This civil contagion made its first appearance at * Mühl, and overspread the Higher Austria with great rapidity. The emperor no ways liked a distemper, that approached so near his vital parts: he found also, that his revenues diminished, and the passage of the Danube was intercepted between him and Walstein.

These revolters, say some, made an army of 18,000 men, and being rendered wise by the experience of passed errors, seized most of the frontier towns by way of security, and in order to facilitate their retreat in the hour of need; and by making themselves masters of the river on either side, they allowed none to pass or repass but friends and allies, and dated out their protections like commanders in form. It was greatly feared, lest the infection should spread itself through the other parts of the hereditary dominions, and as a proof of this, the court thought fit to proceed upon moderate terms. Count Kevenhüller (the great historian, if I mistake not) was dispatched to treat with them, attended by several barons, protestant as well as catholic, and his orders were to proceed with great temper and equanimity: nevertheless, with a view to be prepared for all events, it was decreed to raise a body of troops, and Tiefenbach, now recalled from Silesia, coasted up the side of the Danube with some regular forces, expecting the issue of the negotiation. Colonel John de Wert attended him with his regulars of cavalry, a warrior of the most singular character, that is to be found in the seventeenth century.

Kevenhüller discharged his commission with the utmost exactness, but the insurgents placed no confidence in rhetorical promises. They had ventured too far to cast their eyes back on eventual resources, and had no security but in the change of their masters; and though they were

* I suspect, that my relator, E. Spanheim, misleads me here: there is no town called Mühl, in Upper Austria; but the district of Mühl is well known. If any place of that name be alluded to, it must be Mühldorf, a strong castle near the Danube.

plain country peasants, yet they had sense enough to foresee, that one 1632.
cannon-ball would tear to pieces all Imperial patents and letters of amnesty *. For these reasons, they first pillaged the monastery of Lambach, and seized the passage of the river Trawn; by which means they kept a correspondence open with the protestants about Crems-münstur, famous for its rich monastery of Benedictins, missing little of seizing two brothers of the great duke of Tuscany, who were making a tour to Walstein's camp. But on the approach of Tiefenbach and John de Wert, they broke off the negotiation in an instant, and perceiving they wanted both military directors, and a foreign protection, sent deputies to Gustavus, beseeching him to remember, that he entered Germany in defence of the civil and religious liberties of the oppressed and persecuted. The king received these rural ambassadors with great courtesy, making them handsome presents, and giving them ample assurances of protection and assistance. He likewise (as it is asserted by many) sent several officers to them in disguised dresses, with orders to direct their warlike operations upon better principles.

But to return from this slight digression; during the interval of inaction, which preceded the two decampments, we will leave the two superior commanders for a few minutes, and cast our eyes incidentally over the other parts of the empire, where the war was carried on with all imaginable keenness and obstinacy. Nay, so great were the terrors conceived with respect to Gustavus, that Strozzi, Piccolomini, Annibal, and Louis Gonzaga were all employed to protect the western frontiers of Austria. The court of Vienna laboured also under some uneasiness on the eastern side; for Ragotzki, the successor of Gabriel Bethlem, found pretty much the same pretensions, and expected the same gratifications from the emperor. He had actually requested permission from the Porte to commence hostilities, and the Turks had sent him by way of approbation a scymitar, a standard, and a quantity of arms: but what gave greater umbrage to the Imperialists was, that Gustavus had dispatched the sieur Strasburg with a private commission to this

* Soldat Suedois, 727.

prince

1632. prince of Tranſylvania, with orders to proceed to the Ottoman court, and carry on a ſecond intrigue there. David Salomon, Ragotzki's lieutenant-general, collected ſome troops, and his maſter demanded from the houſe of Auſtria to be inſtalled in form. It was reported alſo, that the prince of Moldavia and the baſha of Buda had orders to ſupport the Tranſylvanians; yet matters kept quiet in that quarter.

As to Saxony, Holk had entered Miſnia by the 30th of Auguſt, and committed outrages, that can hardly be credited. It is true, he left his generaliſſimo near Nurenberg as long before as the 20th of July; but his inſtructions were to intercept, as he paſſed along, the army of duke William of Weymar, who then marched to the king's aſſiſtance: but in his attempt he ſucceeded not, inaſmuch as he wanted either abilities or good fortune. During this irruption the elector and Arnheim were making conqueſts elſewhere, otherwiſe Holk might have been repulſed with eaſe; for the Saxon army amounted to ſeven and twenty thouſand fine troops to all appearance, and the Imperial commander boaſted no more than of half that number: but Arnheim had a violent inclination to reduce Sileſia, (contrary to Guſtavus's opinion) where Dewbatel conducted the Swedes, who were all freſh men new raiſed, and colonel Burgſdorf * led the Brandenburgers in the abſence of their elector, who had made a journey into Pruſſia in order to exert ſome influence in the diet then held at Warſaw: but in this excurſion he had a great eſcape, for during his abode in the caſtle of Neuenhoven, his bed chamber began to ſink ſo ſuddenly, that he had but juſt time to ſeize the iron bars of the window, and ſupport himſelf there by main force till people came to his aſſiſtance.

* This officer had been ſent to the camp of Nurenberg, that his maſter might know to what purpoſes Guſtavus deſtined the Brandenburg-troops. The king oppoſed this conjunction with the Saxons in Sileſia to the utmoſt of his eloquence (though the thing was done before his advice could be put in practice) and beſought the electoral troops (as he foreſaw an invaſion from Walſtein's army or Pappenheim's) to continue in their quarters till he, or Oxenſtiern arrived; *But*, ſaid he, *if in the interim it be the elector of Saxony's fate to be attacked at home, leave him not with his throat expoſed to the enemy's knife.* Chemnitz. Tom. i. p. 316.

As

As this expedition into Silesia was of too extensive and grasping a nature, so some circumstances conspired to render it disagreeable likewise; for Arnheim and Dewbatel * had two never-failing topics of contention, the one concerning superiority of command, and the other about the division of their conquests. The former, according to custom, performed but little; for he always made war give place to his private politics, and changed all of a sudden from the ambitious to the moderate: but the latter gave good content to the king his master, and more especially in the following instance. 1633.

The inhabitants of Great Glogau, though their duchy and town were reputed unalienable, had been obliged to take their oaths of fealty to Walstein, newly created their master: but the Swedes soon freed them from these obligations, and general Goetz (not being able to escape with his garrison) found himself obliged to surrender on disadvantageous terms.

Arnheim's presence became now necessary in Saxony, which gave Dewbatel greater means of extending his conquests. As the Imperial army lay encamped under the walls of Steinau, he contrived to seize a fort, which commanded the bridge, that leads into the town, and seized a quantity of boats, whose lading amounted to eighteen hundred pounds. He then cannonaded both town and trenches, and attacking the enemies lines sword in hand, killed two thousand men, forced four thousand into the city, and pursued the rest to a considerable distance. Prince Ulric of Denmark made this campaign with the Swedes and Saxons in the capacity of a volunteer.

* As I have expressed in a former note some doubts concerning this officer's real name, for historians had then given him no less than four: so Chemnitz in his relation of this expedition, p. 319, helps to embarrass me still more, for he calls him *Mac Duwallius*, or, in plain Scotch, Mac-Dougal. Yet this may be a mistake, for Monro, who often mentions him, must have known him to be a countryman. This man rose purely by merit, being five years before only a serjeant in the blue regiment. But the taking of Hanau advanced him in a month's time from the post of lieutenant-colonel to the colonelship over one regiment of cavalry, and another of infantry. He proved at last a fatal, though uncommon instance, that bravery and ingratitude may go together. To conclude this note, I find a colonel Mac-Dougal landed with Gustavus, but meet with him no more afterwards, except on this occasion. Yet as other historians assign the present translation in Silesia to Dewbatel, I acknowledge my difficulty to be more and more inexplicable.

1633 Next day the Imperial commanders halted *, and having united their troops near Breslau, entrenched themselves to the number of 20,000 men in an advantageous post, protected by woods and marshes, and approachable only by one entrance. There Dewbatel penetrated at the head of 6000 chosen infantry and dragoons, and forced them after an obstinate resistance of two hours to throw themselves into a forest, through which they formed their retreat. The Oder now parted the two armies, and by its depth and breadth saved the Imperial troops, who by this time had suffered exceedingly. Dewbatel made all possible efforts to repair the bridge, but as the enemy's safety depended upon counterworking him in this intention, he at length found himself compelled to desist, and crossing the river at a favourable feading-place, under the direction of some fishermen, invested Lignitz †, whose duke, by a timely surrender, saved his capital and country from ruin, and declared himself a good Swede. Then turning short, he invested Breslau, where the townsmen soon formed a mutiny in favour of the protestant armies, so that general Dhona, who had thrown himself into that city, escaped with great difficulty to his own castle of Wartenberg.

Mean while Holk availed himself of Arnheim's absence, who trifled away much good time before he returned from Silesia. There must always have been great unsteadiness, and some duplicity in the conduct both

* Don Baltazar di Maradas, Goëtz, Dhona and Illo.

† The dukes of Lignitz in 1537 entered into a treaty of confraternity with Joachim II. elector of Brandenburg, which they ratified by oath; but the states of Bohemia complained to Ferdinand I. that this compact aimed directly against the rights of the crown of Bohemia, to which the duchies of Lignitz, Brieg, and Wolau ought to devolve upon the extinction of the families then possessing them. This emperor therefore declared in 1546, that the confraternity of 1537 was null and void in such wise, as if it had never existed; so that the dukes of Lignitz were obliged to retract it, and promise, that the three duchies should fall to the kingdom of Bohemia in case their own family became extinct. The elector of Brandenburg entered his protest against the Imperial decision, and the duke of Lignitz dying without successor capable, in the year 1675, Frederic William, surnamed The Great, then elector of Brandenburg, presented himself as heir; but the emperor took possession of the territories, and George William could not obstruct him.

The like happened not after the death of Charles VI. in 1740. His present majesty of Prussia revived his rights upon these duchies, and rendered himself master of them by force of arms. This is a fair representation of the pretensions on either side.

of

of this general and his master, as ours hath been taken notice of in various places. Therefore once for all, it may be worth while to give my reader occasionally a true picture of the elector of Saxony, delineated in such a manner as carries the marks of originality with it. 1632.

"The duke of Saxony, saith Feuquieres, ambassador of France, in a letter to his own court, "is a warm and bigotted Lutheran, disdainful, haughty, "extravagant in drinking, hated and despised not only by his subjects, "but by his own children, whom he treats as prisoners; passionate ad- "mirer of pleasure or inactivity; incapable of great affairs, dependant "on the king of Denmark, concealed enemy to the crown of Sweden, "partly for its interference in Germany, and partly on account of its "pretensions to Magdeburg and Halberdstadt; jealous of the house of "Weymar, and extremely attached to the prerogatives and dignity of "the empire. When *that* is concerned, all foreign powers are suspected "by him; and it is his private inclination, as well as his opinion, that "a true German may dispense with himself from transmitting any "systematical intelligence to such, as live not within the limits of the "system. His original prepossession to the house of Austria subsisteth "always: nevertheless, it appears expedient to him to manage that "family with dexterity upon principles of advantage; first, because it "is his opinion, that the proximity of situation renders him more "necessary to the emperor than any other prince; and secondly, as he "is jealous beyond imagination of the Palatin, Brandenburg and "Weymar families. The pre-eminence of the *first* was insupportable to "him. The aggrandizement of the *second* gave him umbrage; and the "pretensions of the *third*, from *which* the electorate had been forcibly "wrested, filled his mind with suspicious apprehensions. The general "Arnheim, and one of his ministers, govern him absolutely; which he "believes not, as he reserves to himself the power of snarling and "blustering wherever he pleases. The landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt (who "married his daughter) and Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lawenberg*, "still

* Supposed by some to have killed Gustavus treacherously and dishonourably in the battle of Lutzen; or rather to have conspired against his life, by giving some secret signal to the Imperialists

1632. "ſtill preſerve great credit with him. At their inſtigation he always "maintains a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor and Wal-"ſtein *."

Holk, from whoſe irruption into Saxony we have made a ſmall digreſſion, in order to give the finiſhing touches to the elector's character, poured firſt into Vogtland with all the impetuoſity of a raging inundation, imagining like a true Barbarian, that a country could never be thoroughly conquered, till it was utterly deſtroyed †. Having reduced many villages, as well as the fair town of Olſnitz, to aſhes, without aſſigning any reaſon, he took Zwicka ‡ by compoſition, and blockaded Plauen. He then ſtripped the electoral palace, called Auguſta, of all its rich and magnificent furniture, and having reduced Chemnitz by a regular ſiege, puſhed on to the gates of Dreſden, where one circumſtance intervening gave a momentary ſort of ſtability to the mutable temper of the elector: for in a random ſkirmiſh ſome papers were found on one of Holk's quarter-maſters, which ſhewed the Imperialiſts kept a fair countenance, and made liberal promiſes to the court of Dreſden, but concealed very malignant intentions underneath the diſguiſe.

Nor were the French idle at another extremity of the empire; for the maréchal d'Eſtrées and count la Suze beſieged Triers with an army of 24000 men, and reduced the town and chapter to epiſcopal obedience, who ſome time before had admitted a Spaniſh garriſon, and colonel Iſenburg as governor in behalf of the emperor. This commander not caring to immure himſelf in a place where no honour was

perialiſts during the heat of the action. True it is, that this circumſtance of maintaining intelligence with the emperor and Walſtein ſeems to be of an untoward and ſuſpicious nature, and bears hard againſt him to all outward appearance.

* If I miſtake not, there is a ſecond, juſt delineation of this prince in Daniel Eremita's beautiful book of Travels; but not having the original by me, I expreſs myſelf with diffidence.

† Swediſh Intelligencer, Part iii. p. 92.

‡ An elegant little town, called in Latin Cygnea, romantically ſituated at the foot of mount Schneeberg (or the ſnowy mountain) on the banks of the Mulda. It ſtands in Miſnia, but the church-yard lies in Vogtland: whence ariſes the common ſaying in the neighbourhood, that an inhabitant of Zwicka is a Miſnian in his life-time, and a Vogtlander after he is dead.

to be gained, appointed eight hundred men to defend the town, and when the French approached it in good earneſt, made an attempt to ſupply its want of proviſions by means of a large convoy. The troops, which conducted it, namely, twelve hundred infantry, and three hundred horſe, had private orders to continue in Triers, and reinforce the garriſon. 1632.

The maréchal ſecretly informed of this attempt gave inſtructions to count la Suze and Arpajou to intercept the enemy. Having forded the Moſelle, their advanced guard (which conſiſted only of twenty men, commanded by a lieutenant) ſoon came to blows with ſome ſquadrons of Imperial horſe, but four companies of infantry (one of which was cardinal Richelieu's) ſupported them immediately. Theſe ſkirmiſhings naturally drew on a general engagement, and at length Iſenburg was obliged to retire. In conſequence of this diſappointment, the town was taken forthwith, and the electorate cleared of Spaniſh garriſons. Many ſtrong places were conſigned to their lawful maſter, but the French kept ſome by way of depoſita, till proper inſtructions arrived from Paris with reference to the diſpoſal of them.

At the ſame time Henry, prince of Orange, beſieged Maſtricht with ſo much vigour, that the infanta had great apprehenſions of loſing this maſter-key to ſeveral provinces, notwithſtanding ſhe repoſed the higheſt confidence in the bravery of the marquis De Leda, who, though deputy-governor, had then the ſupreme command. As the Spaniſh army had been ſenſibly weakened by the revolt of Berg and Egmond, the infanta, by way of a laſt reſource, caſt a wiſhful eye towards Pappenheim, as one of the moſt valorous and enterprizing generals then in Europe; and, to tempt him more, offered him great pecuniary recompences*, as likewiſe the order of The Golden Fleece. As this enterprize, march, and attack have been ſeldom paralleled in military hiſtory, I ſhall venture for once to ſpeak of them more circumſtantially and diffuſedly than hath hitherto been done.

There is reaſon to think, that the money and honour had no great weight with Pappenheim; but the nature, difficulty, and danger of the

* About 16000 l. ſterling.

attempt

1632. attempt delighted him. He fancied he ſaw a path opening to glory, by purſuing which he might at length advance himſelf beyond Tilly and Walſtein in point of reputation, and make pretenſions to rival even the great Guſtavus. Therefore, without heſitating a moment, he accepted the propoſal; he, who before had neglected the commands of Walſtein, turned a deaf ear to the requeſts of the elector of Bavaria, and had evaded the very orders he received from his maſter concerning his march to Nurenberg. Nor does it appear, that any previous application was made by the infanta to the court of Vienna, ſince indeed there was hardly time or opportunity to effect it; but the great generals in thoſe days acted principally from their own diſcretion, and *that* made them perform ſuch wonders as they then performed; whereas, on the contrary, as ſomebody has ſaid livelily enough, *A prime miniſter, with a map in a cloſet, is almoſt more than a match for any commander's good fortune. There*, ſaid a ſtateſman to Turenne, (laying his hand on a map,) *you may croſs the river. Yes, Sir*, replied the general, *but your finger is not a bridge.*

Pappenheim lay then near Hanover. He had a long and difficult march to make, partly through hoſtile, and partly through neutral and uncertain countries, all long ago devoured by war. He had the drought and heats of ſummer to ſtruggle againſt, and was obliged likewiſe to throw a paſſage for himſelf over the Weſer, the Rhine, and the Meuſe. Having therefore firſt taken care to place good garriſons in all thoſe towns, that had been reduced to his devotion, and leaving Gronsfeld with a part of his army to preſerve the circles of Lower Saxony and Weſtphalia in their obedience, he began his journey when Bauditzen and Lunenberg, who acted againſt him, leaſt expected it; and forcing the Imperial towns of Dortmund and Eſſen, raiſed from thence ſufficient contributions to defray the expences of himſelf and his followers for ſome days. As to the convent near the latter town, whether he compelled the princeſs abbeſs and her fair votaries to ſubſcribe to his undertaking; or whether they contributed their contingent out of pure catholic zeal and gallantry to ſo brave a man, is to me uncertain. He then croſſed the Rhine with great vivacity, and though the ſtates of

Holland

Holland both adviſed and threatened the elector of Cologn not to allow 1632.
him a paſſage through his territories, (a treaty of neutrality then ſubſiſting on his part *) yet that prince ever ſecretly favouring the cauſe of his own religion, returned them only proteſtations inſtead of realities, and connived at Pappenheim's admiſſion into his capital at the head of 500 dragoons; reſigning covertly to him the forts of Stein and Himmelſtein, which gave him a paſſage croſs the Rhine. From Cologn the general of the league drew refreſhments and ſubſiſtence for his whole army, which amounted to 12,000 foot, and 3000 horſe; every man of whom was in high order for combat, and poſſeſſed with the ſame enthuſiaſm, that animated the maſter. The refugee biſhops of Mentz, Wurtzburg and Oſnaburg all flocked to him as their great deliverer, and loaded him with their benedictions: for they had ſuch a confidence in his conduct, that they concluded firſt on the preſervation of Maſtricht, and on their own reſtoration next, as points certain and uncontrovertible.

Pappenheim then, after a march, whoſe rapidity can hardly be paralleled, paſſed through the city of Aix la Chapelle, and coaſting along the Meuſe, made himſelf maſter of Sittart, where he threw a bridge over the river, and protected the head of it with a ſtrong fort. He then purpoſed to erect a ſecond fort between Maſtricht and Liege, in order to give laws to one, that the prince of Orange had raiſed, and allow the Spaniſh army (having cut off ſuch proviſions as came to the Dutch camp) full power and opportunity to join him: which junction, by the way, the two generals of the Spaniards, Don Gonſalvo di Cordoua, and the marquis de Santa Croce, never intended to realize. Be that as it will, the enemy rendered all theſe fine projects abortive, having pre-occupied the ſpot of ground in queſtion, and diſpoſed troops in ſuch a manner, that the Imperial pioneers durſt not venture to break the ground.

It was death to the old Caſtilian pride, to ſee an hero raiſed into life from the depths of Germany, and advancing like an enthuſiaſt into the

* He had alſo paſſed his word of honour to the Swedes and Imperialiſts for two months. Oxenſtiern to continue traly neutral between Chemnitz. Tom. i. p. 500.

Low

1632. Low Countries, fully determinated to fight the battles, and vindicate the glory of the Spaniſh nation. As he teſtified ſuch an appetite for danger, it was reſolved to give him a plentiful ſurfeit: and therefore (with a degree of inſolence not to be paralleled) theſe two ſolemn and punctilious grandees poſtponed their maſter's honour to their own perſonal gratification; declaring coldly, with an air of irony, "That "their catholic maſter had expended only four hundred thouſand "patagons to pave the foſſés of Maſtricht with reiters and lanſque-"nets *."

Pappenheim ſaw the ſnare, that was ſpread for him, when it was too late; nor had he ever conceived, that ſuch malice and envy could poſſeſs the hearts of men, who made profeſſion of arms. He long knew the vigilance and bravery of the prince of Orange, but now perceived (ſurpriſed indeed, yet undiſmayed) that the Spaniards were ſeriouſly reſolved to leave their deliverer and his army to periſh. No hiſtory affordeth a ſimilar example in all its circumſtances! But as he had entailed a debt of demand upon his glory, he ſtill determined, if poſſible, to force the enemies lines, and raiſe the ſiege. At leaſt he was reſolved to do ſomething, in order to ſhew there was no caſe, wherein he had not the ability of performing ſomething. For though this general was as wary, as he was intrepid, yet in caſes of extreme dangers it was always his maxim to proceed forward. He firſt attempted to ſeize a bridge, that belonged to the Hollanders; but that deſign miſcarrying, he ſpread his troops on the ſide of the Wyck near Stirum's quarters, determined to pierce through them ſword in hand, if the ſituation of ground, or the fluctuation of changes produced him any opening, that could be deemed an advantage. But the prince of Orange ſoon comprehended the preciſe points, on which he relied, and re-inforced that part of his camp with a ſtrong body of dragoons, commanded by the duke of Boüillon. Upon which Pappenheim made a reviſion of his firſt deſign, and having well examined the enemies trenches, determined to attack them the day ſucceeding, which was the 7th of Auguſt;

* Two old words for German cavalry and infantry.

making

making first a short oration to his officers and soldiers, the nature 1632.
and drift of which every reader may comprehend, who knows the man.——As he saw the affair would be obstinate and bloody beyond example, he thought it needless to attempt to make an impression by surprize, in order to gain a momentary advantage, which would determine nothing. Therefore, early in the morning, having thundered upon the Hollanders with all his artillery, he drew up his army in full array, ordering the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound with all the gallantry of a fair opponent. One hundred chosen soldiers, armed with swords and carabines slung behind them, and carrying in their hands fascines and ladders, attended by several companies of pioneers, composed the forlorn hope;——two regiments of veteran infantry formed the point;——the rest of the foot flanked, supported, and succeeded these two regiments;——two wings of horse slowly advancing, closed the sides, and a third body encircled all the infantry behind, partly to sustain them, and partly to press them on, and prevent them from retreating. No general ever made a finer disposition than Pappenheim did on that day; and it was remarked by all men, that no army ever advanced with more silence, and greater composure.

When the Imperial troops approached the trenches, the fire of the Dutch artillery and concealed musquetry was such, as most soldiers might pronounce to be insupportable. Yet Pappenheim's two regiments, sustained by the infantry, and protected by the cavalry, performed the service they intended to execute; he himself fighting on foot within a pace or two of the foremost man, insomuch that the defendants were obliged to abandon an important out-work to him. But when the prince of Orange flew to this place, attended by all the volunteers, and the flower of this army, the conflict re-commenced with redoubled obstinacy, and as the Dutch cannon charged with cartridges at little more than the distance of musquet-shot were brought to bear on Pappenheim's flanks, it was impossible for him to continue where he was without making a sacrifice of all his army. Coolly therefore, all of a sudden, he

1632. left the trenches, choaked with dead bodies and ſtreaming with blood, and ordered his trumpets to ſound a retreat, which was effected with ſo much temper and command of mind, that not a ſingle Hollander paſſed the lines to purſue him.

Returning to his encampment, which lay about 500 yards from the enemies works, he comforted and complimented all his ſoldiers, and having allowed them a ſhort repaſt for meer refreſhment, (as it was now about eleven o'clock in the forenoon) led forth his brave Walloons to a ſecond engagement; and to puſh matters yet farther, (inaſmuch as he had ſufficiently experienced the bravery of his infantry, and ſaw plainly, that they neither wanted to be puſhed on, nor had any inclinations to quit the field) he commanded not only the dragoons, but all the cavalry, to ſerve on foot. And this was more practicable in thoſe days, as the horſemen's boots were not ſo ſtubborn, and unwieldly, as we find them ſince. Notwithſtanding four hours deſperate ſervice in the morning, the Imperial troops performed this ſubſequent duty to admiration: ſome filled up the trenches by ſpade-work, ſome threw in barrels of earth, gabions and rolling mantelets; others aſcended by ſcaling ladders; ſo that, in a word, the conflict laſted from *one* in the afternoon till *ſeven* in the evening, without a moment's intermiſſion. And this we pronounce the more extraordinary, as Pappenheim, with 15,000 men, aſſaulted an army, which conſiſted of 24,000 ſoldiers, entrenched in the ſtrongeſt manner then known, and protected with artillery of the heavieſt ſize, and in ſuch quantities as ſcarce to be numbered. The prince of Orange oppoſed this general in perſon, and there the fury of the action is not to be deſcribed. Mean while the latter, fearing no troops could ſupport ſo deſperate a ſervice, ordered ſome gibbets to be erected, *in terrorem*, near his camp; and, to prevent his followers, in another ſenſe, from retiring, gave them an example rarely to be paralleled; for ſerving ſometimes on foot, and riding ſometimes from poſt to poſt, (as the afternoon's attack was made in two places at once) he always, by preference, took care to plant himſelf (and that for ten entire hours) in the moſt dangerous ſituations. All which time, if poſterity can be induced

induced to believe what we write *, the Spaniſh generals, at the head of 26,000 men, kept cloſe to their intrenchments, though within the diſtance that a cannon ball might range; never once detaching a ſingle ſoldier to his aſſiſtance, though perhaps a regiment or two only might have turned the fortunes of the day. Nor had they the complaiſance to order a drum to beat, or make a fictitious attack, which hazarded nothing. It is true, the marquis de Leda had ſpirit enough to undertake a ſally, and as in the fervor of the action the garriſon marched out undiſcovered, ſome ſmall havoc was cauſed in the Engliſh quarter; but the aſſailants were ſoon handled with ſo much roughneſs, that it was thought convenient to regain the town with all decent precipitation. So that at length Pappenheim, after eight or ten deſperate attacks, (not to mention the various charges, to which he led the men in their morning approaches) found himſelf compelled to ſound a retreat, pitying the brave and faithful Germans, and pouring forth the ſharpeſt and bittereſt invectives againſt the malevolent and faſtidious Spaniards. In this afternoon's ſervice only, he left 2000 of his beſt ſoldiers dead on the ſpot. Many of his officers were killed or maimed. Lintelo, his favorite lieutenant-colonel, fell amongſt the foremoſt; Comargo received a muſquet-ball in the ſhoulder, and Palant in the leg. Pappenheim was ſaluted with a third ſhot of the ſame denomination, diſcharged only a few paces from him; and a ball from a falconet carried away the pommel of his ſaddle, and ruffled the ſkin of his belly: but this was nothing to a man who bore, at that time, on his face and body, the diſfigurement of more than ninety wounds; and hence he acquired the ſurname of BALAFRE †. 1632.

Nine

* Multi exiſtumabant dejici tum Hollandos obſidione ea potuiſſe, ſi idem animus Hiſpano duci fuiſſet. Qui ſuos intra caſtra quiete continens, ne quidem eo induci potuit, ut commotis tympanis, aut ſubitario ſaltem tumultu, agreſſionem ſimularet. *Brachelii Hiſt. noſtr. temporum*, p. 286.

† As this general's temperament was an equal mixture of the *prudent* and *courageous*, moſt hiſtorians imagine him to be a man advanced in years, and ſpeak of him in the ſtyle of an old, wary, and long-experienced commander. [Much experienced he really was; for in the twenty-fourth year of his age, he performed wonders at the battle of Prague.]—The many ſcars likewiſe, and contuſions, which he carried in his perſon, confirmed writers more and more in this opinion;—though, in truth, at the period we are now ſpeaking, he was juſt advancing into his eight and-thirtieth year, being of the ſame age with Guſtavus, whom he affected to reſemble in all things; as in a ſimilitude of nativity and horoſcope;

1632. Nine hundred diſabled ſoldiers were ſent to the neighbouring hoſpitals; and more particularly to that of Aix la Chapelle. Prince Henry thought it unſafe to purſue him a ſingle ſtep; ſo that he returned unmoleſted into Weſtphalia, where, in an abſence of ſix weeks, he allowed the Swediſh generals to perform all, that lay in their power; being, as was ſaid on him with great juſtice on the occaſion, *Omnibus par, ſingulis ſuperior*. Santa Croce, and Don Gonſalvo, hurt him leſs by their treachery and malice, than by the ſolemn ceremony of returning him their compliments of thanks, after the attempt was over: nor did they ſtop here, but declared publickly, with a mixture of gravity and irony, "That the renowned Pappenheim was not a man of punctо, having "paſſed his word to raiſe the ſiege or periſh in the undertaking, when "in truth he had performed neither." Yet others, equally ill intentioned towards him, acknowledged, that he had abundantly diſengaged both his honour and promiſe, being anſwerable only for his own conduct, and not for the eventual concluſion of the enterprize. In a word, the march, the action, and the retreat, may be conſidered as one of the fineſt performances in the military art *.

By this time the elector of Cologn began to be terrified at his own imprudent violation of the late neutrality; and diſpatched a miniſter to the Hague, in order to explain his conduct with regard to Pappenhiem, and protect his dominions from the reſentments of the Dutch; offering to recall ſome few regiments of his, that then ſerved under the Spani-

roſcope; in the manner of adjuſting his hair; in riding a white palfrey, &c. &c. and (what was ſtill more difficult) in good morals and piety. He was very nobly deſcended; ſerved his firſt campaigns in the Valteline, and performed wonders at the ſiege of Chiavenna. The chamber wherein he expired is ſtill ſhewn at Leipſic with great reſpect; it is a ſmall apartment in the caſtle of Pleiſſenberg. It is reported of him, (though moſt hiſtorians ſeem to me, to take that for ſerious, which appears to others mere matter of pleaſantry) that he always maintained, in converſation with his friends, that, conformably to a prediction, found in the archives of his family, a certain Pappenheim *baleſré*, mounted on a white ſteed, ſhould kill, hand to hand, in field of battle, a great monarch, who came out of the north. Had this been ſpoken in ſincere good-earneſt, the temper of Guſtavus was ſuch he would certainly have deſpiſed him, as a vain-glorious boaſter, and a credulous enthuſiaſt: whereas, on the contrary, he always ſhewed him acts of politeneſs, and honoured him extremely, not only for his perſonal intrepidity, but for his inventive genius in marches, attacks, and ſtratagems.

* Life of Henry Prince of Orange, in High Dutch, fol. cum fig. ex Officina C. Dankaërs.

ards.

aids. But the Hollanders, ſaith an hiſtorian *, who drew his accounts from good materials, had a *local* memory of the depredations committed in the late irruption by means of his connivance, and returned him no anſwer, that appeared ſufficient to compoſe his uneaſineſſes. 1632.

During Pappenheim's abſence, the Swediſh generals, Bauditzen and Lunenberg, made conſiderable acquiſitions in the circles of Weſtphalia and Lower Saxony; for Gronsfeld had neither forces, nor abilities, ſufficient to oppoſe them. They firſt beſieged Duderſtadt †, a place of no ſmall importance to their late conqueſts, which Pappenheim had ſtrengthened with good baſtions, and conſigned to the protection of 1200 infantry, and 400 dragoons; ſo that the ſucceſs, at firſt ſight, appeared to be doubtful on the Swediſh ſide; but the beſieged, who had loſt all ſpirit when their generaliſſimo was abſent, ſoon began to mutiny for want of pay, which compelled the governor to make an offer of capitulating; but it was his misfortune to procure no better terms, than ſuch as are uſually granted upon ſurrendering at diſcretion: for the duke, and Bauditzen, knew the condition of the garriſon by their ſpies. Abundance of artillery and military ſtores were found within the place; the Imperial troops enrolled themſelves into the Swediſh ſervice, and the fortifications were diſmantled.

Bauditzen next rendered himſelf maſter of Eimbeck ‡; for colonel Holtz, the commander, ſoon ſurrendered, having loſt the flower of his garriſon in an unfortunate ſally. The taking this city deſtroyed the levying of ſix new regiments, which Pappenheim had ordered to be raiſed in his abſence; for moſt of the recruits, following the laws of arms, and fortune of the country, took pay from the Swedes. But the garriſon of Wolfenbuttle ſtill maintained its ground, and ſpread nothing but ravage and depredation through the diſtrict round it. Upon this,

* Frederic Spanheim.

† It ſtands in the electorate of Mentz.

‡ This town is the capital of the principality of Grubenhagen, in the Hanover-dominions. It is famous for good beer, which gave Mart. Luther great ſatisfaction at the diet of Wormes. There are hiſtorians who tell us, that Eric duke of Brunſwic, a bigotted catholic, and furious perſecutor of the proteſtants, owed his converſion, twenty years afterwards, to the lucky incident of having preſented a flaggon of this liquor to Luther, when he was heated in a long diſputation. Upon which the reformer is reported to ſay, "that as duke Eric had remembered him "on that day, God would alſo remember duke "Eric in his laſt hours."

the

1632. the duke of Lunenberg*; from particular as well as general motives, obliged himſelf to blockade it; for this town was an inveterate thorn, which ſtill perſevered to grow among the Swediſh laurels, being the only remaining place, in that duchy, which obſtructed the advancing proſperity of the king's arms. Yet, though all poſſible means were employed to ſtraiten the garriſon, and though the courſe of the river Ocker was diverted, which paſſes through the city and ſupplies its mills, the governor ſtill made ſo reſolute and obſtinate a reſiſtance, that Pappenheim returned from Maſtricht time enough to relieve him. Gronſfeld, Pappenheim's vice-gerent, was very deſirous to throw troops into the town, but Bauditzen took him off from that deſign, by making a diverſion in Weſtphalia: where, advancing firſt into the dioceſe of Paderborn, he took Warburg by compoſition, (formerly an Imperial and Hanſe-town,) reduced Volkmarſen to aſhes, and inveſted the capital, at the head of 7000 foot, 4000 horſe, and 1000 dragoons; but colonel Weſtphali, who had conveyed himſelf into the city with 1500 men, made ſo many gallant ſallies, ambitious to acquit himſelf like a man of honour, and obtain the good opinion of the general he ſerved, that this attempt of the Swedes was rendered ineffectual; for Pappenheim not only raiſed the ſiege, but puſhed on to Hildeſheim, which place he maſtered, and then forced the Swediſh troops to croſs the Elb. Nothing more happened in the parts adjacent, except that the peaſants made an inſurrection in the abbacy of Fulda, in oppoſition to the Heſſian officers, who commanded there: but the landgrave ſoon attacked them, and conſtrained them to become obedient.

During this period, the Imperial generals, Oſſa, Montecuculi, and William margrave of Baden-Baden, were not inactive in Alſatia, having an

† The houſe of Brunſwic-Lunenberg was erected into a duchy in 1235.

It afterwards ſpread itſelf into four branches, Zell, Brunſwic, Calemberg, and Grubenhagen.

The ſame diviſion of the country ſtill ſubſiſts; and hence it is, that this ducal-houſe has four votes in the diet of the college of princes.

In 1682, the branch of the dukes of Hanover was raiſed to the electoral dignity, and enjoyeth in this country, Zell, Calemberg, and Grubenhagen; and the firſt named branch poſſeſſes the principality of Wolfenbuttle.

The library of this place merits notice, being ſuppoſed to contain 116,000 printed volumes, and 2000 MSS. not to mention 100 other MSS. relating purely to public acts, negotiations, treaties, &c. one of the greateſt hiſtorical treaſures now in the world.

army

army of 20,000 men under their command, not to mention three regi- 1632.
ments, then conducted by colonel Metternich, which had been raiſed in the county of Mark, and duchy of Juliers, where Metternich was a man of quality and a native. Theſe troops having croſſed a part of Lorrain, were juſt upon the point of arriving in Upper Alſatia, in order to afford aſſiſtance to the town of Coblentz; but that attempt not ſucceeding, they united themſelves to the army above mentioned.

The Auſtrian commanders ſent a trumpeter to the town of Straſburg, and demanded quarters and magazines for their troops, in the ſignories that belonged unto it. This requeſt the magiſtrates denied peremptorily; but the Imperialiſts conſidered the meſſage, and the refuſal, as meer matters of form. They then made an irruption, by way of revenge, into the territories of the margrave of Baden-Dourlach, a prince they mortally hated, and extorted all the money, that could poſſibly be ſqueezed from the poor inhabitants. Afterwards they took Bretten, or Bretheim, (the birth-place of Philip Melancthon) a town dependant on the Lower Palatinat, and having forced the garriſon to enliſt amongſt their troops, carried away nine of the principal inhabitants by way of hoſtages.

Theſe enterprizes ſerved to alarm the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg, eſpecially as the Imperial army began to point its courſe towards his dominions. Amaſſing therefore a body of 8000 men, and over-reaching Montecuculi by a feigned march, he paſſed by that general, and threw ſome troops into the large town of Knitlingin, as much renowned for the birth of Fauſtus, as Bretten had been for that of Melancthon. But as the inhabitants were moſtly enclined to the Auſtrian party, Montecuculi conveyed a regiment into one of the gates, who cut 400 Wirtembergers to pieces, and ſet fire to the town at the four oppoſite corners. Mean while Metternich, then governor of Heidelberg, being inſpirited by the proximity of ſo conſiderable an army, made a draught from his own garriſon, as well as thoſe of Frankendale and Oppenheim, and laid ſiege to Wiſloch, a little city in the Lower Palatinat, famous for the battle between Tilly and Mansfeld, in the year 1622: but the inhabitants being re-inforced by ſeveral troops of dragoons, and one troop of horſe,

1632. horſe, ſoon convinced him, that they were not to be terrified at a flight ſiege. Piqued with this diſappointment, Metternich found means to fall on colonel Strasburger, near Heidelberg, and deſtroyed him and his ſmall eſcort. He then took care to ſee his body embalmed, and made a compliment of it very politely to the governor of Mentz, requeſting the perſons of ſeveral living officers by way of exchange for the dead; and remarking in his letter, that as ſpices were dear, and ſurgeons rare, he expected ſome acknowledgment in money beſides.

Horn, enraged at theſe proceedings, flew immediately to the ſupport of Alſatia, and the adjacent countries; and having made ſelect detachments from the garriſons of the Lower Palatinat, and the electorate of Mentz, joined the rhingrave Otho Lewis; and coaſting along the Neccar, paſſed his cavalry over the Rhine at the laſt mentioned city, and his infantry at Wormes. Arriving at Manheim, without oppoſition, he there encamped, partly to obſerve the countenance of the enemy, and partly to wait the arrival of the adminiſtrator with his little army; but being informed, by a courier, that ſome of Montecuculi's troops had filed off to ſuſtain Metternich in the affair of Wiſloch, which town was preſſed almoſt to the laſt extremity, he made ſuch extraordinary marches, (an effort in thoſe days not uncommon) that in the firſt place he raiſed the ſiege, and in the ſecond place miſſed little of ſurprizing the beſiegers in their retreat to Heidelberg.

Some of Horn's partizans, who patrolled the country, ſeized an inferior officer, eſcorted by ſix horſemen, who had been diſpatched from Metternich to Oſſa and Montecuculi, with inſtructions to ſolicit a reinforcement, in order to advance the ſiege. It was this man's misfortune to fall into the hands of the Swedes, on his return; when being ſeverely and cloſely examined, he confeſſed at length, that a body of the enemy's cavalry had received orders to ſuccour Metternich the next day. Horn thus learning their route, diſpoſed an ambuſcade accordingly; for the Imperial generals had only blind and uncircumſtantial reports, with reference to the approach of the Swediſh army. Of courſe the colonels Montbaillon and Vitzdum were employed, on this deſtination, with a choſen detachment, and approached Wiſloch in great ſecurity, neither

soldier, exploring the country, nor suspecting an affront. Horn had 1631.
entertained design to let them pass, till they had advanced between his cavalry and his infantry, for then their ruin had been inevitable; but perceiving they shaped their course, by pure chance, too much on one side, and fearing by those means they might escape from his hands, he ordered the Rhingrave to attack them in the rear, at the head of a few troops of horse. Montbaillon faced about undismayed, and being seconded by Haracour's cuirassiers, and the rest of his cavalry, gave the Rhingrave a very desperate reception; but Horn ordered other squadrons to advance, and charged the enemy on all sides. Upon this, the Imperial commander, who saw the effects of an ill-grounded security too late, provided for his safety by the most prudential method, that could occurred to him, which was, in other words, a precipitate retreat: but the Swedish dragoons pursuing briskly, brought him from his horse with a carabine-ball, and took him prisoner, as also the chevalier de Treilly, his lieutenant-colonel: in a word, one way or other, this body of troops was almost entirely ruined.

As many soldiers, after a defeat, are the most expeditious couriers in the world; so of course Montecuculi and Ossa were soon advertised of this disgrace; and making an expeditious march to Oppenheim, passed the Rhine there, and lodged themselves in a situation less exposed than that they formerly occupied. The Swedish general pursued them fruitlessly; if we except the gleaning up a few field and wounded men, from whom he learnt, that the enemy had formed a design on Spires, which report was confirmed by the number of boats he saw collected together. This determined him to ascend the north of the Rhine, and pass into Alsatia, by way of reprisal; and this opinion, as the town of Strasburg stood much in need of his assistance: for the enemy's forces had now vapoured with little mischief, more like a shoal of Tartars, than a body of well-disciplined soldiers. During this interim, the Imperial generals assembled their troops near Hagenau, and drafted every garrison, that was capable to afford them a small reinforcement, being resolved to support Schelstadt, Colmar, Benfelden, and Brisac, and finish the contest with Horn by a general engagement.

1632.

[illegible] razed it in the year 1689.

During these transactions Montecuculi and Ossa kept themselves in 1628.
active under the walls of Philipsburg; in marching to which place they left a considerable part of their army, merely from the apprehensions that Horn might overtake them *; who, finding it impossible to tread on their heels, determined to secure to himself the better parts on the eastern side of the Rhine, and then exert his utmost efforts towards the reduction of Alsatia; well foreseeing, that if he could render himself master either of Benfelden, Schelstadt, or Colmar, he should of course give laws to the river Ill, which traverses and commands the country. In order therefore to pave his ground with greater security, he reduced Upper Ehenheim to obedience, and the fortress of Ortenburg, before which place a ball passed through the body of one of his officers, and wounded him in the side. He then rendered himself master of Offenbourg; and thus, by one uninterrupted series of valorous, prudent, and successful actions, displayed all the abilities of a disciple, who entailed no disgrace on the school of Gustavus; since at one and the same time, he opened to his countrymen the rich valley of Kitzingen, and the county of Hanau, and found means to restore the Upper Marquisate of Baden-Dourlach to its ancient and lawful owner, after an exclusion of ten years duration and something more.

But as there is a certain point, in all judicious and well-conducted campaigns, first in intention, (as the schoolmen affect to speak), and last in execution, namely, the giving the whole together a prosperous cast at the conclusion of the year; so Horn never once let his eye swerve from this primary and ultimate object of military operations, and determined, from the beginning to the end, to close the scene of his annual labours with the reduction of the town of Benfelden; which acquisition (for good reasons already assigned) transferred to his master the means of subduing Alsatia, and opened to him a new ichnography of conquest on the western banks of the Rhine; which, by the way, was intended

* Hostis majore adhuc celeritate usus, dieque & nocte, nulla intermissa quiete, iter continuans, ne [illegible] qui nimis laboss fracti inter viam magno numero remanebant, *desertori potius*, quam desertores signorum,) &c. &c. Chemn. Tom. I. 390.

1633. by Horn, as a collateral check to France, and a direct diminution of the Auſtrian power at the ſame time. As to the former, hiſtory affordeth us proofs abundant; and with reſpect to the latter, certain it is, that ſome days afterwards, Leopold archduke of Inſpruch, the emperor's brother, died of chagrin and a broken heart, for he could not bear to ſee his territories ruined, and moſt of his future expectancies deſtroyed.

At length Horn inveſted Benfelden, a place of ſmall extent, and of courſe more eaſily defended. It was rendered ſtrong by art and nature; for the marſhes round it were next to impaſſible, and the fortifications had been newly erected, according to the beſt principles, that were then known. It was ſurrounded by three deep foſſes, two of which were filled with water. The garriſon conſiſted of one thouſand men; and part of the artillery on the walls (of which there was great abundance) carried balls of forty-eight pounds weight. Oſſa, and the margrave of Baden-Baden, then general of the imperial forces on the Upper Rhine, made ſeveral attempts to raiſe the ſiege, which, (as it was an enterprize attended with extraordinary difficulty) continued, without intermiſſion, from September till November. At length the courſe of the Ila, which ſupplied the town-ditches, being diverted, a fair and honourable capitulation was propoſed by the governor, and accepted with thankfulneſs on the part of the Swedes. Towns of leſs importance ſubmitted of courſe. Benfeldt endured ſome ſharp attacks, and at length ſurrendered. So that the circles of Suabia and the Upper Rhine, were cleared of their enemies; and two parts of Alſatia entirely reduced to obedience, in the ſpace of four months. And thus ſtood matters when the king fought the battle of Lutzen. So that, in a word, this collateral campaign of Horn's may be conſidered as a maſter-piece in the art of war.

Having thus given a general idea of the ſtate of the king's ſeveral armies in various parts, it may be worth while juſt to remark, that two other bodies of troops, by no means to be deemed inconſiderable,

* He was forty-ſix years old, and left Ferdinand Charles, his eldeſt ſon, for ſucceſſor.

paſſed

passed the campaign in a style of waging war then little known, and which Gustavus did not greatly affect to practise; namely, in the character of armies of observation; for Rathven, by the main superiority of his forces, had maintained in obedience the whole district that lay round Ulm; and Wrangel (under whom Sir George Ruthwen served with his English regiment) did little more in Pomerania, than watch the countenance of the Polanders. In a word, the Swedish troops prevailed every where, except in those places where Pappenheim commanded. There, upon the whole, they rather lost than gained; so passed the whole summer without suffering one single defeat.

As Walstein continued reserved and cautious, and had determined within himself not to run the risque of a general engagement; his majesty, for various reasons, which have formerly been specified, put in practice a resolution he had long conceived, and that was, to besiege him first. And thus making a sacrifice of military vanity to solid good sense, he had but one affliction remaining upon his mind, and that was, his desertion of the faithful and affectionate town of Nurenberg: for Walstein had given the public to understand, that his intention was to sack this commercial and opulent city on the king's departure, partly to terrify the allies of Sweden, and partly to remunerate the emperor for the great expences of the present campaign. Kniphausen soon perceived this struggle of honour in his master's breast, and told him frankly, that on the peril of suffering ignominiously on a scaffold, he would undertake to defend Nurenberg, with 4000 men, against all the attempts of the Imperial forces. Gustavus knew the man, and relished the proposal; and having convened the patricians in one body, explained the whole matter to them with great delicacy and precision: *Gentlemen*, said he, *this officer has defended a village, protected only by a single wall, against all the efforts of Tilly.* No sooner were these words pronounced, than the Nurembergers acquiesced with great complacency, and agreeing to maintain the Swedish garrison at their own expence, and unite with them their own troops, commanded by Schlammersdorf, who had formerly distinguished himself in the Palatin service, consented likewise to the

contraction.

1632. contraction of a part of the king's first entrenchments, and the demolition of the rest. But all this could not content a person of such punctual good faith, and tender honour, as Gustavus was: he therefore first assured them, by a deduction of the clearest arguments, that Walstein would not undertake the siege of a town, like Nurenberg, on the approach of winter; declaring likewise, that if the Imperial general should have the spirit and resolution to invest them, he would march in person to their relief, at all hazards:—*and moreover*, added he, *I will leave Oxenstiern with you, as a royal pledge of my sincere intentions.* Here the chancellor hung up his votive armour, and never afterwards appeared in the field cloathed in iron. The king then celebrated the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic, and dislodged the next morning, September the eighth.

As he had a great passion for military gallantry, when consistent with prudence, he abhorred the thoughts of decamping by stealth and artifice, but on the contrary drew up his whole army in fair array; and having lain under Walstein's eye for four continued hours, at length pursued his course composedly and slowly. But the Imperial commander, far from disturbing his passage, called in all his advanced guards and outcentries, insomuch that a single ball was not discharged on either side. Next evening the Swedish army reached Neustadt on the Aisch *, a small town in the margraviate of Anspach, about twenty miles to the north-west of Nurenberg. Here the king reposed his troops one entire day, and then turned fourteen miles southwards to the city of Winsheim. Mean while he borrowed a large sum from the merchants of Francfort, by virtue of empawning the demesnes belonging to the Teutonic order, at and near the town of Mergentheim; and gave a fresh audience to the Muscovite and Tartarian ambassadors †, who made proposals, as it is conjectured, to secure to him the kingdom of Poland, whose intestine divisions, occasioned by the late death of Sigismond,

* There is another Neustadt in the same circle of Franconia, standing upon the river Stray, near Koenigshofen.

† Hist. or Anth. Relat. Low Dutch, Tom. ii, 162.

seemed

seemed to give fair openings for no inconsiderable interposition. But 1632.
our hero wanted not a succedaneum of employment, and advanced only just so far as gratitude allowed him.

Walstein had great apprehensions, that Gustavus would over-reach him by a feigned march, and for these reasons ventured not to unearth himself, till his spies brought him certain assurances, that his majesty had decamped in good earnest. Though some conjectures may be formed, it seems difficult to ascertain, what numbers of men this general lost without fighting, especially by dysenteries of the worst kind; for the Austrian army then, and almost a century afterwards, had only a few medicaments, and here and there a surgeon of very moderate abilities; it being in those days, and in part of ours, a sort of maxim with the Imperialists, that it costs more to cure a soldier, than levy a recruit. Nor was the ravage less destructive amongst the cavalry, where, as a sensible author observeth, lay both their strength and pride: for it is computed they lost 14,000 horses during the time they had remained in camp.

Walstein had no real intentions to besiege Nurenberg, since he knew the king, when once at liberty to range the empire, might soon remount his cavalry, and compel him to dislodge. For the same reasons he judged it impossible to continue longer in his old lines, for his enemy being master of the country round, had full power to reduce him by hunger. There was an insurrection likewise in one of the Austrias; so that, having well weighed all circumstances in his own breast, he decamped, as some say, with such extraordinary caution, that he began his march at the close of the evening; keeping the river Rednitz between him and the king, who lay to the westward, and leaving behind him, for want of draught-horses, as most people imagined, innumerable quantities of stores and baggage, and a great number of sick and wounded soldiers; whilst the Croatians, in the course of their march, laid the farm-houses and villages all in ashes.

At Winsheim the king first suspected, that Walstein and the elector of Bavaria proposed, (for both their armies still continued to be united)

to

1632. to point their courſe to the banks of the Mayne: and as he was particularly jealous of any attempt on his late conqueſts in Franconia, (a part of the empire he had deſtined, in his own mind, to ſome particular uſes, into which I have not inſight enough to expreſs myſelf diſtinctly) he conceived a thought how to divide the fury of this combined ſtorm; and turning ſhort all of a ſudden, gave duke Bernard half his army *, wherewith to diſpute the paſſage of the Mayne againſt Walſtein; and then purſued his old and well-known track into Bavaria; concluding ſafely enough, that the elector muſt haſten to the ſupport of his own capital and country; and ſagaciouſly foreſeeing, that if the Imperial general ſhould paſs by the Weymarian troops without attacking them, and point his courſe towards Saxony, (a circumſtance, which highly merited his utmoſt attention) yet ſtill he reſerved to himſelf the power of placing his army between the Bavarian and Auſtrian forces: nor was it probable to imagine, that the elector would preſume to cope ſingly with one, whom he and Walſtein, with their united abilities, had declined to undertake.——And in caſe he had an inclination to engage the Imperial general hand to hand, it then was not difficult to call duke Bernard out of Franconia into Miſnia, and command ſome detachments to join him from the ſeveral corps, that acted under Bauditzen and Lunenberg in the circle of Lower Saxony, and under Banier and the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel in parts adjacent.

Theſe, and other conſiderations of a ſimilar nature, determined Guſtavus to march half his army into Bavaria, taking with him about ſeven regiments of cavalry, and as many of infantry; and placing

* At that time the king and duke de Weymar had about 24,000 men between them: Walſtein's corps might amount to 18,000, and it may be aſcertained, that the duke of Bavaria's conſiſted of 19,000; ſo that the combined armies loſt in nine weeks encampment, by ſickneſs, deſertion, hunger, and a little fighting, ſomething more than 15,000 ſoldiers, being full 60,000 men when they firſt entrenched themſelves; and this, with allowance for a body of 8000 ſent with Holk into Miſnia, and 4000 diſpatched to his aſſiſtance under Gallas, not to mention two regiments commanded into Auſtria to repreſs the inſurrection of the peaſants; ſuppoſing too, which is not very probable, that no re-inforcements had been conveyed to the head-quarters of the Imperial and Bavarian armies: ——That conceſſion granted, Walſtein's loſſes were ſtill greater.

himſelf

himſelf (as he choſe to be preſent every where, and obſerve all things with his own eyes) at the head of three hundred of Steinboch's dragoons in preference to his own guards; as being a body of troops leſs cumberſome, and better prepared for ſudden adventures, inaſmuch as they ſupplied, in a good degree, the place of infantry. 1632.

It was partly by the over-perſuaſion of Oxenſtiern *, that Guſtavus undertook this expedition into Bavaria and Upper Auſtria; for the ſtateſman alledged, upon the preſent occaſion, that his Imperial majeſty valued one hereditary province more than all the other dominions in Germany.——Yet the king afterwards had reaſons to conſider this meaſure as neither a very prudent one, nor a very injudicious one, but rather of a mixt and uncertain nature; for Walſtein continued inflexible in the reſolution of not purſuing him, and afforded the elector of Bavaria, at parting, no further aſſiſtance, than permitting Aldringer to attend him with his own regiment and that of Coloredo.

No ſooner had Guſtavus begun to march at the head of this diminutive army, but the chancellor recalled him by an expreſs from Nurenberg, informing him, that Gallas had inveſted Lauf with a party of 2000 infantry, and four pieces of cannon. It was a town of more conſequence than ſtrength; and of courſe the king flew to its aſſiſtance with 2000 horſe, and 1500 *commanded* muſqueteers; but on his approach to Nurenberg, the chancellor and Kniphauſen met him, and gave him information, that Gallas had carried his point, and advanced towards Vogtland and Miſnia. Upon receiving this intelligence, the king juſt refreſhed his troops one hour in Nurenberg, and leaving freſh occaſional directions with Oxenſtiern, and the commander thereof, haſtened with all poſſible expedition to Anſpach, and thence to Dunkelſpiel, where, on the ſixth day conſecutive from his abſence, he overtook his army in its march to Donawert. By next evening he advanced twenty miles, and reached Nordlingen, where Tilly had eſtabliſhed the year before his winter-quarters: and here he was joined by 5000 Switzers, (ſuch were the effects of the chevalier de Rache's embaſſy to

* Puffendorf de Rebus Suecicis, fol. p. 79.

1632. the proteſtant cantons) which ſaid body of troops colonel Wormbrand had ſafely conducted from the foot of the Alps to Schaffhauſen, and then along the banks of the Danube in deſpite of Offa, who commanded thrice the number of Imperial forces in the circle of Suabia. But the king was ſo excellent a geographer, that though he gave his commanders occaſional liberties, in caſe of unforeſeen events, yet in all marches of length and conſequence, he ſent them a rout ſketched out on paper, aſſigning the journey of each day, and the place of ſtation every night or evening.——And perhaps one inducement to Guſtavus for marching into Bavaria, which hitherto hath been paſſed by without notice, was to preſerve (in caſe he could not by ſuch a ſtep ſeparate the elector from Walſtein) this valuable body of infantry from being intercepted by the Imperial armies; for Montecuculi, who then commanded the remnant of the electoral troops in Bavaria (with which two reinforcements were joined, partly Tuſcan and partly Imperial) might with great eaſe have united himſelf with Offa, and hindered Ruthven and the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg from facilitating the advance of the Switzers. But Guſtavus had an eye to all events, and gave the ſame proportionable attention to ſmall occurrences, as well as greater ones.

Montecuculi therefore not daring to advance one ſingle ſtep beyond his new diſtrict *, thought proper to create his majeſty ſome trouble (famous as he was for paſſing rivers) in croſſing the Lech a ſecond time; and of courſe dextrouſly and ſagaciouſly enough inveſted Rayn †, which gave the king no great uneaſineſs, for the town was excellently, though not ſufficiently fortified, ſince colonel Mitzval, who commanded therein, had neglected to caſt up ſome works, which his maſter had ordered when he left Bavaria. Mitzval had victuals, artillery and ammunition in abundance, and likewiſe his own complete regiment of infantry, and five troops of horſe, under his directions; ſo that the king ſuppoſed he might have repulſed the Imperialiſts till his arrival,

* Hitherto had he commanded in Suabia, Alſatia and the parts adjacent, with this exception, that he ſerved one half in 1630 and 1631, partly in Pomerania, and partly in Sileſia, &c.

† Hiſtorical or Authentic Relation in Low Dutch, fol. Tom, ii. p. 163.

even

even without expoſing himſelf to ſerious fighting. But the panic appre- 1632.
henſions, to which commanders are ſometimes liable, ſurpaſs all conjectures upon the ſubject. This unfortunate man had riſen to command by the force of a military character, hitherto untainted, in caſe we make one ſingle exception; for he indulged immoderately in the pleaſures of the table: he had performed ſome actions of a ſhining and more diſtinguiſhed nature. He was an officer of long ſtanding, having ſerved in Poland, and commanded a regiment when the king landed in Germany; and now all at once (to evince the fatal truth, that courage itſelf may be periodical) ſurrendered this important place, without alledging one circumſtance in his defence, except that an enſign had threatened him with the mutiny of the garriſon, and that his officers in a council of war had agreed with him in their opinion. To which Guſtavus replied coolly and juſtly; *A man of ſervice ſhould have puniſhed the enſign, and that Mitzval never attempted.* But what ſtill rendered the caſe more exaſperating, was, the king had written this commander a letter with his own hand, beſeeching him to have ſome regard to his reputation for a few days, inaſmuch as he was in full march to relieve him from the hands of the enemy. Great therefore was Guſtavus's aſtoniſhment, when at the head of an army, that breathed nothing but glory, he received the news of Mitzval's ignominious and mean ſpirited capitulation: which afflicted him ſo much the more, as Rayn was the only convenient paſſage croſs the Lech; and ſince an Imperial garriſon lodged therein might intercept all communication between his good allies, the great commercial towns of Augſburg and Nuremberg *. But it was the character of Guſtavus, whenever he was fruſtrated in one attempt, always to find out ſome ſecond expedient. He therefore bethought himſelf in an inſtant, that there lay hard by a little bridge over the Lech, at the foot of a fortified caſtle called Oberndorf, which belonged to the rich family of the Fuggers. Thither he flew with all imaginable expedition, and there found 150 men in garriſon, and 250 Croatians in full employment to deſtroy the bridge, which they took care to effect

* Bertius de Bellis Germanicis, 4°. p. 412.

1632. before the king arrived; yet not ſoon enough to ſecure their retreat to Rayn: for Guſtavus purſued them in perſon at the head of Steinboch's dragoons, and having deſtroyed them all, returned and took the caſtle by ſtorm, obtaining ſeven enſigns in the conflict. He then ſet himſelf to repair the bridge, and paſſed the river without oppoſition. Whether it was that Montecuculi bearing in memory Tilly's late misfortune, feared to diſpute the paſſage of the Lech a ſecond time; or whether he received orders to ſecure the cities of Ingoldſtadt and Ratiſbon, and form a junction with the elector, who was then marching into Bavaria, is more than I can take upon me to aſſert with any warrantable degree of confidence.

The king, ſheltered under the obſcurity of a miſty morning, approached Rayn before the governor knew he had croſſed the Lech, and projected his attack againſt *that* very place, which Metzval had neglected to fortify. Panic terrors were now become congenial to the governors of this unfortunate city, ſo that the Imperial commander having taken the contagion from his Swediſh predeceſſor, conſented to capitulate upon terms equally unſoldier-like and inglorious; for though eight days were allotted by Guſtavus for completing the ſiege, yet the governor ſurrendered in leſs ſpace than four and twenty hours. Nor could his majeſty as yet digeſt the diſgrace, which Mitzval's late conduct had thrown on the reputation of his arms, and of courſe conſented only, that the cavalry of the garriſon ſhould depart without horſes and accoutrements, and the infantry be deprived of their pikes and muſquets; yet, as he had an innate averſion to mortify men of ſervice overmuch, he allowed both parties to march out with their ſwords. Thence digreſſing to Landſberg on the Lech, he made the garriſon, conſiſting of 600 muſqueteers, all priſoners of war, not permitting them to retire (as he ſtill continued to be mortified with the diſreputation Mitzval had caſt on his troops) with any marks of military honour, excepting peeled oſier-wands, which he allowed them to bear in their hands *.

* Puffendorf de Reb. Suec. p. 79.

From

From Rayn the king advanced to Neuburg in purſuit of Montecuculi; 1632.
who retired towards Ratiſbon along the banks of the Danube. At Neuburg he ordered Mitzval to be beheaded in the preſence of all the army, and commanded the lieutenant-colonel, and eight captains belonging to his regiment, to ſtand upon the ſcaffold during the execution. This period of time * may be conſidered as unpropitious to Mitzval and his only brother, who was likewiſe the colonel: for the very day before the preſent Mitzval ſuffered, his relation had the misfortune to be beaten in the principality of Wolfenbuttle, where he loſt great part of his regiment, as well as his reputation, and alſo his liberty. And here it may be worth remarking, that during this ſharp ſervice in Germany, where battles were not unfrequent, where rencounters happened almoſt every day, and where attacks and defences of towns may be ſuppoſed innumerable, only two colonels, Mitzval and Horneck, ſhould be condemned to an inglorious exit of a public ſcaffold. But the latter was pardoned at the queen's interceſſion. Her majeſty likewiſe, conformably to the tenderneſs of her ſex, pleaded ſtrongly in behalf of Mitzval, and preſſed inceſſantly for ſome commutation of puniſhment; but Guſtavus repreſented to her, that compaſſion in the preſent inſtance would entirely ruin the diſcipline of the ſervice. It was his intention likewiſe to have ſtruck off the lieutenant-colonel's and captains heads; but the perſuaſive Eleonora procured their pardon upon ſuch terms, as we have lately ſpecified.

It was now determined in earneſt, to attempt Ingolſtadt a ſecond time †, and to this purpoſe Guſtavus made all preparations becoming the ableſt and moſt ſagacious commander; for he tranſported down the Danube abundance of artillery from Augſburg and Donawert; ſome ſay to the amount of fifty pieces of the largeſt ſize, and by the ſame chanel ſupplied his army with great quantities of proviſions and forage. To effect this enterprize ſtill more ſucceſsfully, it was his intention to viſit Augſburg in perſon; but an expreſs from Oxenſtiern,

* Chemnitz. Tom. i. p. 335.

† Hiſt. Auth. Relat. Tom. i. 335. Merian Theatr. Eur. Part. ii. 746.

giving

1632. giving information, that Wallſtein had fallen into Vogtland and Miſnia, in order to deſtroy the elector of Saxony at one ſtroke, (a prince of very fluctuating diſpoſitions, and who did not greatly affect the Swediſh cauſe) * obliged the king to change his plan of operations againſt Bavaria: and ſo much the rather, as John George, the elector, had beſought him, by two urgent letters, to march directly to his aſſiſtance †; and indeed there were reaſons to take care of ſuch an uncertain aſſociate. Leaving therefore 12,000 men, (of whom the new-raiſed Switzers made a part) under the command of Chriſtian prince Palatin of Birkenfeld to oppoſe the elector of Bavaria in that duchy, till ſuch time as Banier ſhould be recovered from the wound he lately received, and having taken excellent care of the towns of Augſburg, Rayn and Donawert, he marched with the reſidue of his army to Nurenberg, with intent to penetrate the vaſt Thuringian foreſt, and keep an eye of attention towards his Saxon confederator.

In one word, the conduct of this elector began to grow more and more myſterious every hour; for not many weeks before, the king had offered him the aſſiſtance of ſome Swediſh regiments, which he excuſed himſelf from accepting under pretence of œconomy ‡. It appeared alſo, that Arnheim had made the expedition into Sileſia purely to embarraſs his electoral maſter; nor was Guſtavus conſulted in that undertaking. Thus Miſnia and Vogtland were left defenceleſs. Arnheim declared too, that he would not act under Banier, or in conjunction

* This prince verified to a tittle the prediction of Paul Grebner the aſtrologer, which was publiſhed many years before the period in queſtion. "Tempore illo (nempe poſt Bohemiæ "tumultus & ſtrepitus bellicoſos magna cum "defectione &c.) *Cæſar Electoris Saxoniæ* naſo "Hiſpanica, fraudulenta, doloſa, blanda, in"fidioſa imponit *conſpicilla*, & quorum naturam "tandem ipſe pernoſcit, proprioque edocetur "experimento, quod hæc Auſtriaca conſpicilla, "poppyſmata, & phalerata verba, ſceleratæ & "proditoriæ ſint practicæ; quibus, ſi ultra "fidem habere duceret, ſeipſam, conjugem, "natos & univerſos Chriſtianiſſimæ—confœ"deratos in pernicioſum præcipitaret exitium."

In a following paragraph he likewiſe adds theſe remarkable words; "Sueciæ felicifſimo "ſuccellu *claſſe*, & *ſuo populo* terra marique in "hoſtem utetur." [This book, ſays the author of the *New Star in the North*, Lond. 4°. 1632. was preſented by Grebner to queen Elizabeth. The original copy whereof, written by Grebner himſelf, was placed by Dr. Nevil in the library of Trinity-college, Cambridge, whereof he was maſter.]

† Chemnitz. de Bello Sueco-German, Tom. i. fol. 335.

‡ See the whole tranſaction at large in Chemnitius, Tom. i. p. 368—369, &c.

with

with him, but, on the contrary, would reſign his commiſſion. This man, during the ſummer and autumnal campaign, had acquitted himſelf inſincerely towards the intereſts of Sweden. He behaved reſtively and inſolently to Dubalt, who commanded the royal forces; making a thouſand delays in poſſeſſing Breſlau, till he waſted an entire month, and gave the Imperialiſts leiſure to collect their army. He aſſigned the Swedes no quarters but the duchy of Lignitz (already exhauſted by war) and the prefecture of Drachenberg; inſomuch that Walſtein was heard to declare, that the Auſtrian cauſe was ſafe in Sileſia ſo long as Arnheim commanded there; who indeed received his maſter's orders (if they were real ones) to return into Miſnia, but put them into his pocket without regarding them *, and received a gratuity from the emperor, which ſurpaſſeth all belief; (for hiſtorians make it amount to 120,000 l. ſterling †) as likewiſe the promiſe of being elevated to the dignity of a prince ‡, which made him overlook the kind intentions of Guſtavus, who propoſed only to create him a count. And what exaſperated matters ſtill more, a letter from Arnheim to Spar, Walſtein's favourite negotiator, was ſhewn the king, which concluded with theſe remarkable words: "My deareſt colonel, I beſeech you in "God's name, to convey me no more letters like your laſt; for if you "continue a practice of this nature, you will bring the perſon of an "honeſt man, and his very life and reputation, into queſtion: moderate "therefore your ſtyle in ſuch a manner, that I may have the power to "communicate what you write to my electoral maſter ‖." 1632.

Spar, who, by the way, was a ſubject of Sweden, being over-heated one night with wine, offered the peruſal of this letter to the Bohemian colonel Hoffkirch; in conſequence whereof the count de Solmes either procured the original, or delivered a copy to John George, who convened a cabinet-council, and ſummoned Arnheim to appear; but the

* Some ſay he diſobeyed him by the dint of his influence, in a council of war... True it is, he went to Dreſden to excuſe himſelf, but took care to be attended by 2000 ſoldiers of his own ſelecting.

† Chemnitius de Bellis Sueco-Germ. Tom. i. 366.

‡ Puffendorff de Rebus Suecicis. fol. p. 80, &c.

‖ Lotichius, Tom. ii. fol. in annum 1632.

1632. accuſed had the gift of natural eloquence, ſufficient to confound a whole legion of jus-publiciſts; and thus the affair ended without conſequences. Mean while Dubalt, who partook more of the ſoldier than of the politician, was long blinded by this moſt artful man; but Guſtavus ſoon perceived his general to be deluded, and to avoid creating future jealouſies, diſpatched young Cochtitſchi, a Sileſian born, and a nobleman of great property, with full powers to rectify theſe great diſorders; ſending him in the quality of *legatus ad exercitum* to eaſe Dubalt from all concerns, except the military.

Cochtitſchi, previouſly enlightened by a royal preceptor, pierced with a ſingle glance through Arnheim's intentions, and gave him an inſight into his ideas concerning him (which indeed was needleſs) at the firſt conference. He then informed Guſtavus, that this commander would bear no equal in the confederate army, and that therefore it was neceſſary to cauſe him to be removed, or ſend as many Swedes as were able to preſcribe laws to him. Time, the grand expounder of all doubts, ſoon verified this excellent advice, which Guſtavus knew, but had not then the power to realize: for Arnheim afterwards took care to abſent himſelf from the battle of Lutzen, and when news arrived of Guſtavus's death, extorted Breſlau from the Swedes by main force, and told them all pretenſions expired at the death of their maſter; and then marching away from Dubalt, left him to the mercy of the Imperial forces, who made him a priſoner *: but Walſtein pitied a brave man, betrayed ſo ſhamefully, and diſmiſſed him from his captivity without a ranſom, as likewiſe the old count Thurn, whoſe blood the court of Vienna longed to ſee ſpilt on a public ſcaffold.

Rendered cautious therefore by the inſincerity of Arnheim, and the irreſolute diſpoſition of John George his electoral maſter, Guſtavus deemed it indiſpenſably neceſſary to confirm that fluctuating prince, by a perſonal appearance at the head of an army; and ſo much the rather, as he liked not Pappenheim's return from Maſtricht, of which he now received indiſputable aſſurances. Fearing moreover, that matters

* Puffendorff de Reb. Suec.

might

might take an unprosperous turn in the circle of Westphalia, and both the Saxonys; and presaging likewise, that his conquests in Upper Germany could not be deemed truly tenable, if things proceeded unpropitiously in the Lower; he changed his resolution, all at once, of fixing Oxenstiern in one of the Saxon circles, and chose to establish him at Nurenberg, as his representative in the southern regions of the empire. It is the custom of great geniuses to decide in a moment, and not unfortunately. Of course Gustavus left Christian, count Palatin, to command in and round Bavaria, till Banier should be recovered from his late wound, and flew towards Misnia, as we shall relate hereafter. 1632.

We will now cast our eyes, for a few moments, on the count de Pappenheim, who by this time (for we have before mentioned his extraordinary march to Mastricht) felt a strong desire to repass the Rhine, and regain his old quarters in Westphalia and Lower Saxony*. Many things conspired to prompt him to carry this idea into execution. He had no great confidence in his neighbours the Dutch; and though his troops were actually encamped in the territories of another state, yet he could not absolutely depend on their geographical fidelity; no, not though Reubens had published a plan of the siege of Mastricht, and an exact ichnography of the country round it. He had likewise no great opinion of the fortune, conduct, or honour of the Spanish generals, and doubted lest Bauditzen might be tempted to copy the very march he lately made, and uniting himself with the Dutch troops, augment his dangers in a double proportion. Of course he rejected all the fresh offers, which Isabella proposed him, and that for two reasons; partly because she had never verified her late promises, and partly because the Swedish generals had made great progress in the departments of Lower Saxony and Westphalia during his absence.

Decamping therefore in the night, and setting fire to his huts, rather than tents, he shaped his course towards the Rhine, and gained the river Röer. Next day he approached Juliers, and (to his misfortune be it mentioned) found himself obliged to indulge his soldiers in all sorts

* Soldat Suedois, p. 71, &c.

1632. of ravage and plunder; not from any principle of cruelty, or avaricious and mercenary diſpoſition in his nature, (for he was alike diſintereſted and brave) but merely becauſe he had no money, either to ſubſiſt his ſoldiers, or diſcharge their arrears. He received many expreſſes on the road from Walſtein and the duke of Bavaria, both then encamped near Nurenberg, which he repaid only with courteſies and excuſes; alledging, that his troops were famiſhed, and haraſſed, whilſt the Swedes, whom he had formerly coped with, remained freſh and vigorous: that the French army, in particular, obſtructed his paſſage over the Moſelle, and the emperor's affairs, in the north-weſt of Germany, were all ſinking into ruin by reaſon of his abſence: nevertheleſs, if hereafter any great extremity ſhould preſent itſelf, he would engage to force his way through the circles of Saxony. The man's temper was known, and his delays and excuſes ſeen through, but there was no remedy; it being his determined reſolution, to receive as few laws as poſſible from the generaliſſimo or the elector.

Diſpatching therefore count Merodé before him, with a conſiderable detachment, he croſſed the Rhine, and entered Weſtphalia at Kayſerſwerd *; diſlodged Bauditzen from the ſiege of Paderborn, compelled him to croſs the Weſer, and advance towards Hoëchſt, in order to join the duke of Lunenberg, who at that moment inveſted the city of Wolfenbuttle. He then refreſhed his men ſome days in the neighbourhood of Eſſen, and devoured afterwards the dioceſe of Paderborn †, under pretence of protecting it from the Swedes; for in theſe days, the guardian and plunderer, in the Imperial armies, often differed in name only. Pappenheim, in himſelf, was a man of order, generoſity, and humanity; but his ſoldiers at this time were inſatiable, and as he had no money, and feared a mutiny, he durſt not chaſtiſe them.

As the nobleſt minds are always moſt inclinable to forgive neglects and injuries, Pappenheim ſoon forgot the golden fleece, and the pecuniary remu-

* Kayſerſwerd, *Cæſaris Ferda*, in the dioceſe of Cologn, a well known paſſage acroſs the Rhine. It was, in Pappenheim's days, protected by a fortreſs of conſequence, but the allies diſmantled and raiſed the fortifications, during the war of the ſucceſſion.

† This biſhopric contains about eighty miles ſquare. The canons are obliged to have ſtudied at ſome univerſity in France or Italy.

neration,

neration, both promiſed him by the infanta Iſabella, and ſtill continued 1632.
ſincere and unſhaken in her cauſe, inaſmuch as it was connected with the ſervice and proſperity of his Imperial ſovereign. For theſe reaſons therefore, and partly from an ambition to convince the public, that he could conduct the pen as well as the ſword, he privately compoſed a memorial, which he took care to convey to the prince of Orange; ſetting forth, that as Rheinberg *, and Orſoy, had been committed to his protection, as places belonging to the empire, he beſought him, "to "diſtinguiſh between towns, that wore the livery of Caſtile, and towns, "that owed homage to the Auſtrian eagle †;" proteſting, at the ſame time, that the Hollanders ſhould have no cauſe of complaint, with reſpect to the two places in queſtion, ſince they ſhould continue diſintereſtedly neutral, in all preſent and future differences, between the United Provinces and the Infanta. But the Dutch, without the help of political glaſſes, ſoon pierced through Pappenheim's artifice. The very punctilious Spaniſh honour was not ſuppoſed conſcientious enough to deliver back its uſurpations on the empire out of pure gallantry, and without compulſion; and the depoſitary, or third perſon, who held the ſtakes, was concluded to be a truſtee of ambiguous faith, and as little to be relied upon as the former occupier: ſo that it was natural to infer, that neither the governors nor the garriſons would be changed, and no ſecurity would remain, but the promiſe of a perſon who had not power to realize his promiſe. However the prince returned an anſwer, extremely polite and full of reſpect, to Pappenheim, profeſſing the great regard he had to any propoſals, that came from him, and engaging to deliberate effectually on the ſubject, and not ſuperficially; obſerving indeed, by way of concluſion, that he expected information from effects, as well as words; and hoped, by way of preliminary, to ſee the two places purged of Spaniſh garriſons, the fortifications diſmantled, and no protection left but the town-walls.

The elector of Cologn, as we obſerved before, had ſent a miniſter to the Hague, to explain and amplify his excuſes, with regard to the per-

* Then an important fortreſs on the Rhine, about ſixty miles from Cologn. It was demoliſhed by the allies in the war of the ſucceſſion.

† Soldat Suedois, 765, &c.

1632. miſſion or connivance of Pappenheim's march through his territories. To which the ſtates general made no improper reply, by forming two demands; namely, that he would furniſh them with the ſame ſupplies and contributions, that he had beſtowed before on the Imperial commander, and re-imburſe the damages, that had been occaſioned by the irruption, which made its approach through his dominions: but the prelate found this calculation amounted too high, and petitioned and remonſtrated to no purpoſe.

Nor was the duke of Neuburg more ſucceſsful, in demanding the reſtitution of Juliers from the infanta, on the approach of the Hollanders, though this requeſt was, in its own nature, highly juſtifiable; and the rather, as it was a maxim of the Spaniſh court, at that time, to make a preſent of thoſe places, which it could not preſerve.

And now Pappenheim, having refreſhed and re-inforced his army, advanced farther into Lower Saxony, fully determined to attack Bauditzen. The latter being inferior in point of numbers, threw his troops into Hoëchſt; but before he could amaſs proviſions, and complete his out-works and fortifications, he found himſelf ſurrounded all of a ſudden; for the rapidity of the Imperial general's march had out-ſtripped the calculations of the Swediſh commander: and the former being greatly ſuperior in cavalry, ordered Gronsfelt to paſs the Weſer, whilſt himſelf and Merodé continued on the weſtern-ſide. Bauditzen perceiving the courſe of the river to be diverted, the town-walls being thereby rendered uſeleſs, and not caring to be immured and ſtarved, formed a ſudden reſolution to retreat, though the town was actually inveſted, and the batteries fixed againſt it. He firſt, by concealed methods, diſpatched his cannon and baggage towards Munden, and forthwith all his army. Pappenheim, by the ſilence of the town-artillery, ſoon perceived the enemy's deſign; and as he foreſaw what road it was their intereſt to purſue, expedited the flower of his cavalry at their heels: but the ſtealth of one hour's advance (other things being ſuppoſed equal) often decides the fortune of a retreat; for Bauditzen had given ſuch excellent orders, that nothing happened but a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes, till the groſs of his little army reached a poſt of ſafety. He obtained three colours and

loſt

loſt two; ſo that, upon the whole, the retreat had merit. But this 1632.
leaving the country open compelled the duke of Lunenberg, as hath been mentioned before, to raiſe the ſiege of Wolfenbuttle; and the rather, as Gronsfelt had the dexterity to throw a body of troops, and ſome proviſions, into the town. Nor was the duke's retreat ſo fortunate as that of his comrade; for he loſt two pieces of cannon, four colours, and ſeven hundred men: nevertheleſs, this loſs was fortunately ſupplied by a re-inforcement of two regiments, under the command of the duke of Sax-Lauenberg. Lohauſen, who, I believe, commanded the Brunſwic-troops, returned to the diſtrict of Wolfenbuttle with a few regiments, and re-poſſeſſed his ancient quarters, for reaſons to me entirely unknown: for what ſucceſs could be expected from blockading a town, that had been re-victualled ſome days before, and re-inforced by a garriſon half equal to the number of the beſiegers; their deliverer at the ſame time within call, and almoſt within ſight? So that Lohauſen ſoon diſlodged, and gave Gronsfelt an opportunity to demand an exorbitant contribution from the town of Hanover; but the inhabitants wiſely employed that money, to invite colonel Herden's regiment, and two companies of the duke of Brunſwic's men, to undertake their defence, which they effected ſucceſsfully.

Mean while the good people of Hildeſheim, who had ſcared themſelves out of their ſenſes with omens and preſages, not to mention rivers ſtreaming with blood, and armies embattelled in the air, now ſaw Pappenheim approaching towards them, in all the terrors of reality. The Swedes ſhewed them no compaſſion, having made late offers of removing them beyond the reach of danger: but repentance for the rejection of this propoſal, and a ſlight breach in the town-walls, immediately frightened the beſieged into a capitulation. Pappenheim thruſt 2000 men into the town to preſerve, as he alledged, good order, (obliging the inhabitants to maintain them) and exacted 10,000 l. by way of contribution; and finding interpoſitions of this ſort, much more agreeable to his ſoldiers than the affair of Maſtricht, puſhed on to Mulhauſen, the largeſt town in Thuringia, excepting Erfurt; and as

the

1632. the place was of vaſt extent, and poorly fortified, he had only to appear and take poſſeſſion, demanding and receiving the ſame ſum, which had been exacted at Hildeſheim: nor was it in the power of the Swediſh generals to ſtop this impetuous career of the Imperial commander; ſo that no reſource remained for them, but to ſpread one part of their ſeveral armies along the banks of the Elb, and repoſe the reſidue under the cannon of Magdeburg*; permitting their opponent to advance towards Miſnia, where Walſtein (on the king's approach) expected him with earneſtneſs.

Four weeks had now elapſed, ſince Guſtavus and Walſtein had each purſued a ſeparate expedition; for whilſt the former made his irruption into Bavaria, the latter pointed his courſe into Franconia, and then towards the electorate of Saxony; which was ſomething more extraordinary, as their marches were almoſt as diametrically oppoſite, in point of geography, as the ſouthern regions are to the northern.

It has already been mentioned, in what manner Walſtein, and the elector of Bavaria, diſlodged from Nurenberg. Being arrived at Forſheim, in the biſhopric of Bamberg, (from whence Walſtein detached two regiments into Upper Auſtria, in order to extinguiſh the laſt remains of rebellion) they repoſed their troops for a fortnight in good quarters, and there firſt received intelligence, that Guſtavus had diſpatched duke Bernard to obſerve their motions with half the army, and conducted the other moiety into the dukedom of Bavaria. This news ſtartled the elector not a little, inſomuch that he beſought the Imperial general to join forces with him, and puſh this enterprizing monarch to the very foot of the Alps; nor was the court of Vienna much diſſatisfied with a requeſt of this nature, as the peaſants of Upper Auſtria had preſumed to revolt under the very eye of the emperor.

Yet no remonſtrances, nor repreſentations, could make the leaſt impreſſion on Walſtein's inflexibility: true it is, he paid the elector the external honour of attending him twenty-ſix miles in his return homewards, and at Bamberg they parted with all the exquiſite politeneſs of

* Chemnit. Tom. i. 341.

veteran

veteran diſſemblers. But Walſtein appeared the leaſt ſupple of the two, 1632.
and preſerved more coldneſs and reſervedneſs than the old Bavarian; who, at, and after this ſeparation, threw out oblique hints, that ſome ſecret underſtanding was carried on, by the means of Dewbatel, between Walſtein and Guſtavus *, which ſeems to me to be nothing more than an angry miſapprehenſion: but be that as it may, he with more juſtice complained, that he ſerved conjointly with a commander, who gave him no lights into any thing; and that he had expended likewiſe, (which was equally diſguſting) more than 150,000l. ſterling, to very little advantage, ſince the day he firſt united his forces with the Imperial army †.

Walſtein's firſt idea ſeems to have been the reduction of Franconia; and to this purpoſe he caſt his eyes, as the king conjectured, on the important town of Sweinfurt, ſituated upon the northern banks of the Mayne, about twenty-five miles to the weſt of Bamberg. But Charles Hart, the Swediſh governor, took care to re-inforce himſelf from the garriſon of Koënigſhofen; and at that very inſtant, the vigilant Dewbatel, by duke Bernard's orders, threw himſelf into the town, at the head of his own regiment, which conſiſted of thirteen troops of dragoons. Mean while duke Bernard approached, with his whole army, to ſuccour the beſieged; and of courſe Walſtein either changed intirely his original plan, or varied it occaſionally into a ſecond form, being determined at once to deſtroy the two electoral houſes of Saxony and Brandenburg.

Firſt therefore, to gratify his malice againſt the family laſt mentioned, he diſcharged his reſentments on the margrave of Bareüth, who was likewiſe margrave of Culmbach, and uncle to the then young marquis of Anſpach. The capital of Bareüth was ſoon laid under a ſevere contribution; but that of Culmbach, being better fortified, made a laudable reſiſtance; ſo that the Imperial general advanced to Coburg, whoſe duke was related to the Erneſtine branch of the houſe of Saxony, and uncle to the dukes of Saxon Weymar, which latter had furniſhed ſeven brothers, who all bore arms againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The town of

* Riccius de Bellis Germanicis, 4°. 411. † Idem ibid.

Coburg

1632. Coburg ſoon became a ſacrifice to Walſtein's indignation, (for the duke had appeared in armour in behalf of the Swedes) as likewiſe the rich palace and treaſury; and great quantities of merchandize, from Augſburg and Nurenberg, which were then on the road to Leipſic fair. But the caſtle*, which ſtandeth on an advantageous eminence, was not to be reduced on ſuch eaſy terms; for Dewbatel had thrown himſelf therein, at the head of his well-known regiment of dragoons. Walſtein wiſhed impatiently to make this gallant officer his priſoner a ſecond time, and Dewbatel laboured as much to eſchew the repetition of ſo ſenſible a mortification. It may ſuffice to ſay, that a breach was made by the third of October; but Dewbatel had gallantry enough, at the time the walls were actually ſtormed in the defenceleſs part, and the ſervice became as obſtinate as moſt that had appeared during the courſe of the thirty years wars, to take the aſſailants in flank, at the head of his dragoons, which threw the 500 Imperialiſts, who formed the point, into total confuſion. Walſtein's colonel, who led the attack, was killed in the foſſe; as likewiſe a young nobleman of his name and kindred. Mean while duke Bernard had advanced from Schweinfurt to Hilperhauſen, fifteen miles to the north of Coburg, having defeated forty troops of Iſolani's† Croatians, and ſeized ten colours and a part of their baggage‡, with full intentions to raiſe the ſiege; partly from his unwearied zeal for his maſter's ſervice, and partly, as ſome conjecture, with a collateral view to his own well-being and proſperity; inaſmuch as the dukedom devolved

* Here Martin Luther lodged ſome months, in 1530, and the chamber is ſtill ſhewn. No one can enter this fortreſs without expreſs permiſſion from the prince. In it is a vault ſo extremely ſecret, that all things of value are ſafely concealed there in times of war: and in the caſtle are preſerved abundance of documents, &c. in MSS. relating to *the Hiſtory of the Reformation, which merit to be examined by the beſt church-hiſtorians. Mem. Communicated.*

† Iſolani, created a count by the emperor: his Chriſtian name was *Lodovico*; and as the French hiſtorians talk much of one Lodovico, general of the Croatians at this period, it may be worth obſerving once for all, to the perpetual honour of that nation's accuracy, that Iſolani and Lodovico are the ſame man. But the Croatians and Carniolians, in reſemblance of the Italians, whoſe language and forms of expreſſion they are fond to imitate, uſually deſignate a perſon by the *Chriſtian name*. This ſurprizing hero was remarkable for being beardleſs. He died at Vienna, 1640-1.

‡ Riccius de Bellis Germ. p. 411.

to

to him on the demiſe of his uncle, (of which the then reigning duke 1632.
was one) who were both aged and unbleſſed with children. Be that as it will, the glorious efforts of Dorbatel and Bernard freed their maſter from abundance of uneaſineſs; for one part of Walſtein's plan was totally defeated, his intention being to have rendered himſelf conqueror of this caſtle, whereby he ſecured the roads, in one of the moſt wild and rocky parts of Germany; and then have penetrated through the bleak and inhoſpitable Thuringian foreſt, and formed his junction with Pappenheim. But the occaſional commander of the caſtle deſtroyed one branch of this ſcheme, and the poſition of the duke's army diſappointed the other: of ſuch an amazing conſequence, in a campaign, is the vigilance of an officer or two, who have parts to comprehend their duty, and ſpirit enough to carry their projects into execution. Walſtein's ſcheme was enterprizing and extenſive, like all his other conceptions; for had he gained the caſtle of Coburg, and croſſed the Duringer-walt without moleſtation, he had then (beſides the conjunction of his troops with Pappenheim, a point he ardently wiſhed for) deſtroyed the rich territories of a family, which he mortally hated, the once electoral houſe of Saxon-Weymar: And then purpoſing to have wintered in Miſnia, his intentions were to have ſecured the banks of the Elb, which would greatly have impeded the king's retreat; to have devoured all the wealth and proviſions in the two electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg, which had enjoyed a long repoſe from the late devaſtations of war; and thus, at the firſt opening of ſpring, having totally humbled theſe two powers, to have ſpread half his army over the adjacent parts of Luſatia and Sileſia, and reconquer, with the other half, his own duchy of Mechlenburg, to which his natural ambition conſtantly inclined him. And thus it was his firm opinion he ſhould encircle Guſtavus in a wide-ſpread net, and oblige him (as he conceived it difficult for that prince ever to reach the coaſt of the Baltic) either to engage in a raſh and deſperate battle, or capitulate upon diſgraceful and inglorious terms.

Chagrined to the heart at this diſappointment, for 500 men were loſt in three days before Coburg, (the preſervation of which city ſaved Thuringia and the county of Henneberg to the king's advantage) Walſtein

1632. at length, after ſome mortification, picked out, and extended the remaining parts of his plan, as well as circumſtances could then allow him: yet doubtleſs he expected great things from his firſt ſcheme in its full extent; ſince he conceived it worth while to command Pappenheim, for that purpoſe, to relinquiſh all his conqueſts in ſo vaſt a tract as the circles of Weſtphalia and Saxony: And what more and more afflicted him, at the preſent conjuncture, was, that Pappenheim, on account of the diſappointment at Coburg, might now find great difficulties in penetrating into Upper Saxony, in order to join the Imperial army in the marquiſate of Miſnia. But as that general was formed, by nature, for undertaking perilous and extraordinary marches, Walſtein preſerved even ſome glimmerings of hope, that he would effect a conjunction by ſome inventive ſtratagem or other; though at that time it was hard to preſcribe the meaſures, whereby ſuch an enterprize was to be realized.

From Coburg therefore, full of diſappointment, he turned ſhort to the right, and advancing to Cronach, in the dioceſe of Bamberg, entered Vogtland; where, adding to the cruelties of Holk and Gallas, who had already ravaged all that country, he waged war, (if an irruption on an unarmed multitude may be named a war) more like a man poſſeſſed by the furies, than in the character of a civilized being. At length he encamped at Weida, on the banks of the Elſter, about forty-eight miles to the ſouth of Leipſic.

We will now caſt our eyes towards Guſtavus. Had that prince ſurvived the November enſuing, he intended to have made a ſecond winter campaign; for the advantages accruing from the laſt ſurpaſſed all conception *; and it was hoped moreover, that ſo ſevere a ſeaſon might not preſent itſelf again in a great number of years. Hard and continued froſts open a new theatre of war; marches are conducted over tracts of ground, deemed otherwiſe to be impaſſible; and approaches are made to fortified towns, acroſs moraſſes and waters, which, at the common ſeaſons of fighting, are known to be inacceſſible: ſo that the officers, who dealt in ſurprize and enterprize, had on theſe occaſions a new department to walk in.

* Paganino Gaudentio, Singolarità, &c. 214. Supplement de Foreſti.

It was a conſtant ſaying with the king, that he could perform greater exploits in winter than ſummer. Arma Suec. 78.

That

That the troops in Bavaria might be inſpired to act with uncommon 1632.
reſolution for the ſervice, his majeſty gave the prince of Birkenfelt draughts on Augſburg and Nurenberg, and commanded him with earneſtneſs to pay the ſoldiers punctually and honourably; expreſſing much concern to leave Monro's brigade behind him, (which by this time was greatly ſhattered, and quite unable to march to Saxony; for it had fought near the king's perſon almoſt from the firſt weeks after he landed *;) and recommending the colonel particularly, and Moſtyn, the lieutenant-colonel, to the protection of the general, he bade adieu to each regiment, and haſtened onwards to Donawert. He there took leave of Banier, Birkenfelt and Ruthven with great tenderneſs, eat a ſhort dinner with the queen, who had an interview with him in this place, and propoſed like a true heroine to conclude the campaign in Saxony, and ſhare the glory of diſcomfiting Walſtein. That night they ſlept at Nordlingen, from whence the king poſted to Nurenberg with ſome choſen cavalry, and beſought the queen to do him the honour of conducting the brigades of foot, firſt to Dunkelſpiel, and then to Rotenburg on the Tauber.

When Guſtavus approached Nurenberg, Oxenſtiern met him on the road, and informed him, that Kniphauſen, with a part of the garriſon, had inveſted Lauff; upon which the king advanced forwards to favour the enterprize of his general, but meeting Kniphauſen, who returned ſucceſsful, learned from him, that colonel Munich had appeared under the walls of Lauff, to ſuccour the beſieged, at the head of 1000 horſe, and 300 dragoons; whereas the king had only 700 horſe, and 300 dragroons, which then attended him †: but without drafting a ſingle man from the Nurenberg detachment, he ſaid to Kniphauſen with an air of chearfulneſs: *March you back to your charge; I cannot return till I have performed ſomething.* Of courſe near two villages, called Schleucten and

* This regiment of infantry, uſually keeping company with the main army, appears from a diary kept by the colonel, to have marched two thouſand one hundred and ſixty miles in a year and three quarters; and if expeditions, parties, and camiſados be likewiſe included, with which the practice of the age then abounded, it is probable the number of ſteps taken by the corps here mentioned might amount to a calculation, which runs higher by near a third.

† Chemnit. de Bello Sueco-Germ. Tom. i. 335.

1632. Felden *, he cut to pieces 300 of Munich's Croatian cavalry, and returned with ſeveral priſoners and two colours to Nurenberg; having thus freed that loyal and affectionate city from a ſort of blockade.

Leaving the town therefore, as no enemy was near it, to the protection of its own forces, he commanded Kniphauſen to follow him with three Swediſh regiments, that compoſed the garriſon, which, in conjunction with the other three regiments, not yet arrived at Nurenberg from Bavaria, made a body of 6000 men complete. The cavalry amounted to 2500, including thoſe that attended the king; at the head of which latter party he left Nurenberg, October the 19th, in order to join duke Bernard, and expel the Walſteiners out of Saxony, leaving directions with the better half of his diminutive collection to purſue him by briſk marches in the beſt manner it could contrive to advance.

This young hero, duke Bernard, had been diſpatched a month before with an army of 12,000 men to watch the motions of the Imperial general, and likewiſe ſecure the banks of the Mayne, protect the whole circle of Franconia, and direct his attention particularly to the conſervation of the town of Sweinfurt. It may ſuffice to ſay, that no aged and moſt experienced commander ever diſcharged a duty better; for allowing his troops no reſt, he preſented himſelf in every place, as occaſion demanded; preſerved from inſults the important cities of Sweinfurt and Wurtzburg (into the former of which places he threw Dewbatel with his regiment of dragoons) and executed a ſecond enterprize, of the ſame nature, when Walſtein removed from thence, and inveſted Coburg-caſtle; compelling him, by the dint of vigilance and perſeverance, to transfer the ſeat of war into Upper-Saxony.

By this time the great advances made by Guſtavus renewed in men's minds more and more the prediction of Tycho Brahé, juſt tranſiently touched upon in the former part of our work; where it was ſpecified, on the appearance of a new ſtar in Caſſiopéa, Anno 1572, that a northern prince was expected to ariſe, who ſhould greatly advance the intereſts of the more pure religion; and that the preciſe culmination of this aſtral

* Chemnitz ſays Alenfelt and Schupfen.

influence

influence ſhould be perceived by the generality of mankind in the year 1632, or thereabouts *. And at the ſame time, the king being now advanced to the zenith of his glory, the ſpeculative and curious perſons of the age began to pay freſh regard to Frederic Braunborn's predictions, who had foretold the death of Antichriſt in the year 1636, in an explanation of the Old and New Teſtament, which book he publiſhed at leaſt eighteen years before. But the unfortunate death of our hero ſoon put an end to theſe airy conjectures. 1632.

Mean while Guſtavus marched in fourteen days from Bavaria to the northern parts of Thuringia, including likewiſe three days, which he ſpent at Nurenberg. What detained him there more eſpecially was the enſuing buſineſs: perceiving the princes and ſtates of his allies to grow remiſs in ſubſcribing to the war, and in the conveyance of their contingent of troops to him; he formed an idea, and gave Oxenſtiern full powers to convene at Ulm the principal perſonages of Upper Germany, in the four circles of Suabia, Franconia and the two Rhines. The plan of this confederation was bold, extenſive, and magnificent, conformably to the abilities of the great inventor, whoſe death ſuppreſſed it in the very infancy; but it was on *this ichnography*, that Oxenſtiern afterwards eſtabliſhed the convention of Heilbrun the year enſuing, which hath been conſidered by all hiſtorians as the moſt diſtinguiſhed action of his political life. Mean while Guſtavus, that he might mature his conceptions more and more, commanded the chancellor to attend him in his march to Erfurt in Thuringia, diſcourſing with him on the ſubject during the whole journey, and inculcating and repeating his directions, as they occurred occaſionally to him. It was his majeſty's firſt ſcheme, had he continued in Bavaria, to have made this miniſter director-general of Lower and Upper-Saxony: but matters being now totally changed in that reſpect, he commanded him to return to Nurenberg with all poſſible expedition, and put the freſh and new ideas into actual operation. Nor muſt it here be forgotten, that the king before he left the laſt-named town, perceiving the Engliſh and Scottiſh regiments to be extremely

* De Stella nova, Anno 1572. Excuſ. Uranoburgi. Dan. A. MD. C. X. p. 805. Heylmann. Leo Arctoüs, p. 12.

1632. tremely thinned, combined them all into one brigade, informing the leaders and ſoldiers, that henceforwards they ſhould always act near his perſon; aſſuring the former, that as this ſelect body of troops happened by the preſent reformation to be trebly officered, he ſhould prefer the ſupernumerary commanders into other regiments, in proportion as vacancies preſented themſelves. There is reaſon to think, that this brigade was one of the fineſt bodies of troops, that ever appeared in the military world. And now it was, according to the beſt conjectures which can be made, that Guſtavus, in order to encourage and remunerate his allies in Germany, made a full and ſedate reviſion of his grand *ſcheme of commerce to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies**, firſt publiſhed by him in the year 1626, or 1627; (for my accounts vary in point of chronology.) The former part whereof may be peruſed at leiſure in the *Appendix*; as alſo the ſubſequent additional articles extended to all his faithful aſſiſtants and friends then in the empire.

At Arnſtadt the king joined duke Bernard, where they reſted ſix days, till the royal army arrived from Nurenberg. Here Oxenſtiern took his perpetual farewel of his reſpected ſovereign, and making an excurſion through Francfort and the Lower-Palatinate (being entruſted with the laſt letter his maſter ever wrote to the unfortunate elector Palatin) he then completed his journey by returning to his directorial department round Nurenberg. And indeed no plenipotentiary-character was ever greater than what the generoſity of Guſtavus beſtowed on his chancellor: for he had a commiſſion *unlimited* to four circles, being conſtituted *ſupreme arbitor of peace and war*: he was authorized to preſide *without controll* over all generals and military expeditions; to ratify all truces, conventions and treaties pro *re nata*; being pronounced firſt in all things (to make uſe of the very words in his commiſſion) both as VIR TOGATUS, ET SAGATUS; receiving in charge particularly to keep a ſtrict eye to the true intereſts of the proteſtant religion: to which the king annexed this extraordinary confirmation: *Quicquid hac ratione in ſui (ſcil. regis) emolumentum vi ſuſceptorum mandatorum gereret, diſponeret, ordinaret,*

* See Vol. i. 91, 92.

ordinaret, ratum à se, perinde ac si ipse gessisset, disposuisset, ordinasset, habi- 1632.
turum iri *.

Had not Gustavus made amazing expedition from Bavaria into the depths of the Thuringian forest, as far as Arnstadt, the vigilant and enterprizing Pappenheim had certainly perplexed him in two important instances, namely, the possession of the cities of Erfurt and Naumburg †; which might have obstructed his majesty's entrance into Saxony, and facilitated the junction of the Imperial armies, which the king laboured to render difficult, as far as lay in his power, and, if possible, to counterwork. Duke Bernard, conformably to the instructions of his master, put a check to the former attempt; but as to the event of the latter, it was almost humanly impossible to out-strip Pappenheim in a long march, who, not daring to invest Erfurt whilst the king lay in Thuringia, cast a languishing eye towards that important city, having crossed the Unstrut, and approached as near it as Butstadt, a distance only of twelve miles: but then changing his plan all at once, he shaped his course through the little district of Freyburg; and passing the Sala, with the rapidity of a flash of lightning, never allowed duke Bernard to overtake him, who pressed on his heels with a large body of cavalry.

Mean while, it being now the anniversary of Simon and Jude, the king marched his two armies from Arnstadt to Erfurt, a day's journey of twenty miles, and considering such a slight effort as a kind of holiday, reviewed his troops, all drawn up in fair array, before they entered the town; and during the time of employing himself in this work, received a deputation from the magistracy, requesting him to honour their city with his royal presence; unto which he returned an indistinct, but very affectionate answer; insomuch that one of the deputies afterwards acknowledged, that it forced tears from his eyes. At night his majesty made his entrance privately; and first, so peculiar was his humanity to any general that was wounded or indisposed, made a visit to duke William of Weymar; from whom hastening to his consort's abode, her majesty, attended by her train of ladies, politely received him on

* Chemnit. de Bello Sueco-German. Tom. i. 345.
† Nani Historia, L. ix. Puffendorf de Reb. Suec. p. 80.

foot;

1632. foot, in the ſquare of the market, before her apartments; upon which Guſtavus, diſmounting at a diſtance, led her up ſtairs into her own chamber, and after a ſhort, but tender interview, retired to military buſineſs; foreſeeing plainly, that the fate of Germany was now approaching to wards its grand criſis. They ſupped together early in the evening, and in half an hour the king withdrew a ſecond time, for he had letters to write of great importance to ſeveral princes, and particular expreſſes to diſpatch unto all the troops, that could poſſibly reach him in ten days, or a fortnight: in a word, he had the great event full in his imagination, which afterwards made its appearance upon the glorious, but unfortunate plains of Lützen.

During the few hours Guſtavus ſtayed at Erfurt, he received agreeable diſpatches from all parts, if we except the fruitleſs and injudicious march of the duke of Lunenberg, who attempted to join him, but never had abilities to effect that junction. His majeſty heard particularly, that the prince of Berkenfelt had re-taken Landſberg, and driven the duke of Bavaria into Munich, with notable loſs: that Banier had raiſed the ſiege of Rayn, and quaſhed a deſperate enterprize of the enemy againſt Augſburg, the king's magazine of arms and military ſtores: that a part of the Swediſh and Wirtemberg troops had gathered laurels on the very banks of the lake of Conſtance: that Dubal had cleared Sileſia, and Horn had reduced Alſatia almoſt miraculouſly; and that the Tranſylvanian general had cauſed a very ſignal diverſion, by invading Hungary.

At break of day the king roſe, and taking a light breakfaſt with his beloved Eleonora, gave audience to the magiſtrates of the city, and then concluded an earneſt and pathetic ſpeech, with a few ſhort ſentences, to this effect: *You know, gentlemen,* added he, *that uncertainty and ſublunary affairs are terms convertible, and that war particularly (the viſitation of heaven for human depravity,) is precarious above all things: it is poſſible that ſomething unfortunate may ſoon arrive to this my perſon, and if ſuch be the will of the Supreme Being, transfer to my dear conſort that affection and obligation, which you owe to me. On theſe conditions, I pray*

Providence

Providence to proſper you *. Then turning round to Eleonora, he could enuntiate no more than juſt to ſay, GOD BLESS YOU! and thus abruptly leaving the whole aſſembly diſſolved in tears, he mounted his horſe, and vaniſhed immediately, in order to overtake his army, which by this time was in full march towards Saxony. 1632.

In two days and one half his majeſty, by eaſy journeys of twelve miles a day, reached Nurenberg; and hearing, on the road, that Holk (now created deputy velt-maréchal to Walſtein, in order to make room for the velt-maréchal Pappenheim) had ſent troops into the town, to demand the arrears of the laſt year's contribution due to Tilly, diſpatched colonel Brandſtein, at the head of a body of muſqueteers, with ſtrict orders to diſlodge the Imperialiſts. This officer requeſted admiſſion, at the Othmar-gate, by break of day, and on the centinel's beſeeching, that time ſhould be allowed him to inform the magiſtracy of his demands, burſt the port-cullis to pieces with a petard, and entered the city ſword in hand.

Next day, at noon, the royal army croſſed the bridge over the Sala; a part thereof entered Nurenberg, and the reſidue (though the winter began now to appear with a ſevere aſpect,) found themſelves obliged to take quarters in the high-roads, that lead to Zeitz and Leipſic. It was here his majeſty had commanded George, duke of Lunenberg, to join him with the little army, which he commanded in Lower Saxony; whoſe inſtructions were, either to force a paſſage through the enemies quarters, by the road of Halle, or ſhape his courſe to his right, through the town of Eysfelt, and then purſue much the ſame route, which Pappenheim had taken. But that general choſe rather to follow his own imaginations, than the king's directions; and having left his infantry at Magdeburg, (which was a great omiſſion, and ſingularly affected the day's ſervice at Lützen) took the liberty to conduct his cavalry only acroſs the Elb to Wittemberg, where he received orders to join the king at all hazards; but had not courage or dexterity enough to break through the enemies forces. From whence aroſe one ſignal inconveniency; for the

* Swediſh Intelligencer, Part iii. 72.

1632. count de Pappenheim joined Walſtein, but the duke of Lunenburg never more beheld Guſtavus *!

Whilſt we have thus purſued the king's progreſs from Bavaria to Saxony, (by which extraordinary march he outſtripped even Walſtein's ideas of activity, and ſaved Erfurt and Naumburg †, a point of infinite importance to him, miſſing little, at the ſame time, of exceeding Pappenheim in the article of vigilance) we will, for a moment, refer ourſelves to the conduct of the Imperial chieftain, whom we left encamped at Weida in Vogtland, ſomething more than a fortnight before the preſent period.

This commander, having diſpatched Gallas into Bohemia, to aſſiſt Don Baltazar againſt Dubalt and Arnheim, commanded Holk to return from his depredations and ravages, and point his courſe towards the town of Leipſic, which both armies beſieged in form, and rendered themſelves maſters of in three days. And for this ſtep the Imperial generaliſſimo is greatly admired by the continuator of Foreſti, who applauds all bold ſtrokes, juſt upon the eve of ſome deciſive battle. The three inſtances he ſelects particularly on the occaſion, are, the paſſage of the Lech by Guſtavus, the ſiege of Magdeburg by Tilly, and the occupation of Leipſic by Walſtein's orders. Be that as it will, one thing is remarkable, that the commandant, who ſurrendered the caſtle this time, was the ſelf-ſame man, who reſigned it to Tilly the preceding campaign. If his name be worth preſerving, he was called Vopelius. And this may ſerve to ſhew, that the elector of Saxony was neither over delicate, nor over ſolicitous, in the choice of his officers. In a word, he cared little, which of the two contending powers obtained the ſuperiority.

Nor was Walſtein unactive during the ſiege of Leipſic-town and fortreſs: for in that interim he took poſſeſſion of Weiſſenfels, Merſburg, Naumburg, and Halle, (the caſtle thereof alone excepted) where ſome veteran Swedes remained, who ſtayed there on account of the wounds they received laſt year, in the battle of Leipſic.

Nor was the ſame general void of attention in another particular; for he had once formed a deſign of poſſeſſing Torgau-bridge by dint of

* Puffend. de Rebus Suec. p. 80. † Nani Hiſt. L. 9.

force,

force, by which means he propoſed to himſelf the choice of various and 1632.
diſtinct advantages; ſuch as the more eaſy reduction of Saxony, if that idea beſt pleaſed him; as alſo, a new embarraſſment of difficulties, in caſe the elector and Guſtavus propoſed to unite their forces, than which nothing appeared more probable. He had the power likewiſe, by this ſtroke of ſurprize, to enter Lower Luſatia, and the Marches of Brandenburg, and of courſe decline a battle, upon ſuppoſition he deemed ſuch a circumſtance truly eligible. But the elector of Saxony, who ſquared every motion by the king's directions, from whom he received expreſſes daily, had rendered this paſſage ſuperior to inſults of the impetuous and momentary kind; nor did Walſtein ever realize this ideal experiment; for having marched his whole force to Eülenberg, half way between Leipſic and Torgau, he there received an expreſs from Pappenheim, with information, that he was upon the wing to join him. On the receipt of which acceptable news, (for it is thought Walſtein would have ſhunned Guſtavus in the abſence of his velt-maréchal) he turned back to Leipſic by the road he came, and formed the junction at Merſburg.

Here Pappenheim, who had the power of over-perſuading all men in military matters, (for his bold ſtrong ſenſe had the appearance of irreſiſtibility) ſoon induced Walſtein, though in general the moſt reſerved, ſullen, and intractable commander of that age, to change his operations all at once, and embrace a project, which indeed had once occurred to him ſlightly, as we mentioned before, and that was, to croſs the Sala without delay, and occupy the principal towns and paſſes of Thuringia, particularly Weymar and Erfurt; foraſmuch as in the whole country duke Bernard had only one ſmall army, and his brother William, then indiſpoſed, could produce no greater ſtrength than 5000 ſoldiers, wherewith to garriſon the two cities laſt mentioned. As to the arrival of Guſtavus, with an army from Bavaria, that incident was foreſeen by no man *.

Whilſt theſe matters continued in profound agitation, news arrived, that the king of Sweden was on the banks of the Sala; which alarm in-

* Soldat Suedois. 823.

1632. dead was premature; for the report took its rise from the approach of duke Bernard's cavalry, whom the king had dispatched to intercept the rear-guard of Pappenheim's army. But in two days his majesty's arrival at Naumburg, and his approach into Saxony, were made manifest to Walstein beyond contradiction; who, immediately summoning all his troops to join him, under pain of death, directed his course from Leipsic to Lützen and Randstadt *, and there spread himself along the sides of the great high road, which leads into the heart of Saxony. He then sent expres after expres, fruitlesly, to recall Gallas, who by that time was advanced with 12,000 men into Bohemia, and procured from Leipsic a contribution of more than 8000 l. which he had demanded from the inhabitants about a week before: which first precaution appeared to him in no degree unnecessary, though at that time he did not sincerely believe, that Gustavus, at the head of 18,000 men, would have the confidence to attack a body of troops, amounting to 40,000, who had their choice of ground to entrench themselves, and a large train of heavy artillery; which prepossession led him afterwards into a slight mistake, and that was, the detaching Pappenheim to take possession of the town of Halle. For concluding, at least during the present conjuncture, that the whole winter would be spent unactively in quarters of cantonment, he esteemed the acquisition of that town, and the districts round it, as a safe and desirable enlargement of elbow-room; giving him, in truth, a sort of elliptical range along the banks of the Sala, from the city last mentioned, to the towns of Zeitz and Altenberg †.

Next morning the Imperial generaliſſimo advanced to Weissenfels, when the colonels Suecis ‡ and Bredarxo §, who had been sent to

† In this village, properly called Upper-Randstadt, is shewn a small passable house, where the duke of Marlborough made his applications to Charles XII. who resided therein a whole summer: and here the peace of Randstadt was formed and concluded, in the year 1707. This little mansion the author visited in 1748, in company with his ever-respected pupils, Mr. Elliot, and Mr. Stanhope, and that excellent historian, M. Mascow.

† Spanish relation by an Imperial officer, printed at Lisbon, 1633.

‡ § The Spanish relator seems to be mistaken in these officers names. The first, I think, should be Salis, and the second, I am sure, ought to be Breda.

Naumburg,

Naumburg, to bring into the military cheſt the arrears of a contribu- 1632.
tion due to Tilly, (concerning which we have ſpoken ſlightly before) returned abruptly, with no ſmall degree of precipitation, and declared the Swediſh army to be in full march againſt the Imperialiſts. This was little leſs than a thunder-ſtroke to Walſtein, whoſe preſence of mind began now to relinquiſh him: he had once an inclination to leave the road open to Leipſic and Dreſden, and reſerve to himſelf the power of oppreſſing the king's rear, and giving him battle when he ſaw occaſion. He then (which is not uncommon, when the calmneſs of the underſtanding begins to be ruffled) flew directly into an oppoſite project, and conceived an idea of attacking the king's lines ſword in hand; for by this time he heard, that a camp was to be ſtrongly fortified near the walls of Naumburg, a miſrepreſentation eaſy to be accounted for, ſince it was Guſtavus's cuſtom to entrench his army every night, when near the enemy. To this purpoſe it was his determination to take the ſtrait road from Weiſſenfels to Naumburg, (a diſtance of twelve miles, or ſomething under) but the paſſage was too narrow, and too miry, to be undertaken with ſafety. He then ſent the quarter-maſter-general, Julio Deodati, to examine the way, which leads through Zeitz; for it was Walſtein's cuſtom (which proceeded more from haughtineſs than the gout, which he alledged, as occaſion ſerved, for a general excuſe) to examine no ground with his own eyes. On the ſame principle, and not from *that*, which influenced Guſtavus, he diſdained convening a council of war; yet on this emergency had the condeſcenſion to requeſt Pappenheim to collect the private opinion of all the generals and colonels, who declared unanimouſly againſt attempting to force the Swediſh lines.

And now a new thought occurred to him, the true cauſe and motive whereof hath eſcaped the notice of all hiſtorians without exception, nay even of the Spaniſh relator, who was himſelf a diſtinguiſhed officer in the Imperial ſervice; and that was, the diſpatching Pappenheim to take poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of Halle, which commanded the great road, which his heart privately inclined him to purſue. All writers, of good ſenſe,

1632. ſenſe, appear to be puzzled *, why Walſtein ſhould detach Pappenheim, in whom himſelf and the army placed the greateſt confidence, at the very moment when that commander's preſence was moſtly wanted; for the Swediſh forces lay then but a few miles removed from the Imperialiſts. But the real reaſon of this movement appears to me to be preciſely thus: Walſtein, in his cooler hours of reflection, and at ſuch periods when reaſon gets the better of miſgiving apprehenſions, ſeemed in part convinced, that Guſtavus would not embark in an enterprize, where the diſproportion againſt him then lay, as that of forty oppoſed to eighteen. Beſides, as no general was more dextrous in procuring intelligence, it is probable his correſpondents informed him, that the king (which was truly and really the caſe) had no intentions to engage, till the Saxon and Lunenberg army could both conjoin their forces with his own; and therefore the Imperial general concluded, he had breathing-ſpace enough to diſpatch Pappenheim, whom he could recall in twenty hours, to ſecure the city and fortreſs of Halle; which, in truth, commanded the only great and practicable road, at that time of the year, which lay convenient for his private purpoſes. What theſe purpoſes might be, ſhall be explained directly. Walſtein did not greatly like the deciſion of an engagement, hand to hand with a commander like Guſtavus; and though he thought that prince had not temerity enough to offer him battle, during Pappenheim's abſence of three days, (which by the way he hoped to conceal till the ſtroke was completed) yet he foreſaw but too plainly, that the Swediſh monarch would force him into a general action, the very inſtant he had formed his conjunction with the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Lunenberg. For theſe reaſons, which centered entirely in his own breaſt, he choſe to eſchew a deciſive engagement, if that were poſſible; and having ſecured the great road he privately wiſhed for, propoſed to himſelf, in caſe of emergency, to give Guſtavus free paſſage to Leipſic and Dreſden, and commanding his whole army to file off to Halle in an inſtant, transfer, by this unexpected movement, the ſeat of war towards the coaſts of the Baltic, a

* At generaliſſimus, *neſcio qua mente*, Pappenheimium ut Hallas expugnaret, miſit. *Waſſenbergii Florus German.* p. 317.

point

point he ardently wished for, inasmuch as it had taken full possession 1632.
of his mind from the very moment he dislodged at Nurenberg. Yet from this single false step of detaching Pappenheim, which took its rise from diffidence and timidity, he lost his reputation at once as a great commander, and gave birth to that very encounter, which he laboured hitherto to divert or decline.

But to return to Gustavus. On Thursday, November the first, he arrived at Naumburg, and thence dispatched messengers, on the heels of messengers, with a plan of the junction he intended to form with the elector of Saxony and duke of Lunenberg, who both then lay at Torgau, making between them a small compact army, consisting of 4000 cavalry, and 4000 infantry; though some historians suppose their number to be nearly double. The king's idea of uniting these forces to his own consisted in this: that the elector of Saxony should advance fourteen miles on the western side * of the Mulda, to the town of Eülenberg; and that himself, during this interim, should march to Pegau, on the river Elster, fourteen miles to the south of Leipsic, and thence to Grimma, situated on the Mulda, eighteen miles to the east of Pegau, and fourteen to the south of Eülenberg, and that the conjunction should be formed at the place afore-mentioned, namely, Grimma. Whoever knows Saxony, and comprehends the disposition and lodgments of Walstein's army, will, at first sight, allow the present scheme to be finely concerted.

This self same day the king surveyed his encampments at Naumburg, and made a slight excursion round the country, to examine the aspect and position of the enemy; but the afternoon proved not so fortunate to some English adventurers, on the same errand, who falling into an ambush of Croatians, two out of three were taken prisoners †, and conducted that night to Weissenfels, where Walstein had then entrenched

* I should apprehend it ought to be on the eastern side of the Mulda; but not having examined the ground, which hath been carefully performed in most other important scenes of action, I chuse to confess myself should mistook ties before me.

† Namely, lieutenant-colonel Tyrwhit, and captain Fielding, who communicated their accounts of Walstein's behaviour, during the battle, to their friends in England; and from whence a print, which follows, hath been copied.

himself;

632. himſelf; who diſpatched Pappenheim forthwith to examine them ſtrictly, concerning the king's ſtrength, and his military deſigns. Walſtein then commanded them to be confined in the rear of his army, where they were ſpectators of the battle of Lützen.

At Naumburg the king dropped ſome expreſſions to Fabritius, his chaplain, which moſt hiſtorians have conſidered as prophetical; for in converſation he diſcovered great uneaſineſs, to behold himſelf, in ſome ſenſe, deified as it were by the generality of mankind: *I fear, doctor,* ſaid he, *ſome impending misfortune, either to my own perſon, or the proſperity of the Swediſh forces: I am received every where with undue joy, and undeſerved honours: the people rely too much on the probabilities of ſecond cauſes: their ſuppoſed ſecurity is a deception to them: they miſtake the true object of human addreſſes*: I take no delight in this ſort of incenſe;—— let the event be as it pleaſeth God† !——*

In addition to what hath been ſaid, many ſuppoſe the king, about this period, to have entertained certain miſgivings concerning his death. But without having recourſe to ſuch ſuperſtitious preſages, ſure it is, the braveſt of men may have their intervals of tenderneſs and ſenſibility; and this, without ſuppoſing it to be conſtitutional, may be occaſioned by the indiſpoſition of a ſingle fibre; though, for my own part, I think compaſſion, and ſedate reflection, were always intermingled with the character of Guſtavus. They ground their opinion upon part of a letter, diſpatched to the chancellor Oxenſtiern, which I ſhall venture to publiſh, as no ways derogatory from human nature; for never perſon acted with greater vivacity and preſence of mind, than his majeſty exhibited ſome days afterwards, on the plains of Lützen. Let the reader peruſe the extract, and refrain from ſympathizing, if that be poſſible.

* * * * * * *Though the cauſe I am embarked in is juſt and good, yet the event of war (propter delicta humana) muſt be deemed uncertain. Uncertain likewiſe is the duration of mortal life: therefore I beſeech and require you, in the name of our bleſſed Redeemer, to preſerve your fortitude*

* Hiſtorical and Authentic Relation, in Low Dutch, Tom. ii. p. 175.
† Swediſh Intelligencer, Part iii. 74. Memorab. Suec. Gentis, p. 144.

of

of ſpirit, though things may not proceed in exact conformity to my 1632.
wiſhes.——Remember likewiſe how I ſhould comport myſelf in regard to you, if by divine permiſſion I might live till THAT *period,* WHEN *you ſhould have occaſion for my aſſiſtances under any ſhape. Conſider me as a man, the guardian of a kingdom, who has conflicted with difficulties for* TWENTY YEARS, *and paſſed through them* WITH REPUTATION *by the protection and mercy of God; as a man, who loved and honoured his country and faithful ſubjects; as a man, who neglected* life, riches, *and* happy days, *for the preſervation and glory of thoſe he belonged to; expecting no remuneration, except to be pronounced* the perſon, *who fulfilled the duties of that ſtation, which Providence aſſigned him.——Thoſe, who ſurvive me, (for I with others muſt expect the ſtroke of mortality) are, on* MY *account, and for many* OTHER *reaſons, real objects of your commiſeration:* They are of the tender and defenceleſs Sex:—A helpleſs Mother, who wants a guide, and an innocent Daughter *, who requires a protector!—Natural affection forces theſe lines from the hand of a Son and a Parent!——*But I muſt reſume myſelf and recommend them, together with my ſoul and body, to the protection of the Supreme Being, expecting better things on earth than my preſent melancholy now preſages, and eternal life, peace, and happineſs hereafter in heaven, which may God beſtow on you, at his own appointed time and hour!* †

GUSTAVUS.

The next day after the conference with Fabritius his majeſty examined, in perſon, all the approaches and paſſes about Naumburg, having as yet formed no reſolution to give Walſtein battle ‡; but propoſing rather to examine the great roads, that lay between his camp and that of the Imperialiſts, which paſſages he found upon inſpection to be very deep and difficult. But the ſubject of this expedition being purely occaſional and incidental, his grand and principal intention was, (and therefore he commanded abroad ſeveral ſtrong parties of cavalry) to en-

* The princeſs Chriſtina was then eight years of age.

† Loccenii Hiſt. Suec. 4°. pag. 605, 606.

‡ Puffendorff de Rebus Suecicis, p. 80.

1632. gage his troops in ſome ſharp ſkirmiſhes, in order to obtain from priſoners more certain intelligence of Walſtein's ſituation, and examine carefully, during this confuſion, the true nature of the road, that led to Pegau, with a view to effectuate his conjunction more dextrouſly with the elector of Saxony and duke of Lunenberg.

The following morning, being Sunday, a Saxon peaſant came running to the king with a letter in his hand, which Coloredo had engaged him to carry to an Imperial officer, then quartered at Querfurt. This letter appears to have been written the Saturday evening. Its purport was, "that he (the officer) ſhould march to Halle, and join Pappenheim the next morning *, at which time his excellency, the "generaliſſimo, had determined to remove his camp from Weiſſenfels "to Lützen:" Both which circumſtances gave Guſtavus uncommon joy; for he was never known to diſlike the abſence of Pappenheim: and the removal of Walſtein from Weiſſenfels in no ſenſe diſpleaſed him; for that town lay directly in the way of his intended expedition, whereby he propoſed to unite his forces to thoſe of Saxony; and Lützen is removed about nine miles from the high road, which leads to Pegau.

Upon receiving the two articles of intelligence above-mentioned, the king, who had always a ſecret appetite to fighting, convened duke Bernard and Kniphauſen to his own apartment, having no great opinions of tumultuous councils of war for many reaſons. He there expounded

* Le Barre, uſually judicious, and on moſt occaſions the beſt inſtructed hiſtorian I know, ſuppoſes Pappenheim to have received orders from Walſtein, after the reduction of Halle, to advance to Cologn: which extraordinary digreſſion no ways ſeems to ſquare with the then preſſing and urgent neceſſities of the Imperial generaliſſimo. But this difficulty is better ſolved by the plain narration of a participant in war, than by the refined ſpeculations of an hiſtorian in the cloſet. In a word, the caſe ſtood thus. At the preſent period, a ſtrong report prevailed [*Spaniſh Relation, printed at Liſbon*, 1633.] that count Henry Vander-Berg, at the head of an army of Hollanders, was in full march to inveſt Cologn, whoſe elector was a faithful friend to the Imperial intereſts. Upon this the Auſtrian party *ſuppoſed*, that Pappenheim having rendered himſelf maſter of Halle, would advance thence to the banks of the Weſer, and having joined the reſidue of his own army under Gronſfelt, make ſome attempts to raiſe the ſiege; and that Walſtein, perhaps might be induced to follow him, in hopes to draw Guſtavus ſtill farther from the heart of the empire. Such were men's ideas for a few days; but the alarm was falſe, and ſoon vaniſhed into air. *Spaniſh Relation ut ſupra.*

to

to theſe two commanders the particular circumſtances of Walſtein's 1632.
ſituation, and deſired their opinions candidly and generouſly without reſerve. The former, as is congenial to the temperament of youthful warriors, took flame immediately, and declared for action. The latter, brave as the youngeſt combatant in the army, but matured by reflection, and chaſtiſed in imagination by experience, pronounced uniformly and ſteadily, at the firſt glance, that an engagement at the preſent juncture was no ways reconcileable to the true ſcience of war: "For, ſaid he, no commander is obliged to encounter an enemy greatly ſuperior to him in ſtrength, except compelled by ſome preſſing and unavoidable neceſſity. War is an affair of demonſtration; and not an unpremeditated effuſion of animal ſpirits. His majeſty is neither circumſcribed in place, nor deficient in proviſions, forage, or military ſtores." The king ſubmitted with complacency to good ſenſe wherever he found it; though it is poſſible the firſt motions of his heart inclined him to undertake an action, that carried with it ſuch a ſhining appearance, both of glory and difficulty; yet making no remonſtrance, aſſured both his generals poſitively, with an air of calmneſs, that he would decline the engagement, and march to join the elector of Saxony the enſuing morning *.

Leaving therefore the groſs of his baggage, and a ſufficient garriſon in the town of Naumburg, he ordered his drums and trumpets to ſummon the army into motion at one hour after midnight; for he always diſdained ſtealing a march, except occaſions were preſſing and hazardous; and, it is probable, though he declined oppoſing Kniphauſen's arguments, that he did not privately diſlike an attack from Walſtein, in caſe that general ſhould think fit to obſtruct his journey; for the ground he well knew was one wide-ſpread, unvarying plain, which gave the enemy no particular advantage. Four hours before it was day-light, the whole

* Spanheim and Chemnitz ſuppoſe the king to have advanced directly from Naumburg to Lützen, without any intention to join the Saxons. [*Soldat Suedois*, 824, 825. *Bellum Suec. Germ.* Tom. i. 347.] Which ſuppoſition, threw ſome reflection on his majeſty's military prudence, though nothing of that kind was originally intended by the hiſtorians.

1632. army was under march, and being now arrived half way to Pegau, and reposing itself for the sake of a momentary refreshment, having by this time (it being now ten in the morning) advanced nine miles; some gentry of the country and peasants came hastening towards the king with full and positive assurances, (which report was likewise confirmed by straggling prisoners gleaned up here and there) that the Imperial army, which lay then on a line to the north-west, loosely and thinly dispersed in various villages, had received no alarm, nor the least intelligence of his majesty's motions. This idea (adding thereto the absence of Pappenheim) took possession of the king's mind all at once: he thought it no ways difficult to cut the several Imperial quarters to pieces one by one, before it was possible for Walstein to collect any considerable mass of forces together. Calling therefore all his generals round him in an instant, he, who had never yet declared his sentiments upon this occasion concerning fighting, proposed the enterprize without hesitation, and the proposal was received with the liveliest demonstrations of applause and joy. He then asked the country gentlemen, how many miles it might be to Lützen? They replied, *There, Sire, there, it lies directly under your eye.* And here arose a fatal mistake too well known to the cool and unprepossessed observer. For the country being (with a slight exception) one uniform level, and the buildings of the church and castle high in themselves, and standing likewise on a sort of eminence, the town of Lützen appeared to be one half nearer the Swedes than it really was; or in other words, to be removed five miles from the army, instead of eight miles and something more. And here it must be observed further, that as the ground was an immense tract of corn-lands, fresh-ploughed to receive the grain, the passage proved to be miry and difficult beyond description. But the error of distance was not observed, and the difficulty of marching seemed to be unforeseen: which in the high and sudden ardor of generals and soldiers might be easily overlooked. At a single instant the whole army made its evolutions, and pointed its course towards Lützen. Never were troops known to advance with such amazing alacrity; but the ground clung to the middleg like clay, and when they came within two miles of the desired ob-

just; there was a morafly swamp to pass, formed by a creeping half- 1632.
stagnated rivulet, over which lay a paltry bridge, where only two persons could cross a-breast. In and near a nameless village *, on the opposite side, were lodged a regiment of cuirassiers and another of Croatians, who far from disputing the pass, took the alarm, and formed themselves on a little eminence beyond the water. It was now sun-set by the time the whole Swedish army had cleared the pass, and disengaged itself from this unexpected encumbrance; and, to the sensible mortification and disappointment of the whole army, the Swedes had only day-light sufficient to dislodge the two regiments from the post they had possessed. This was effected by a very sharp and spirited attack, whose success the king facilitated greatly, by fixing some field-pieces on another little eminence, which bore hard on the enemies flank. In the heat of this rencounter one standard was taken, which all men considered (conformably to the genius of that age) as a well promising and prosperous omen; for thereon was depictured the Austrian eagle displayed, and the goddess fortune; with the following inscription underneath, *Fortuna & aquila Romana* †. Some Swedes considered this as a very promising omen ‡: but the generality rested the event upon other hopes.

——Romano militi dignus,
Ensis adest augur——

Yet still it was remarked, that his majesty discovered no great signs of satisfaction, when this trophy was presented to him; not that he wanted dexterity to encourage any idea, which inspired his troops with vivacity and confidence, but in truth he was chagrined to the heart at the deception of distance we have lately mentioned, and perceived now, that (for the first time in his military life) he was obliged to give battle,

* I have since learned, that this village was called Rippach.

† The particularity of this ensign was not so great, as the Swedish army seemed disposed to interpret it; for most of the Croatians bore the Austrian eagle on the front side of their standards, and on the opposite side were the emblem and motto. I have seen the same eagle engraven on the officers partizans of that age.

‡ Soldat Suedois, 825.

1632. not abſolutely againſt his judgment, but in a certain manner uncon-formable therewith. Nevertheleſs, as it was this prince's peculiar character to poſſeſs himſelf more and more in proportion as diſtreſs and difficulty encreaſed upon him, he ſoon aſſumed that air of compoſed confidence, which men uſually wear, who rely upon ſome reſource of firmneſs and genius, at the very period, that their friends ſuppoſe their danger to be next to inevitable.

About this time, it is certain, ſome one of Guſtavus's generals, not improbably Kniphauſen, adviſed him ſtill to meditate a retreat and repaſs the rivulet, which the miſt next morning gave him full opportunity to effectuate. It was urged likewiſe, that the royal army wanted reſt and proviſions, and that it bordered on temerity to aſſail a double number of forces, protected by batteries, and ſecured by entrenchments. But the die was caſt, and the king replied with a tone of deciſion, *That he could not bear to ſee Walſtein under his beard without making ſome animadverſions; and that no diſinclination, on his part, had ever hindered him from bringing the conteſt to a fair experiment. I long, ſaid he, to un-earth him once from his ſubterraneous hiding-places, and behold with my own eyes, how he can acquit himſelf in a champaign country* *. And now the king having croſſed the paſs, found himſelf under an indiſpenſable obligation to engage the enemy; for had he attempted to return the next morning, (at leaſt according to his own ideas) he might have run the riſque of incurring a total defeat, or ſacrificing at leaſt the very flower of his army. He determined therefore, without heſitation, to begin the action two entire hours before day-light; for Walſtein's quarters lay remotely diſperſed, and Pappenheim (who had taken with him twelve regiments of the league) could not be ſuppoſed to return in leſs ſpace than eighteen hours.——Walſtein appeared to be thunderſtruck at this unexpected viſit from Guſtavus. He diſpatched an officer immediately to Pappenheim with orders to relinquiſh his undertaking, however proſperous it might be; and inſtructions were conveyed to the chieftains in their ſeveral quarters, to repair forthwith to the general rendezvous on the

* Soldat Suedois, p. 827, 828.

the

the plains of Lützen. Thus the greater part of the Imperial army began its march before midnight, and ſome, who lay enquartered more remotely, did not reach their generaliſſimo till the enſuing morning *. 1632.

Mean while Wallſtein, having diſpatched his orders to recall Pappenheim, and collect his forces; and recovering, by degrees, his wonted preſence of mind, began at length to reflect ſeriouſly on the nature of the ground, occupied by himſelf, or poſſeſſed by Guſtavus. To underſtand both which circumſtances better, it muſt be remarked by the reader, that a large high way, from Lützen to Leipſic, biſects the plain in a line, that extends from weſt to eaſt, but gently ſlanteth to the eaſtward; on the ſouthern-ſide of which lay the Swedes, and the Imperialiſts on the northern. A great part of this road was then garniſhed, on each ſide, with middle-aged oſier-trees, and, as the ſoil was moiſt, deep, and rich, a conſiderable trench had been cut, on either hand, to prevent travellers from making excurſions along the cornfields †. The tract of land, which Guſtavus covered, was plain and uniform; but on Wallſtein's right, near the town of Lützen, lay a gently-riſing eminence, where ſome windmills were erected ‡. Here, about nine at night, he fixed two large batteries of heavy artillery, and ſecured them, in front and flank, with an entrenchment: the lower line played directly on the left-wing of the Swedes; and the uppermoſt threw its balls, obliquely, through the center of the right-wing. He then protected his own main-body with field-ordnance; and as it was well foreſeen where the king affected to appear, he placed there (namely, againſt the right-wing of the Swedes) a fourth battery, compoſed of the heavieſt

* Chemnitz. Tom. i. 373.

† Two ditches, one on each ſide, ran parallel with the road. (Chemnitz. Tom. i. 73.) That next the king was rendered deepeſt by Wallſtein, and continues ſo to this hour.

‡ It is remarkable, that there was no material variation in the fields of Lützen, from the year 1632, to the year 1748, when the author examined them, and compared the preſent ichnography of the ground, with the drafts publiſhed immediately after the battle, by Lotichius, Merian, Gabler, Sandrart, Danckaertz, &c. &c. That very day, a cuiraſſier's ſpur was ploughed up, of enormous magnitude, and the head of a pike, or partizan, very curiouſly engraven.

and

1632. and moſt deſtructive pieces. Whereas Guſtavus, who valued the advantages of artillery as much as he, and underſtood its management far better, had only with him ſome few cannons of a moderate ſize, and a decent number of common field-pieces, (two, I think, at the head of each regiment) ſuch as are uſually tranſported with armies, in marches of expedition. At ten in the evening Walſtein ordered his pioneers, and ſoldiers, to deepen and widen the ditches on the road-ſide, till they had brought them to the due height of a parapet; and at this work they laboured inceſſantly, till the battle began next morning *.

The royal army carried nothing with it, except ſuch few things as were indiſpenſably neceſſary. The king himſelf was not proprietor of a field equipage; but paſſed the whole night in his coach, accompanied by Kniphauſen, and duke Bernard: and as the ſoldiers had taken ſome ſlight entertainment before noon, and propoſed to refreſh themſelves better the ſame evening at Torgau, (where diſpoſitions had been made for their reception) it is not certain, what ſort of repaſt was prepared for them, that night, on the plains of Lijtzen. Monro aſſures us †, they ſtood to their arms in perfect battaglia; for which the reaſons will appear ſelf-evident, in the enſuing paragraph.

His majeſty paſſed the night, partly in diſcourſe with his generals, and partly in profound contemplation. On one point he fixed his mind, as it were intuitively; and that was, to give the enemy battle two hours before break of day, well foreſeeing, that their forces then could never be truly formed; that a great part of the troops could not reach the ſtation appointed; and that the paſſage of the ditches could not be made ſo difficult, as it might be rendered in a few ſucceeding hours. But every circumſtance, if we except undiſmayed valour and firmneſs of mind, proved unfavourable to Guſtavus. The night appeared to be ſeveral degrees darker than uſual; and a miſt prevailed in the ſkies, which, at intervals in the enſuing day, rendered the air ſo obſcure, that it was hardly poſſible to diſcern an object truly, at the diſtance of two pike's length.

* Hiſt. or Auth. Relat. Tom. ii. 172. in Low Dutch, fol. † Part ii. 163.

At

At the moments the dawn of morning begins first to appear, he found it impossible to perform any exploit in the martial way *; and therefore, sending for Fabritius, his chaplain, commanded him to celebrate divine service, and ordered prayers to be read at the head of each regiment, so far as the respective clergymen could be found, in such a sudden and unforeseen expedition. The king was then asked to take some refreshment, but declined the proposal. He was requested likewise to cloath himself in steel, according to the custom of that age; but his answer was, *The Lord is my armour*. Some † indeed say, he had lately received a contusion in one of his shoulders, from a musquet ball, which rendered the least pressure of his cuiras an insupportable torment to him. But be that as it will, he only changed his yesterday's cloaths, and wore a new plain cloth-coat, and an elk-skin buff-waistcoat, which fell afterwards into Holk's hands, and is still preserved at Vienna. About eight in the morning, the sun began to dispel the fogs, and gave the promise of a bright and un-tempestuous day; when lo, a new and unforeseen difficulty presented itself! For in the strait line, whereon the Swedish left-wing proposed to advance, lay a deep ditch, too difficult for the troops to cross; so that the king was obliged to make his whole army edge to the right, and then occupy the space, which lay between the *Flusgraben* (for so the Germans call a wet-ditch cut to drain lands ‡) and Walstein's army; leaving his ammunition-waggons, his coach, and the few conveniencies, that belonged to the army, in the village of Churstitz, as will appear more distinctly by the plan. This motion cost some trouble, and employed no small quantity of time: at length, towards the hour of nine in the morning, his majesty, riding with an air of briskness up and down the lines, and ordering two hymns § to be sung publickly, addressed himself to his

1632.

* *Memoires communicated.* Merian Theatr. Europ. 746.

† I have given this circumstance a place in my text, (not from authority of De Prade, whose good faith I have never once depended on, but) because Spanheim, (Soldat Sued. 828.) and the Swedish Intelligencer, both support the assertion. (Part iii. 128.) All I know is, it no ways appears, where the king received this contusion; and, if I mistake not, he wore no armour at the battle of Leipsic.

‡ Others say, *The Graeben*, i. e. ditches to float wood.

§ Taken from the 46th and 67th psalms.

1632. Swediſh ſoldiers: *My companions, and my friends, ſhew the public, this day, what you really are. Acquit yourſelves like men of ſervice; obſerve your orders, and behave valiantly, for your own ſakes, as well as mine. If you do this, you will find the benediction of heaven on the point of your ſwords, honour, and the recompence of valour. But, on the contrary, if you think of flight, and ſelf-preſervation, then your infamy is certain, as well as my diſgrace, and your deſtruction.——And I here proteſt to you, on the veracity of a king, that not an atom of your bones ſhall ever return into Sweden* *. Thence haſtening to the German regiments, who formed chiefly the ſecond line, he ſpoke to them briefly thus; lowering a little the tone of authority: *Friends, officers, and ſoldiers, let me conjure you to act the valorous part this enſuing day.——You ſhall fight, not only under me, but with me.——My own blood ſhall point you the track, whereby to follow me.——Keep religiouſly within your ranks, and ſecond your leader with reſolution.——If you do this, victory is ours, and all its advantages, which you, and your poſterity, will not fail to enjoy.——But if you once give ground, from that moment your lives and liberties become a ſacrifice to the enemy* †.

On the concluſion of theſe two ſhort harangues one univerſal ſhout of acclamation paſſed, from regiment to regiment, throughout the army.

The king's field-diſpoſition ‡, proceeded upon the ſame principles, enlarged and improved, as had been laſt year exhibited at Leipſic. And here we muſt obſerve with pleaſure, that Puffendorff, and the authors of the Swediſh Intelligencer, and Low Dutch Relation, agree almoſt to a tittle in every word concerning this arrangement. The whole army was formed upon two lines; but the troops appear to me to be *no ways ſo good* as thoſe produced upon the theatre laſt

* Soldat Suedois, p. 829. Merc. Franç. Swediſh Intell. Part iii.

† I have preferred theſe ſpeeches to thoſe recorded by Chemnitius, which, in imitation of the practice of the ancient hiſtorians, ſeem to ſavour more of the library, than of the field. Beſides, the *Soldat Suedois*, the *Mercure François*, and the *Intelligencer*, all came out at the ſame period, in Switzerland, France, and England; and each author relates, nearly word for word, the very paſſages, that I have preſerved.

‡ Chemnitz. de Bello Sueco. Germanico. p. 372.

mentioned;

mentioned; ſo conſuming is the *wear* and *tear* of war, even on the proſ- 1632.
perous and victorious ſide. Many regiments were diſcordant maſſes, compoſed from broken ones: that of Lowenſtein, in particular, had been ſo lately raiſed, as not to be proprietor of a ſingle ſtandard; and the principal generals, ſuch as Horn, Banier, Bauditzen, and Dubalt, were all abſent. His majeſty, according to cuſtom, took upon himſelf the conduct of the right wing, where were diſpoſed ſix regiments of native Swedes, ſupported by five intermingled bodies of muſqueteers. The left-wing was committed to duke Bernard's care, and conſiſted of the like number of cavalry, and intermixed infantry. The center was compoſed of the four invincible brigades, or columns, namely, the pretorian, or yellow guards, the firſt brigade, the white *, and the blue; ſupported by Henderſon's reſerve of Scottiſh infantry, and commanded by Nicholas Brahé count of Weiſſenburg.

The ſecond line conſiſted of the ſame numbers with the firſt, in reſpect both to regiments and brigades, ranged preciſely on like principles, excepting that the reſerve conſiſted of cavalry inſtead of infantry. Bulach commanded the right wing, Kniphauſen led the main-body, and Erneſt, prince of Anhalt, conducted the left-wing. It was the king's cuſtom, at this period, to make his battle-lines only four deep in cavalry, and ſix in infantry; whereas Walſtein, following the ancient practice of the Low-Countries, advanced always ten deep, at the very leaſt. The watch-word, on both ſides, was the ſame, that had been uſed at Leipſic. The Swedes had twenty field-pieces, of a moderate ſize, diſpoſed here and there to the beſt advantage; and ſeveral portable cannons, of the king's invention, were deſtined to advance in the fronts of each body of intermingled muſqueteers †.

It

* Some ſay the *green*.

† The chevalier de Folard muſt make a miſtake in the arrangement, and plan, which he forms of the king's forces; and I think ſo the rather, becauſe he errs in the ichnographical windings of the *Fluſsgraben*, and the poſition of the gallows: ſo that it appears probable to me, that he never beheld the plains of Lützen, nor rightly knew the number of the Swediſh forces. For he allows to the eight columns, on the loweſt computation, many more men, than the king, at that time, could produce; or more than he employed in the brigade, or column, then practiſed by him. He errs likewiſe, in diſpoſing fifteen bodies of infantry behind the columns, when, in truth, the reſerves of Henderſon and Ohem made

1632. It is hard to give the reader a diſtinct account of the Imperial diſpoſitions in this day's ſervice; for ſo greatly was Guſtavus admired, in the character of a field-officer, that the generality of plans, which have fallen within my reach, bear an eye principally to the Swediſh form of embattlement. Of Walſtein's therefore we ſhall ſay the leſs, as we are unable to ſpecify, by name, what colonels commanded the reſpective regiments; and likewiſe, to pronounce decidedly, which of the two Imperial ground-plots, here exhibited, was realized by the commander in chief: whether, for example, *that* we have admitted into the body of the copper-plate, which is Dankaertz's; or *that* ſubjoined, and enclоſed within a line, which reſts upon the authority of the Swediſh intelligencer; for both writers were faithful collectors, and publiſhed their delineations ſoon after the death of Guſtavus. In my own private opinion, it appeared beſt to give the preference to the *firſt*, as it is drawn up, to a certain degree, upon two lines; the only notable variation being, that in the center of the ſecond plan ſtands arranged Picoolomini's regiment of cavalry amidſt the infantry. We can however obſerve, with greater certainty, that Walſtein, in imitation of Guſtavus, condeſcended to mix ſome infantry amongſt his cavalry, behind the windmills: that the conduct of the left-wing was committed to Holk, ſupreme director there till Pappenheim arrived, (who always made a point of oppoſing Guſtavus:) the right-wing was entruſted to Coloredo, and Walſtein undertook the command of the main-body, making his appearance, during the whole engagement, in a ſedan chair, which his friends attributed to the gout, and his enemies imputed to timidity, and diſſimulation of ſickneſs.

When the king ſaw the vaſt extent of the Imperial line of battle, he could not refrain from obſerving to his followers, that if Walſtein was

made only one regiment of foot, and one of cavalry, marked in the plan 53, and 54. And thus Folard, by two augmentations, hath magnified the royal army *one third*, at leaſt, beyond the truth: nevertheleſs, the diſpoſition of the two reſerves is neither incorrect, nor unnatural. It is probable, if his Swediſh majeſty had been maſter of 5000 ſupernumerary ſoldiers, he might have placed them as the chevalier hath arranged them. But as we have the names by us of every diſtinct corps, which ſerved that day under Guſtavus, and cannot produce troops ſufficient to enlarge the columns, and make good the imaginary battalions, we find ourſelves obliged to paſs theſe remarks on an author highly excellent in moſt other reſpects.

ſupported

ſupported in a manner equal to appearance, he could not produce leſs 1632.
than 30,000 effective men; and by the way freſh regiments were then marching every moment to the Auſtrian army, and Pappenheim's corps was expected by noon: ſo that the Walſteiners in effect brought 40,000 men into the field, before the day's ſervice was concluded; and as the town of Lützen touched the extremity of the Imperial right wing, care was taken to ſet fire to the out-lying houſes, and line the garden walls with ſtrong bodies of muſqueteers, which performed unſpeakable miſchief the next day, till duke Bernard at night cut 300 of them to pieces.

It is agreed likewiſe by moſt authors, that Walſtein arranged his army on two lines, or ſomething nearly reſembling thereto; and that the centre conſiſted of four ſquare maſſes of infantry, poſted on the angles of a larger ſquare;---that each of theſe bodies contained two Imperial regiments, amounting perhaps (for war had made ſome havock amongſt them) to 3000 men, or thereabouts;---the inner ſquare conſiſting of pikemen, and the outward of muſqueteers;---the whole group intirely ſolid:---and foraſmuch as the angles of ſuch a figure are eaſily diſparted or ſtruck off from the main body, each corner was garniſhed with a little lozenge made up of fifty muſqueteers, which, like a ſort of Satellites, attended the motions of theſe larger Jupiters. And thus, ſaith Folard * very ſenſibly, a firſt error was corrected by the ſubſtitution of a ſecond ſtill more paradoxical.

His majeſty, the beſt officer of infantry the world had ever ſeen †, placed his confidence this day, as he did at Leipſic, on the doctrine of columns,

* Traité de la Colonne. p. lxiv.

† It may not be un-inſtructive, under this article, to ſubjoin a few remarks relating to the field arrangements of the king, the morality and diſcipline of his troops &c. made by a perſon of condition as early as in the month of November 1630, long before his more perfect amendments and regulations took place. The account, ſaith an exact hiſtorian, ran thus;

"Dicebat ſe *novam & pulcherrimam* in ipſius exercitu *formam acici* obſervaſſe, quam hoc loco deſcribere nimis prolixum foret. Summa huc redit, eam munitioni ſimilem, quæ ab omni parte, qua hoſti acceſſus patet, eum deſtinatis ictibus petere queat: neque tantum machinas commode poſſe diſploſi, ſed etiam quemque ſclopetarium viritim jaculari, & hoſtem ferire: quod in magno agmine quadrato fieri nequeat, ubi duobus aut tribus ordinibus ſclopeta diſplodentibus reliqui ictus ſint inanes, adeo ut agmen illud ab irruente equitatu facile diſſolvi poſſit; quod in acie Suecica fieri nequeat; nam priuſquam

1632. columns, one of the fineſt pieces of military machinery (ſay ſome writers) that human wit can deviſe for the ſervice of the field; ſince bodies of infantry thus drawn up arranged, and ſupported, may be pronounced with juſtice to be next to invincible. What this column *preciſely was in detail*, even before or at the battle of Leipſic, could at this period never be known, if a minute drawing of lord Rea, one of his majeſty's favourite colonels, had not been preſerved, by mere good fortune. That the king in the preſent engagement improved or (through ſcarcity of forces) altered the plan delineated by lord Rea, is a circumſtance highly probable; but whether the Frenchman's drawing be ſtrictly true, either as to the configuration or arrangement of the brigade, ſhall be left to the deciſion of better judges *. And

quam hoſtilis equitatus ſe loco movere aut impetum facere poſſit, ſclopetarios ſub præſidio non tantum haſtatorum, ſed etiam equitum, tanquam duorum propugnaculorum, quæ ad latera habeant, tutos eſſe: adhæc multos gradus inter ſclopetarios eſſe ad receptum, ut priuſquam hoſtilis equitatus ad ultimum agmen pervenire & illud diſturbare poſſit, eum diſſipari neceſſe ſit. Cum igitur coherentia totius aciei, equitatus & peditatus, tormentorum majorum ac minorum, nec non ſclopetariorum, maximi ſit momenti: ſe non videre, quomodo hujuſmodi acies, niſi Deo ita volente, aut ſi prius quam inſtructa ſit, hoſtis eam ex improviſo invadat, fundi fugarique poſſit: in eo autem victoriam verti, ut ordines ſerventur, nec acies rumpatur.

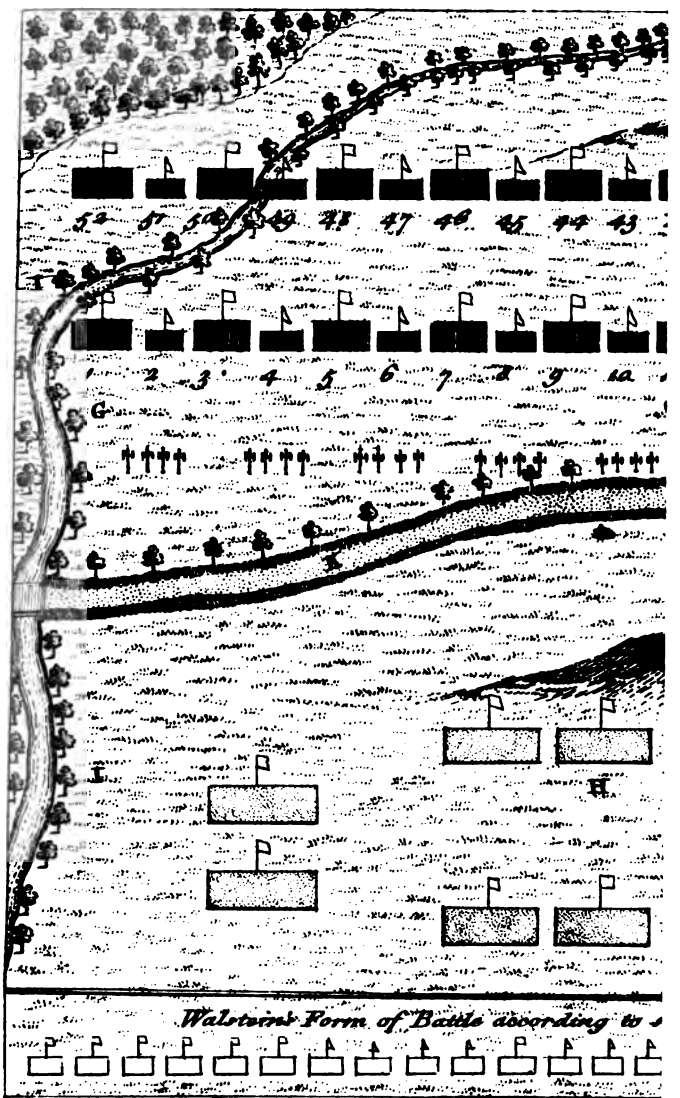
Regem in conflictu (quod experientia teſtatur) imperterritum, nec minus præſenti animo eſſe, quam ſi ſit in convivio: periculum omne, ubi opus ſit, contemnere: à metu, qui oculos excæcet, & animum dejiciat, prorſus liberum eſſe: milites autem ipſius ita exercitatos, ut licet ordines ipſorum turbentur, eos mox reſtituere, & in locum ſuum redire poſſint: quod eo facilius ſit, quia tertia fere pars exercitus ex præfectis & ducibus conſtet: quod ſit robur exercitus.

Denique ſummopere ſibi placuiſſe dicebat, *quod ſingulis diebus, præter exactam diſciplinam, preces certis horis per tota caſtra bis devote habeantur,* & Deus rogetur, ut ipſis victoriam largiatur, milite diligenter monito, *felices ſucceſſus à Deo proficiſci.* *******

Cum igitur tam fortes atque animoſos ſe [Sueci milites] præbeant, Germanos & Scotos ipſorum exemplo excitari, ut mori malint quam aliquo delicto commiſſo honoris ſui jacturam facere, aut ab aliis in officio faciendo ſuperari. Regem autem ex hac æmulatione multum emolumenti capere: quam ita fovere & moderari norit, *ne gens una alteram odio proſequatur, ſed unaquæque fidem & virtutem ſuam Regi probet.*

* Folard ſeems to have received his idea of the brigade from traditional accounts; for *that*, which is ſubſtituted by him, carries little or no reſemblance to lord Rea's actual delineation, nor to the alteration of it into *one half, or thereabouts*, [See Plans II. Vol. I. p. 390.] as his majeſty on certain occaſions might be induced to practiſe; but *it* bears more than a ſmall ſimilitude to the king's diviſion of *one* brigade into *four*; each of which *fourths* was denominated a *battaglia*, [See the ſame plate annext N°. III. and IV. ibid.] but ſure we are, that *theſe battaglias* could not be ſtrong enough for the central parts in the engagement at Lützen, and therefore Folard's ichnographical repreſentation muſt be defective.

It is probable the king uſed the *half brigade* in this day's ſervice; for we have certain proofs he *did ſo* in the battle of Leipſic, ſince Dankärtz aſſures us, that each corps conſiſted of 1200 men; and the half-brigade (or more properly the *improved brigade* of the *ſecond* ſize N°. II.) contained, according to our computation, 1224 men.


Walsteins Form of Battle according to
H.W. delin
A. Swedish Army.
B. Imperial Army.
C. The Kings Post.
D. Walstein.
E. Duke Bernard.
F. Colonedo.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

And here, in addition to what hath been formerly ſaid, it may 1632.
be worth remarking, that the glory of this day's ſervice muſt be attributed ſolely to the column of Guſtavus, which, in truth, according to the opinion of ſeveral excellent judges, exceedeth all field diſpoſitions, not only in fair campaign, but alſo in rough and contracted ground; ſo that ſome writers, without aſſuming the gift of prophecy, have ventured to predict, that poſterity one time or other will adopt this idea and ſupport it with earneſtneſs. Let us only therefore compare the column in queſtion with thoſe two military diſpoſitions, which moſt reſemble it. It exceedeth the old Burgundian ſquare of Walſtein, not only in ſimplicity, velocity, and diverſity of motion, but becauſe its angles are, ſtrictly ſpeaking, unaſſailable, giving the adverſary neither hold nor entrance in whatever form he propoſes to attack them. And again, this very quadrangular maſs of Walſtein, (the propereſt configuration extant, whereby to oppoſe the column of Guſtavus, except another column conformable to that prince's arrangement) ſurpaſſes that refinement upon him, which the moderns have ſurnamed the *hollow ſquare*, whoſe corners are ſtill weaker than thoſe of the other, and its impreſſion or reſiſtance leſs violent. But the brigade or column of Guſtavus is ſolid upon all occaſions, and verſatile in every reſpect; its fire, without talking figuratively, may be ſtiled perpetual, and 'tis capable of being diverſified upon every new occurrence *ad infinitum:* It can contract itſelf in danger, or dilate in the moment of ſucceſs with equal eaſe; and as in the diſparting of ſolid bodies, (if one may draw a compariſon from humbler ſubjects) more wedges than one, of ſizes different, are ſuppoſed to be neceſſary; thus an individual column *pro re nata*, in a ſingle inſtant, can divide itſelf into a couple of columns differing in no reſpects from the parent, which gave them birth, except in the circumſtances of weight and magnitude.

men. So that this brigade, N° II. was not properly *half* in *ſuch proportion* as the battaglia was a *fourth*; for the numbers ſtood thus:

Original brigade — —	2016
Half, or reformed — —	1,224
Battaglia — — —	504

It

1632. It hath been aſked by many, how this great tactical invention took its flight from the world *at once* after the death of Guſtavus? To which queſtion it may ſuffice to reply, that it expired by *ſwift degrees*, but not *inſtantaneouſly*. For the Swediſh general Kniphauſen fought and conquered upon the principle of columns at the battle of Oldendorp in 1633, and five campaigns afterwards the victory of Wittenweyr, where duke Bernard commanded, and Turenne and Guébriant ſerved under him, was obtained by imitating the ſelf ſame practice *.

But to return from this digreſſion, which perhaps may obtain the reader's pardon:—about nine in the morning the king drew his ſword, and placed himſelf at the head of the right wing, attended by the duke of Sax-Lauenberg, Crailſham the grand maſter of his houſehold, a body of Engliſh and Scottiſh gentlemen, (whom he had *reformed* at Schlenſing, and deſtined to be a ſort of aids-de-camp) and ſome few domeſtics and grooms. But as Walſtein had outſpread him on that ſide in the mighty front, which he extended, his majeſty was obliged to call in for aſſiſtance from the line of cavalry, which was poſted behind him †, and when Kniphauſen miſſed theſe troops from their ſtation, and begged by meſſage to know what was become of them, the king returned him back word by the duke of Sax-Lauenberg, that after one charge, he ſhould find them at his ſervice in their old poſition.

By this time the cannonading began to grow extremely violent; for Walſtein's artillery, though not great in quantity, was exceedingly heavy, and being well arranged on proper batteries, made uncommon ſlaughter amongſt the Swediſh ſoldiers. This ſharpened the king to bring on a general engagement as ſpeedily as poſſible, having nothing with him but field-pieces, and ſmall portable cannons. His whole army had the ditches to croſs, which were well lined with muſqueteers, and had been rendered by Walſtein five feet deep, which incommoded the cavalry moſt eſpecially; yet this important obſtacle

* Merian, Theatr. Europæum. Tom. II. † Namely N°. 19. 21. 22. commanded by Bulach.

was

was at length surmounted, and the commanded musqueteers, in con- 1632.
junction with a Swedish brigade, cleared the whole high road, and then the conflict began in all its forms. Nevertheless, the four Swedish brigades of the first line, the finest body of infantry then in the world, found the crossing of the ditches so extremely hazardous and perplexing, that their order relented after an essay of some minutes, and they seemed to pause. His majesty, who was posted at some inconsiderable distance from the centre, not perceiving them to advance in such proportion as the troops he conducted, flew to them in an instant, and dismounting, snatched a partizan from one of the officers, in order to lead them himself across the obstacle: *If*, said he, with a tone of severity as he marched along, *after having passed so many rivers, scaled numberless fortresses, and fought various battles, your antient intrepidity hath at once deserted you; stand firm at least some minutes longer, and have the curiosity to see your master expire as he ought.* Upon this the soldiers all cried out, *Stop, Sire, for the sake of heaven: spare that invaluable life of yours: distrust us not: the business shall be completed* *.

Mean while Gustavus returning to the head of the right-wing, soon out-stripped the diligence of his keenest associates; for making his horse spring cross the ditch, his companions thought themselves obliged to follow him cheerfully. Having cast a glance over the Imperial wing that opposed him, and perceiving there three single masses of Imperial cuirassiers, cloathed in iron, and Isolani's Croatian cavalry, which terminated the first line, he called colonel Stalhaus to him, an officer of great repute, though he had been originally only a footman: *Stalhaus*, said he, *charge me those black fellows soundly, for they are the men, that will*

* Theatr. Europ. fol. 747, &c. He, that describeth a battle without well considering the ground, and having a distinct plan before his eyes (both which advantages we have the good fortune to boast) will commit errors upon errors, *ad infinitum*. Du Prade says, the king made this speech to the regiments of *La Tour* [Thurn] and *Christoph*; but unfortunately for the French historiographer, Gustavus never had such a regiment as the latter in his service. Riccio makes the reprimand address to the corps of Thurn and Anhalt (N° 28. 32.) Now these troops were placed in the rear of the centre and left-wing, nor were they moved from their station till some hours after the death of Gustavus.

1632. *undo us* *: *as to the Croatians, I mind them not.* Others, with leſs authority, diverſify the expreſſions: *they are the men,* IT IS PROPHESIED, *will undo us.* Stalhaus executed the royal orders with great alacrity, but the irregular cavalry, according to cuſtom, changed their ſtation, and attacked the baggage waggons, putting all at firſt into ſuch confuſion, that the king's own coach ran away in the univerſal diſorder. And thus Bubach, whoſe three diviſions Guſtavus had commanded from Kniphauſen's ſecond line, was obliged to attend theſe deſultory combatants, and afforded no other aſſiſtance to the firſt and grand impreſſion, which his maſter undertook to make. Soon after, namely, about eleven a clock in the morning, the king received the ſtroke of death; and immediately a miſt aroſe, which (though the day promiſed to be brighter than uſually appears in the month of November) obſcured the ſky on a ſudden to ſuch a degree, that the ſoldiers could hardly diſcover their companions at twenty feet diſtance. But we will paſs by the unpleaſing event of his majeſty's death for a few moments, and purſue the various changes and circumſtances of the battle, which was gained upon the king's principles of arrangement; although the great Guſtavus was then no more!

As the duke of Sax-Lauenberg immediately left the field, and conveyed himſelf to Weiſſenfels, ſuppoſing (as his friends gave out) that the day was loſt irrecoverably; the firſt intelligence duke Bernard received of his maſter's death, was the diſcovery of his horſe, which being wounded in the ſhoulder, galloped up and down the line of battle. The duke immediately imparted this fatal news to Kniphauſen, and they both agreed in an inſtant, (from that preſence of mind peculiar to great men) to ſpread a report, that the king of Sweden was taken priſoner, which ſoon produced the deſired effect; for the army thenceforwards fought like enraged lions † in order to recover their leader's body; or,

* Theſe were Marazini's cuiraſſiers, &c. which former boaſted the honour of having killed the king; yet it is probable, that he fell by the hands of Piccolomini's cavalry, and therefore Walſtein made him that extraordinary preſent, which we have mentioned elſewhere.

† Loccen. Hiſt. Suec. lib. viii. 604. Pietro Pomo; Guerre di Germ. 4° 128.

as

as Scheffer informs us * with ſtronger probability, every man had an ambition to expire the ſame day with his royal leader. 1632.

The miſt, which aroſe about the time the king fell, proved no ways inconvenient to the right wing, where his majeſty commanded; for the Imperialiſts at that period had rather the advantage: but Stalhaus, to whom the command then devolved, made uſe of the incident, to re-inſtate and new-diſpoſe his forces, and making a freſh deſperate charge, recovered the royal body of his ſovereign maſter.

At this very period the Swediſh generals led on their troops to a ſecond conflict. And here it was, that the four central brigades in front performed wonders, as hath been acknowedged even by the Imperialiſts themſelves; for they drove their enemies to the foot of the gallows, and almoſt totally ruined that large invincible maſs of troops, that belonged to Piccolomini. And here it was that the two regiments of elder Bruner and young Walſtein made a reſiſtance ſo very obſtinate and unparalleled, that the Imperial generaliſſimo, when he retreated into Bohemia, adopted the reſidue of them for his own guards, round the palace of Prague, and cloathed, payed, and nouriſhed them at his own expence.

The Swedes moreover took ſeveral ſtandards †, and ſeized a battery conſiſting of ſeven large pieces of cannon, that was planted before this body of troops; which in truth was effected the more eaſily, as Walſtein's powder-waggons in that quarter had by ſome accident taken fire a few minutes before. This ſharp conteſt laſted near an hour, and, to render matters ſtill more diſagreeable to the Auſtrian commander, a body of 1000 German cavalry conceived a panic terror, without any aſſignable reaſon during the action, and conſulted their ſafety in ſuch a manner, as never more to return during that day's ſervice. All they ſaid was, (for an Engliſh officer, then a priſoner, was hurried away with them in the tumult;) *We know the king of Sweden very well, he always ſhines towards the concluſion of a battle.*

* Memorab. Suec. Gent. 181.

† Merc. Franc. Tom. xviii. 755.

1632. And now after a ſhort intermiſſion, the count de Pappenheim arrived, and ſo highly was that officer eſteemed by all parties, that notwithſtanding the confuſion and tumult of the late engagement, a report paſſed from mouth to mouth through either army, that Pappenheim was come at the head of his cavalry, and invincible infantry. Yet this rumour was not ſtrictly true, for when Walſtein's meſſage found him at Halle, his foot-ſoldiers had diſperſed themſelves round that town and Merſburg in queſt of plunder; ſo that he had time only to march his cuiraſſiers and dragoons *, which amounted, it is probable, to about 6 or 7000 combatants. He had a poſt preſerved for him, which he always affected, and that was the wing, which oppoſed Guſtavus. Of this he aſſumed the command in an inſtant; but whilſt he was making ſome freſh diſpoſitions at the head of the line, he received a ſtroke from a falcon-ſhot. Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as the ball had reached him (the wound being given in his thigh) upon recovering his ſenſes, he ſpoke chearfully to his men, though he well-knew he had received a blow from the hand of death. A coach conveyed him out of the battle, and his chaplain, whom he had ſent for, attended him therein. As he paſſed through the ranks, he called a particular officer to him: *Sir*, ſaid he, *tell Walſtein*, (giving him no title of highneſs, excellency, general, &c.) *That* WHAT *I have reſerved is enough for my purpoſe; but tell him too, that I have preſerved the catholic religion, and made the emperor a free man* †. (for he knew at that time Guſtavus was dead.) He then faced death with the ſame tranquillity in his bed, as he had done on innumerable occaſions in the field of battle: for this brave and prudent commander, as if he had determined to rival Guſtavus in every thing, was the moſt moral and religious perſon in the Imperial army ‡. He was born the ſame year with Guſtavus, and exceeded him in age only ſix months and a few days. It is remarkable, that he had triumphed over his enemies in forty-four battles and rencounters, but lived not to receive the order of the Golden Fleece, which had been promiſed him the pre-

* Helvici Hiſt. lib. xxi. p. 231.
† Riccius de Bello Germ. 437.
‡ Idem. 438.

ceding autumn *. The chamber in which he expired is still shewn at 1633.
Leipsic with great respect †. It is a little mean apartment in the castle of Pleissenberg.

Yet the name of Pappenheim, his death being generally unknown, was sufficient to revive the ardor of the Imperial combatants; nor were the succours he brought, as his troops were the best seasoned of all that served under the ensigns of the league, considered by any man as a contemptible re-inforcement.

And now began a third engagement of two hours duration, for new life was infused into the Imperial army upon the return of Pappenheim's forces. On that general's leaving the field, Holk resumed the command of the left-wing, and Stalhaus, it is conjectured, replaced Gustavus. They engaged each other with various fortune, but the combat was attended with no one decisive event.

Mean while Piccolomini, Tertsky, and others led on the Imperial centre to the charge, consisting of four great square masses of infantry, each consisting of 3000 men, or thereabouts, and flanked by two regiments of cuirassiers, all which troops seconded their leaders with extremity of resolution. Here Piccolomini was twice or thrice shot, yet never left the scene of action. The wreck fell extremely heavy on the four Swedish brigades, that confronted them ‡, the flower and glory of the royal army; so that excepting the right-hand brigade, commanded by Charles Hart, which the Smoland cavalry protected, and the left-hand brigade, which received shelter from duke Bernard's horse, the two middlemost had five persons out of six killed or disabled ‖. It was remarked

* Relat. Espagnol de la Bataille de Lützen, Printed at Lisbon 1633. 4°.

† Di questa morte, frà le morti ripputata felicissima da soldati, finì la vita nel fiore dell' eta, et delle sue glorie Goffredo di Pappenheim, ornato delle più excelse dote, ch' illustrassero giamai capitano di fama; in vita dopò Gustavo Re di Suecia, primo guerrier de suoi tempi; e nella morte, stimata solo, dal sentimento commune de gl' huomini, condegna à bilanciare la perdita d'un tanto Re. [*Pietro Pomo, Guerre di Germ.* Liber. iv. 126.] When we mentioned this officer to have received six or seven wounds, *according to custom*, at the action of Leipsic, vol. 2. 416, we ought to have subjoined to the same paragraph, that he received about *the like* number of wounds at the battle of Prague, and lay for a considerable time undistinguished among the slain.

‡ N° 8, 9, 10, 11.

‖ The blue brigade (Winkle's) had served under Charles IX. the king's father. Relat. Espagnol.

by

1632. by the aſſailants, that this veteran body of infantry covered the ground, when proſtrate, in the ſame proportions as they occupied it living. In a word, the preſent rude and deſperate encounter carried no good aſpect to the Swediſh cauſe; for the battery before taken was now regained, and eight ſtandards loſt, one of which belonged to the king's own company of royal guards. But Kniphauſen, who commanded the rear of the centre, (an officer of unparalleled coolneſs and foreſight) ſoon re-inſtated affairs by diſpatching to the relief of his aſſociates the two regiments of Thurn and Mitzval*, and four conſiderable bodies of horſe; namely, the prince of Anhalt's, Lowenſtein's, Brandſtein's, and Steinboch's †, which latter (conſiſting of dragoons) was a favourite corps in the eſtimation of their late maſter. This judicious re-inforcement ſoon reſtored the fortunes of the day; ſo that the Swedes re-took the battery lately ſpoken of, and another on the left-hand thereof, which contained four pieces of large artillery.

Duke Bernard in the left-wing had a piece of ſervice to encounter with equally deſperate; for the enormous battery of all, near the wind-mills, lay full in his front; and the road and ditch being nearer the enemy, rendered all approaches more difficult to him than the reſt of the army. He had once conceived an idea of ſetting fire to Lützen, which Wallſtein had partly effected the ſame morning, and attacking the Croatians at the extremity of the Imperial wing, in their flank; but for certain good reaſons, as the enemy could have lined the town-walls with freſh ſupplies of muſqueteers, he forbore to put the conception into execution. Nevertheleſs, in the ſpace of two hours he led his troops on to the charge twelve ſeveral times, whilſt Coloredo, who commanded againſt him, being protected by a numerous train of artillery, which it was prudent in him upon no advantage to remove himſelf from, allowed the young and valiant hero, already wounded in the right-arm, to waſte his ſtrength againſt ſuch extraordinary difficulties in what proportions he pleaſed; and in one of theſe attacks thundered

* N° 38, 39. This Mitzval was a brother to the colonel, whom Guſtavus beheaded in Bavaria.

† N° 35, 33, 31, 29.

againſt

against the duke with such amazing violence, that the prince thought it 1632.
not an unsoldier-like action to shelter himself for a few moments under the miller's house marked L. Mean while Kniphausen kept the rear line composed and in excellent order, dispatching his little assistances to all places where they could be deemed needful. By this time the mist cleared off, and as all parties seemed desirous to know the fate of their companions, a kind of pause or breathing-space ensued, in the common nature of things, by a tacit desire on every side.

Upon this duke Bernard galloped up and down the lines of battle, in order to contemplate the countenance and situation of his fellow-soldiers: he soon perceived the greater part of the army to be strangely shattered, but rejoiced at the same time to behold, that Kniphausen had preserved the rear of the centre, and the reserve, in excellent order. They agreed in a moment to renew the combat. At the same time Wallstein taking advantage of the clearness of the day, dispatched Piccolomini and Tertzky to observe the Swedes, who brought him back word, that they were new-forming themselves and returning to a fourth engagement. It was in this onset, that the royal army brought ten of their own field-pieces to act against the wind-mill battery, and the eleven cannons, which they had taken from the Imperialists; for the fruits of the action by universal consent lay now near the town of Lützen, whose adjacent walls being lined with musqueteers, sorely galled the advancing Swedes. Here Wallstein received a slight stroke from a musquet-ball, that had consumed its force, and duke Bernard and Coloredo engaged till evening with a fury and obstinacy, that can hardly be described; pausing from and resuming the combat, like fatigued duellers. The fortune of the day began now to incline manifestly to the Swedish side, which acknowledged its success to be partly due to the intermingled musqueteers *, but the fog (not unfavourably for the Imperialists) obscured the skies a second time, so that duke Bernard could not help crying out, *Gracious God! had it not been for this darkness, I had completed the affair!*

* Chemnitz, Tom. i. 375.

And

1632. And now a rumour paſſed through either army with the rapidity of lightning, that Pappenheim's infantry was at length arrived, which, though the report proved afterwards falſe, might have diſmayed any troops, except the Swediſh ones. But the attack was ſtill continued with great violence near the wind-mills: at length duke Bernard having rallied his cavalry, and being ſeconded by Kniphauſen with four freſh regiments of infantry, the Imperial army was reduced to the laſt extremity; and night put an end to the deſperate day's ſervice on the plains of Lützen.

Yet the Swedes, if we conſider the confuſion the miſts had created, were no ways certain, that the battle was concluded. Duke Bernard and Kniphauſen held a conſultation, whether they ſhould retire to Weiſſenfels or not; at length they determined heroically, upon ſuppoſition they found the attempt barely practicable, to preſerve the ſpot of ground they had gloriouſly maintained; for they were not abſolutely ſure they had acquired the victory. In this interval Wallſtein ſounded a retreat, whoſe meaning the Swedes happened not to comprehend: but an Imperial horſeman, who had orders to command Hoſkirk's regiment to follow the generaliſſimo to Leipſic, fell by chance upon colonel Ohem's regiment of cavalry, which made in the day-time the final reſerve of the army, and having kept free from action, was appointed the advanced guard at night. The cavalier being aſked whom he wanted, replied naturally Hoſkirk's regiment: here it is, adjoined the centinel, and conducted him immediately to his own commander.——And then it was the Swediſh generals comprehended, for the firſt time, the great advantages they had obtained. The ſoldiers, without any refreſhment, ſlept all night on the hard ground; and a ſevere froſt, which enſued before morning, happened to kill many of the wounded, that might otherwiſe have ſurvived.

The battle laſted about nine hours. The Imperialiſts loſt 7000 men, and the Swedes between 2 and 3000: many more might have been deſtroyed by the latter, but there was *no purſuit*, which night prevented. It is the purſuit, which gives the fatal ſtroke in a great victory; and therefore it may be worth while to remark here incidentally, that the

Saxons,

Saxons, who fled from the plains of Leipsic, lost doubly more men than 1632.
the Swedes, who remained and fought valorously many hours afterwards till the close of the evening.

Amongst the killed on one side was the king of Sweden, whom the Imperialists pronounced the bravest enemy, and the best general in Christendom *: the counts Nils and Weissenburg, colonel Gersdorf, serjeant-

* It may be worth while here, once for all, to give mankind the idea, which the more bigotted papists entertained of Gustavus, towards whom he ever comported himself with all imaginable courtesy and moderation. True it is, he disliked the Jesuits, and usually expressed himself with warmth on their intriguing, mischievous interferences, and relaxed morality. They, on the other hand, as the ministry in England surnamed him the *dragoon-king*, always bestowed on him the denomination of *genuine anti-christ*.

" Acie cecidit Gustavus, inter nostræ memo-
" riæ duces facile primus, nisi magis pugnax
" quam regem deceret. —— Militaris disciplinæ
" peritia, bellicaque virtute nemo potuit cum
" eo componi. Erga etiam gregarios milites
" facilis regium supercilium demisit: quo fie-
" bat, ut esset acceptissimus militum animis,
" quamvis eos a furtis & stupris pœnis duriori-
" bus coerceret.

" Exercitus suos severissima disciplina con-
" tinuit: cultus ei corporis nihil a vulgari ab-
" horrens; vestes nullo auro distinctæ, aut
" aureis amentis insignes: nihil in amictu pre-
" tiosum nitebat. —— *In suæ superstitionis* IMPIE-
" TATE PRISSIMUS; *summaque ei atque exacta fue-*
" *runt sacrorum cura, cum eos ritus, quibus a rudi-*
" *bus annis imbutus fuerat,* EXQUISITA *religione*
" *servaret.*

" Me sane eorum miseret, qui parentum er-
" roribus eruditiuntur, & falsis hæreticorum pla-
" citis instituti, vanis religionibus, in quibus
" nati educatique sunt, tenacissime hæreant.
" Rex tamen nunquam catholicam religionem
" contempsit, immo maximum honorem pluri-
" bus religiosorum hominum familiis habuit:
" præcipue patrum Capuchinorum arctas rigi-
" daſque vitæ rationes obstupuit; de quibus
" dicere consueverat, eos patres esse validissi-
" mum catholicæ veritatis argumentum." ——

" Fuit assentationis infensissimus hostis; nam
" et suos duces non ita pridem, antequam acie
" caderet, acribus verbis accepit, quod *suæ*
" *virtuti felicitatique victoriarum laudes, non Deo*
" *tribuerent*: et sane si rerum gestarum magnitu-
" dinem, expeditionumque fortunatos eventus
" atque exitus intuemur, nullus Rex multis ab-
" hinc sæculis eo felicior censeri potest: cum
" veluti fulmen totam Germaniæ latitudinem
" a Baltico mari usque ad Carnicas rupes cuncta
" belli terrore evertens exiguo tempore emen-
" sus, centum & triginta urbes aut bello domu-
" erit, aut in fidem & deditionem acceperit."
Riccius de Bellis German. 4° 433, 434.

——" Prodotto dalla natura per vivamente
" rappresentar al mondo l' unica e perfetta idea
" d' un gran prencipe; possedava, quasi mostro
" delle militari perfettioni, cumulatamente tutte
" le più eccelse parti, che si ricchiedono al
" illustrare un gran capitano: la giustitia e la
" clemenza erano unite in lui con tempra sì
" forte, che mai nell' attioni sue si videro
" scompagnate: ne vi fù mai prencipe, ch'
" adun' istesso tempore, meglio di lui sapesse
" farsi da sudditi amare e temere; parve mentr'
" egli visse, suenar se medesima la fortuna, per
" riemper lui solo di trionfi, e di gloria, e
" nascondendo à bell' arte i preggi proprii,
" voler, che solo al valore di lui s' attribuis-
" sero gl' esiti dell' impresse felice; in tutte le
" fattionè del commandare, e del combattere,
" esemplare non meno à soldati che à capitani;
" epilogo in somma dell' arti tutte del domi-
" nare, e nella pace e nella guerra; visse ne'
" suoi riti religioso osservator delle più squisite
" virtù morali; nè i buoni v' hebbero altro à
" desiderare

1632. ſerjeant-major-general Uſlar, Erneſt prince of Anhalt, count Thurn, and colonel Wildeſſein.

Amongſt the ſlain on the other ſide may be reckoned the illuſtrious Pappenheim, the prince and abbot of Fulda *, count Berthold Walſtein, ſerjeant-major-general Breuner, ſix colonels, and a prince of Ditrichſtein.

The Imperialiſts loſt only twenty-one pieces of artillery; for Walſtein, who little expected the king ſhould attack him, was not greatly provided; it being his firm opinion, till convinced by ocular proof to the contrary, that Guſtavus would not attempt to act deciſively before the Saxon and Lunenberg armies had formed their junction with him. So that this general, if I remember right, had but twenty-ſeven large cannons in all; though ſome writers add ten pieces more. Now ſuch a collection may be conſidered as a kind of defect in point of military precaution, foraſmuch as it was in his power to have procured a larger ſtore;——and under this article we may blame him likewiſe for the looſe and diſperſed cantonment of all his forces, many of whom marched the whole night, and were half fatigued when they faced their opponents the enſuing morning †. He is cenſured moreover for making his appearance in a ſedan-chair, and rarely, if ever, expoſing his per-

" deſiderare in lui, che un vero lume di fede. " Il livore e l'invidia vi trovarono di più da " notare in lui una ſubita colera e un ardir " ſoverchio: ma quella, corretta d'un imme- " diata dolcezza, e affabilità naturale, conci- " liava in altrui più, che odio, à timore, amore, " e riverenza. Queſto difetto ordinario dell' " anime grandi, che non capendo nell' an- " guſtia d'un cuor humano, ſgorga, e prorompe " nel deſiderabile della gloria, ſenz' avertire " all' horribile, che lo minacchia; era à " ciaſcheduno, che lo mirava riguardevole per " la granddezza del corpo e vié più venerabile " per la vennstà della faccia, in cui manifeſto " ſcergevaſi quel raggio di Maeſta, che d'ordi- " nario imprime Dio nella fronte di quelli, che " coſtituiſce dominatori di qualche gran parte " dell' univerſo." *Pietro Pomo, Guerra di Germania*, 4° libr. iv. 128, 129.

* John Bernard Schenk, prince and abbot, choſen March 12, 1623. Curioſity led him to the battle. A cannon-ball ſtruck him as he contemplated the action from one of the windmills. (*Le Barre*; *Hiſt. D'Allemagne. Theatr. Europ. Tom. ii.* 749.) This prelate had a title to the ſame motto, which his late neighbour the biſhop of Wurtzburg and Bamberg aſſumed in the beginning of the Bohemian wars 1618, who being obliged to furniſh to the Imperial army a large contingent, as duke of Franconia, affixed this device to his ſtandards: *Una manu gladium, altera Breviarium*; nor would the ſelf-ſame lemma twenty-five years afterwards have proved remarkably improper for Bernard van Galen biſhop of Münſter.

† Chemnitz, Tom 373.

from

ſon in ſuch trying emergencies, as we have here recited. But Piccolomini 1632.
made ample amends for the ſhyneſs of his generaliſſimo; for though he had three horſes killed under him, and received ten wounds, yet he ſtayed till the laſt man on the field of battle *. It may ſuffice to add, that Walſtein retreated precipitately without a purſuer from Leipſic to Prague, and there held a ſevere court-martial, which might be conſidered as a forenſic campaign. For moſt of his officers died gallantly; and a young colonel, whoſe ſcaffold was erected under our chieftain's window, began his ſpeech in the following manner: *Gentlemen, I preſent myſelf here to die; and upon what occaſion? For running away with my generaliſſimo.*——But Walſtein, who affected to be extravagant in all things, was alike extraordinary in rewards and in puniſhments; for he gave many of his officers gold chains, adorned with diamonds (to which a medal of himſelf was affixed) that amounted each to the value of 500 l.——He preſented Piccolomini with a large ſum (namely 1600 l.) as we have mentioned formerly †; and when the king of Denmark reclaimed Holk (whoſe ſubject he was) under pain of confiſcating his little poſſeſſions, he gave him his choice of four Bohemian ſignories, which contained each of them ſixteen or eighteen dorps ‡ and villages.

And here it may be proper to ſay ſomething more diffuſedly concerning the death of Guſtavus, who fought ſword in hand at the head of the Smoland cavalry, which cloſed the right-flank of the centre, and, perhaps, in his ardour out-ſtripped the brigades, which compoſed the main body, and whoſe buſineſs it was to advance upon the ſame line with himſelf. As his majeſty's eye-ſight was not the moſt perfect, and foraſmuch as a miſt began gently to obſcure the ſky, it is moſt probable to imagine ||, that, attended only by his own followers and ſervants, and the ſquadron commanded by him, he had a violent deſire to contem-

* Octavio Piccolomini, deſcended from one of the beſt families in Sienna; created afterwards duke of Amalfi. The more curious may peruſe his life at large in a quarto, entitled, Scritti di Ascanio egregie da generali e da Soldati Italiani dell'anno 1600 fino al 1700. Venet. 1742.

† Pag. 14. ‡. vol. ii.

‡ I have perhaps made too free with this word, to which my ears were habituated by finding it occur ſo often in the Scottiſh and Engliſh accounts, relative to Guſtavus about the year 1632, and therefore it may be proper to apprize the reader, that it ſignifies an *hamlet*.

|| *Memoirs, communicated.* Theatr. Europ. Tom. ii. fol. 942. Cambd. lib. iii. 402.

1632. plate the centre of the Imperial army, towards which his own invincible brigades were now advancing, and on whoſe bravery and firmneſs he principally grounded the future ſucceſs of the day's ſervice. It is natural, I ſay, to conclude, that the king loſt his life in ſome digreſſion like this, being prompted on by an high ſpirit of impatience and curioſity; for moſt accounts agree, that he fell by the hands of Piccolomini's cuiraſſiers, whom ſome arrange in the firſt line of the Imperial left wing oppoſite the letter C, and others place it in the very central point behind letter B: but the confuſion and difficulties under each of thoſe articles are ſo perplexing and entangling, that I have ſometimes been induced to think, that Piccolomini was a colonel both of infantry and cavalry, and that two regiments of courſe derived their names from him;——(that ſort of honour and encouragement being not unfrequent in the Swediſh ſervice;——) where duke Bernard had a couple of regiments, a ſubſtitute-colonel being appointed; and ſo had Teüffel, Kniphauſen, Falkenberg, and others *.

Here therefore, that is, in the front of the troops firſt deſcribed, or (which is more probable) in the interval between them and the adjoining maſs of infantry, Guſtavus received a ball in his left-arm †, which at firſt he either felt not, or diſregarded, ſtill keeping foremoſt, and cutting and ſlaſhing with great intrepidity; yet the ſoldiers perceived their leader to be wounded, long before he ſpoke to that effect, and expreſſed their affliction and conſternation: *Courage, my comrades*, replied he, *the affair is nothing: let us reſume our point, and return to the charge* ‡. One of the equerries cried out likewiſe, that his majeſty was wounded, for which the king reproved him harſhly ‖. At length perceiving his voice and ſtrength to fail him, and fearing to diſmay his brave aſſociates, he whiſpered the duke of Sax-Lauenberg to this purport: *Couſin* §, *I perceive myſelf to be grievouſly wounded: convey me hence to ſome place of*

* Arma Suecica, p. 73.

† Another account ſays, that he received two piſtol-ſhots. *Memoires communicated.*

‡ Merc. Franc. Tom. xviii. p. 734.

‖ *Memoires de Sente Croix*, Tom. v. 3.

§ This compellation was not purely an expreſſion of regal courteſy, for the wife of Guſtavus Vaſa, and grandmother of Guſtavus Adolphus, was a princeſs of Sax-Lauenberg; and our king's father's ſiſter married Magnus III. duke of Sax-Lauenberg, who was brother to the father of Francis Albert, concerning whom we are now ſpeaking. *Mem. Communicat.*

ſafety.

Lutzen. In that inſtant, as the king's followers were preparing to retreat, an Imperial cavalier advanced unobſerved in this momentary confuſion of turning, and having cried out, *Long have I fought thee* †, tranſpierced his majeſty with a piſtol-ball through the body; but he lived not to glory in this inhumanity; for the maſter of the horſe to the duke of Sax-Lauenberg ſhot him dead with the words recent on his lips. Upon this Piccolomini's cuiraſſiers gave the king's companions a moſt deſperate attack. His majeſty was for ſome moments held upon his ſaddle, but the horſe being at that very inſtant ſhot in the ſhoulder, made a deſperate plunge, and flung the rider to the earth. His few perſonal attendants ſtayed with him; but the troops, that accompanied him, were ſoon diſperſed. One of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who lay likewiſe on the ground, cried out aloud, in order to ſave his maſter's life, that he was the king of Sweden. Upon which an Imperial cuiraſſier, who had alighted to ſtrip the bodies, ran him through with his ſword: Guſtavus afterwards being aſked, who he was, replied boldly, *I am the king of Sweden, and ſeal with my blood the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of Germany:* adding likewiſe, *Alas my poor queen! Alas my poor queen!* The Imperialiſts gave him five dreadful and inhuman wounds; and though one ſhot him through the head, he had ſtrength to pronounce, *My God, my God!* His body was ſtripped in an inſtant (the ſhirt excepted) for every enemy was deſirous to poſſeſs ſome ſpoil, that belonged to him. His buff-waiſtcoat was conſigned to the arſenal at Vienna ‡, but fell firſt into Piccolomini's hands ‖. A common ſoldier ſeized that magical ſword §, concerning which the German profeſſors have publiſhed more diſſertations than one; and Holk obtained by purchaſe the poſſeſſion of his ring and ſpurs. One Schmeberg, a lieutenant in Goëtz's cavalry, ſeized his gold chain, which 1632.

* Santa Cruz. ibid.

† We have at length diſcovered, that this perſon was one *Maurice Falkenberg*, a lieutenant of cavalry in Goëtz's regiment. He knew the king, having been lately his priſoner; and received many courteſies from him on account of his ſurname or kindred: for it ſtrongly reſembles, born, who bravely defended Magdeburg againſt Tilly. *Memoirs Communicated. Vide Monumenta Paderbornenſia*, 216.

‡ Patin. Relat. Hiſt. p. 11.

‖ Burgi Mars Sueth. Germ. p. 230. 12°.

§ *Relat. Eſpagnol.* de la bataille de Lutzen, imprimée à Lisbon, 1633. 4°.

1632. is ſtill preſerved in the Schnebeig family; namely, at the time the *Monumenta Paderbornenſia* were made public *.

Having mentioned this work, we muſt beg leave to remark tranſiently, that it was compoſed by Ferdinand de Furſtenberg biſhop of Paderborn: and as the preſent part is purely digreſſional, it may be wondered, why this perſon was ſo extremely anxious to make ſuch minute enquiries concerning the authors of the king's death? But his own words under this article ſhall ſolve the difficulty; for the good prelate had a mind, that the natives of his dioceſe ſhould claim the honour of deſtroying antichriſt:

Placuit hoc recens Paderbonenſium militum facinus, dum veteris monumenta percenſemus, hic ſubnectere. —— NE QUI ALII, UT POST VICTORIAM IGNAVI ETIAM GLORIANTUR, HANC SIBI LAUDEM PRAECERPANT.

Nevertheleſs it may be worth while to remark here, that though Schneberg took the chain; yet from the period in queſtion to the preſent moment, we know nothing concerning a famous *Turquoiſe* enchaſed therein, and hanging at the bottom thereof, of ſize and beauty extraordinary, and belonging from time immemorial to the crown of Sweden. *Cyanos* (ſaith a moſt veracious and candid hiſtorian ‡,) *quam aurea catenula appenſam collo geſtabat, ſingularis magnitudinis gemma, atque antiquam Sueciae regum munus, nuſquam inventa eſt, quamvis rex omnino ſpoliatus in campo deinceps repertus ſit.* Now that this remarkable ſtone ſhould never make its appearance ſince in Europe is a difficulty hard to be accounted for; ſince Schneberg might have ſhewn the *Turquoiſe* in the ſame manner he produced the *chain*.

Mean while, one Innocentio Bucela, *camerado* (as the language then ran) to colonel Piccolomini, informed his friend, that the king of Sweden, whom he well knew, lay naked and dead hard by them. Piccolomini flew immediately to the place mentioned, accom-

* Anno 1669. In Heriſtallo Saxon. p. 216. et ſeqq. See more in *Struvii*, under the article of Ferdinand II. § 39.

‡ Burgi Mar. Succo-Germanicæ, p. 230. It was of the true oriental ſort, which comes out of the *old rock* in the mountains of Pirnſkua about eighty miles from the town of Moſcheda. *Memoire communicated*

panied

panied only by ten cavaliers, and found Guſtavus in his laſt convulſive agonies. He propoſed that moment to have carried off the deceaſed, but Stalhaus charged with ſuch fury, that the Imperialiſts were obliged to relinquiſh their prize; and, what may be worth remarking, the king's two faithful grooms, though mortally wounded, had thrown themſelves over their maſter's body *. 1632.

Many have ſuppoſed Francis Albert, duke of Sax-Lauenberg, (concerning whom we have ſpoken amply in various places, in order to elucidate what hereafter may follow) to have had ſome hand in the king's death, not by open force and an act of murder, but by concealed indications agreed on betwixt him and the Imperial party.——It is not our cuſtom to diſturb the aſhes of an illuſtrious perſonage, merely becauſe he belonged to another nation, and hath ſlept in tranquillity more than a century.——That there is a probability exiſting to this prince's diſfavour, muſt ever be allowed; but truly cogent and irreſiſtible proofs, I think, there are none. The reader ſhall peruſe candidly and impartially, the whole that we know †.

This officer, who was four years younger than Guſtavus, had ſerved in Italy, as a colonel, under Aldringer and Gallas, in the Mantuan war. And by the account, which Sirot gives of him in that campaign, was a perſon of a very high and impetuous temper. Upon ſome diſguſt, (whether real or fictitious we will not take upon us to pronounce) he demanded his diſmiſſion from the court of Vienna, and made a tender of his ſervices to the king of Sweden. After the battle of Lützen, being looked upon with eyes of coldneſs by the royal army, he repaired firſt to the Saxon, and then a ſecond time to the Imperial ſtandards, and took a freſh commiſſion under Wallſtein; paſſed between him and duke Bernard, in the ſuppoſed conſpiracy, and was committed to priſon upon the aſſaſſination of the Auſtrian generaliſſimo. We find him afterwards one of the chamberlains extraordinary to the emperor. Being taken

* Le Barre; Hiſt. d'Allemagne. Theatr. Europ. Tom. ii. 749.

† The author expected conſiderable help from profeſſor Menke's Diſſertation *de dubio Guſt. Adolphi mortis genere*; but on peruſing that piece, found himſelf to be greatly diſappointed.

priſoner

1632. prisoner at the battle of Swidnitz; (for then he had been restored a second time to favour, and declared commander in chief of that town and district) he was protected generously by Torstenson from the resentment of the Swedish soldiers, and died, partly by his wounds, and partly with vexation, in a few days after the engagement *.

Some say he bore a mortal hatred to the king of Sweden, forasmuch as that prince had once given a blow to one of his brothers, who made a visit to Stockholm, about the period when Gustavus first arrived to the throne. The narrative runs to this effect: That at a certain lady's house, (whom each prince had an esteem for) the king, having lost all the money he carried with him, desired the mistress of the mansion to lend him a part of her winnings; which she declined, by saying, it was beneath the dignity of a monarch to borrow from a poor subject. In the course of the evening the duke of Sax-Lauenberg became a bankrupt also, and then the lady of the house made him a tender of her purse, without being solicited; adding, in terms of courtesy and politeness, "Sir, the king my master has money at hand, and in "great abundance; but you are a stranger, far removed from home, "and must of course depend on the chance of remittances." Upon this Gustavus took fire, and making some sharp expostulations, (the duke interfering in behalf of his patroness) gave the blow we lately mentioned. This story, it must be confessed, reads no ways amiss, when delivered from the pen of an Italian novelist, or French memoir-writer: *si non e vera, e ben trovata*; but as we know not precisely, that the prince in question was ever in Sweden, (not but that there is a probability why a duke of Sax-Lauenberg should make a journey to Stockholm, on account of the consanguinity, that subsisted between the regal and princely families †) we of course shall presume to pronounce nothing confidently, except more solid accounts could be procured from Germany, in reference to an affair so long removed from knowledge, and which seemeth to me to have taken its

* 1642.

† Genealogia Rittershusii. fol. Tubing. 1668. See also Hübner's Genealogies in German. 4°.

first

first rise on the southern side of the Alps *, and not from Germany or Sweden. 1632.

But to return from this digression: the circumstances, which plead strongest against duke Francis Albert, are these that follow. When he made a tender of his services, the preceding August, to his majesty, near Nurenberg, Oxenstiern conceived an untoward suspicion of him, at the first glance †. For as he had great interest with the elector of Saxony, it was thought Walstein, whose creature he was, connived at his secession from the Imperial service, in order to seduce the said elector from the Swedish interests. Of course therefore, the chancellor ceased not to lay open all his apprehensions to the king, his master; but Gustavus replied, *That a prince, and protestant, could neither be a villain, nor an assassin.* On his first arrival, many military employs, of considerable honour, were offered him; but he declined them all, and chose rather to serve near the king's person, in the capacity of a volunteer. It is remarkable, he wore a green scarf in the day's service at Lützen, which was not customary amongst the Swedish officers. He received no wound, upon supposition he attempted to disengage the king, though the master of the household, the pages, and very grooms, that attended him, were all killed, if we except one, who lay transpierced, stripped, and senseless, and expired so soon after the engagement, that traditional accounts from him can hardly be depended on, with any tolerable degree of certainty. He often shewed the royal blood, that had fallen on his cloaths. Indeed it makes not much against him, that the king received a pistol-shot in the hinder part of one of his elbows; for in such a confusion his majesty might naturally turn himself round more times than once. True it is, he conveyed himself out of the battle precipitately, and never advertised duke Bernard, and Kniphausen, the king's successors in command, of this doleful and disastrous event; but, on the contra-

* It is related at large, by *Riccio de Bellis German.* 4°. 434, *&c.* but he, though a bold lively historian, and peculiarly fond of all anecdotes, scruples not to pronounce the present narration, *anilem fabellam, muliercularum deliramentum.*

† Puffendorf de Rebus Suecicis, fol. p. 89.

1632. ry, fled to Weiſſenfels, about eight miles from the ſcene of action, and returned next morning to the Swediſh camp, when he heard the royal army had become victorious. He there found but a very cold and diſcourteous reception; for the univerſally received opinion in Sweden, to the preſent moment, is, that Guſtavus fell by ſigns agreed and treachery; and this is confirmed by the tradition of officers to their friends and relations, from the very day when the battle of Lützen was fought *.

Yet to the beſt of my unbiaſſed judgment there appears one circumſtance in duke Francis's favour, namely, that his maſter of the horſe, who was a gentleman, ſhould kill the cavalier, who ſhot Guſtavus; for had the prince been engaged in any connivance, or conſpiracy, it is natural to think, that this perſon might have borne his ſhare therein. We can ſay no more, and the truth muſt be left to the great Knower of all ſecrets †.

Thus fell the king of Sweden; the news of whoſe death deſtroyed the unfortunate elector Palatin, in about ſix days ‡; nor did the gratitude of the Saxons erect the ſlighteſt cenotaph to the deliverer of their country. In a word, this illuſtrious potentate hath no monument on the plains of Lützen, (except this imperfect hiſtory can be called a *monument*;) ſave only, a few large and miſhapen ſtones, which the piety of the peaſants hath piled together, in order to perpetuate his memory. He died, aged thirty-ſeven years, ten months, and twenty-ſeven days, having received thirteen wounds before the battle of Lützen commenced.---He finiſhed his courſe, ſaith a ſpirited hiſtorian, as an hero ought to do, *with his ſword in his hand, the word of command betwixt his lips, and victory in expectance*; concluding all with this religious ejaculation, *My God! My God!*

* Memoirs communicated.

† There is a defence of this prince, by the author of the Schaubeuhne; but I never had the good fortune to procure a copy of that work: which conſiſts of four volumes in folio, *cum fig.* Francfort 1699---1718. It was written, if I miſtake not, by Job. Ludolphus.

‡ He died Nov. 19, at Francfort on the Mayne, and we muſt allow a certain ſpace for conveying the melancholy tidings to him. The princeſs Sophia, who married Erneſt Auguſtus, elector of Brunſwic Lunenberg, was his twelfth child.

Nor

Nor was this death unconformable with his majesty's constant prac- 1632.
tice; for his great amusement, at leisure hours, consisted in perusing the Holy Scriptures. It was his custom to retire much to his apartment, and keep the doors anxiously closed; considering the sacred writings attentively, whilst the army concluded he was delineating plans of sieges, and battles, or enditing letters to foreign potentates. Which puts me in mind of one circumstance, at the camp of Werben; when the whole Imperial army was preparing to force his lines, Steinberg, a privy-counceller, had some extraordinary intelligence to report to his master; and as he half opened the curtain of his tent gently, and perceived Gustavus very intent on reading the Bible, he retired softly, and, as he hoped, unobserved; but the king recalled him: *Steinberg*, said he, *I find great consolation in perusing the word of God: princes themselves must acknowledge, that the evil demon spreads the most artful snares for those, who fancy they lie under no obligation to render an account to their own consciences, and their fellow-creatures* *.

Few courtiers were better received, than those, who conveyed the account of the king's death to declared enemies, or concealed ill-wishers: nor did the report greatly displease the court of White-hall; where the ministry, as it usually happens in cases of timidity, had its degree of apprehensions, for fear the event should not be true; and, as I have been informed from good authority, imposed silence on the news-writers, and intimated the same to the pulpit, in case any funeral encomium might proceed from that quarter. The ungrateful Richelieu looked upon Gustavus's death as a sort of triumph. The emperor was more modest, contenting himself only with the explosion of a few rockets: but the Spaniards exhibited a mock-tragedy, which consisted of twenty-four acts, and took up twelve nights in its representation, entitled, The Death of the King of Sweden: and, as an author of great authority † declares, kindled up so many bonfires on the

* Heylmanni Leo Arct. 76, 77. † *Vide Schaubuhne.*

1632. occasion, that the court interposed, lest fewel should become too scarce the approaching winter. In a word, of all the catholic princes, the pope alone lamented the death of Gustavus. On the other hand, funeral sermons were pronounced in honour of him, throughout all the protestant churches in Germany; and, what was very extraordinary, almost every preacher, by tacit consent, *drew a parallel between him and king Josiah* *.

Having thus finished the battle of Lützen, it may suffice to observe, that the Swedes, by a strange antithesis of fortune, obtained a triumph, but lost their hero: the Imperialists relinquished the field of battle abruptly, yet, in truth, acquired a complete victory; for they conquered Gustavus! Yet the effects of the king's operative spirit never left entirely the military body, that had breathed and moved under his influence. The French repassed the Rhine upon Turenne's death, but the Swedes, after the decease of their master, extended their victorious arms, not only over Lower Saxony, but to the very threshold of the Alps. The principle of action continued the same; the proportion only of the *vis vitalis* was lessened.——Nothing but a large fire could be capable of so prodigal remains: and of course, in a few words, it may be remarked of Gustavus, that he was equally great, living, dying, and even after death; fulfilling and completing the idea of a character, CUIUS GLORIAE NEQUE PROFUIT QUISQUAM LAUDANDO, NEQUE VITUPERANDO QUISQUAM NOCUIT.

And here it may be natural to observe, before we conclude, That as Alexander consigned to posterity the Ptolomy's, the Antigonus's, the Seleucus's, and the Antipaters, who, after his death, founded kingdoms in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Macedonia: so Gustavus (*from whose tomb, saith a lively historian, the laurels sprung forth*) bequeathed to mankind the Saxe-Weymars, the Hesses, the Barriers, and the Palatines, who, if fair hopes had been allowed them, would have given the finishing stroke to that great monarchy, whose very foundations

* Chemnitz. Tom. i. 376. Mem. d'Electrice Palatine, 4°. 310.

their

their master had shaken, in the operations of nine-and-twenty months. 1632.
These valiant christians, formed in the school of so excellent an instructor, gave signs neither of distress nor disunion, when their allies partly proved insincere to them, and partly forsook them, at the conclusion of the peace of Prague, two years after Gustavus's death. On the contrary, they retired step by step, gloomily, and unwillingly, from the heart of the empire *; and kept the war alive, with an obstinacy unspeakable, for the space of sixteen consecutive years; and far from being squeezed into the Baltic ocean, (as men formerly, and at that time, vainly prophesied) completed their eighteenth campaign, with making a fortunate camisado on one of the towns of Prague.

In which circumstance there is something extremely remarkable, namely, that the amazing, obstinate, and extensive war, which I have here described in part, after a duration of thirty years, should conclude itself upon the *very spot of ground where it first began.*

And thus, with more labour than one can expect thanks, I have at length finished the life of Gustavus; a prince perhaps, with whom few heroes may be compared in the several distinguishing characters of soldier, statesman, the father of his people, and a sincere Christian. And had it pleased God to have made a less infirm state of health my portion, I might have been tempted, in a second work, (making use of a manner less circumstantial and diffused, than matters of biography usually require) to have carried on the *history of Germany down to the conclusion of the peace of Munster*: the most important, as well as most decisive era, that is to be found in the annals of Europe! But the greatness of the undertaking partly dismayed me; not to mention the expence and difficulty of consulting, in person, the archives and libraries of various countries †. Yet numbers, it is certain, are to be found, amongst my countrymen, who, in every respect, are infinitely

* Singularita delle Guerre di Germania, 4°. 283. Venet.

† The author hath by him, already finished, in one volume, quarto, The *History* of THE THIRTY YEARS WARS, from the breaking out of the troubles in Bohemia, in 1618, till the death of Gustavus. 1632; so that only fifteen years remain to be completed.

better

1632. better qualified for ſuch an undertaking, than I can pretend to: and indeed it would be no inconſiderable ſatisfaction to me, to ſee our nation derive its knowledge of affairs on the continent from any hiſtorians, except the French; whoſe method, it muſt be acknowledged, is well conceived, and their ſtile uſually ſuch, as hardly allows the reader to be inattentive; but the writers themſelves are alike negligent and romantic, inſincere and partial.

FINIS.

[To front the plan of the battle of Lutzen, Vol. II. p. 322]

Table of Reference to the Battle of LUTZEN.

SWEDISH FORM OF BATTLE.

I. LINE.

1. Finlanders, Stalhaus.
2. Muſqueteers.
3. Weſtergothians.
4. Muſqueteers.
5. Ingermanians.
6. Muſqueteers.
7. Uplanders.
8. Muſqueteers.
9. Oſtrogoths.
10. Muſqueteers.
11. Smolanders.
12. Firſt brigade, Harte.
13. Pretorian brigade, (guards,) yellow; count Weiſſenberg.
14. Blue brigade, (guards) Wincle.
15. Green brigade, Wildeſſein.
16. Duke Bernard's regiment.
17. Muſqueteers.
18. Duke Bernard's ſecond regiment.
19. Muſqueteers.
20. Carberg.
21. Muſqueteers.
22. Livonians; Wrangel.
23. Muſqueteers.
24. Tiſenhauſen.
25. Muſqueteers.
26. Courville.

II. LINE.

27. Steichnitz; French.
28. Muſqueteers.
29. Steinboch's dragoons.
30. Muſqueteers.
31. Brandſtein.
32. Muſqueteers.
33. Lowenſtein.
34. Muſqueteers.
35. Prince of Anhalt.
36. Muſqueteers.
37. Hofkirch; Saxon.
38. Brigade, Mitzval.
39. Brigade; Thurn.
40. Brigade; Kniphauſen.
41. Brigade, Boſen; Saxon.
42. Uſlar.
43. Muſqueteers.
44. Dalwick: Heſſian.
45. Muſqueteers.
46. Beckerman.
47. Muſqueteers.
48. Bulach.
49. Muſqueteers.
50. Goldſtein.
51. Muſqueteers.
52. William of Weymar.

RESERVE I.

53. Henderſon: Scotiſh-infantry.

RESERVE II.

54. Ohem: Palatin-cavalry.

SCHEME and DIARY of the WAR, &c.

FROM THE

KING's Entering GERMANY

TILL THE

BATTLE of LUTZEN.

COMPOSED FOR

The better Understanding the Three GREAT CAMPAIGNS

Of 1630, 1631, 1632.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS performance, the only one of the kind I ever remember to have ſeen, notwithſtanding it be indiſpenſably neceſſary in military hiſtory, was begun from September, 1631, and carried on till November 6, 1632, by an Engliſh or Scottiſh officer who ſerved under Guſtavus.—I have ſupplied it by an addition of thirteen months, corrected the names of places, &c. throughout, and added the third and fourth columns all along, in order to render the whole complete; making various additions likewiſe to columns the firſt and ſecond.

JULY 1630.

GUSTAVUS.	TORQUATO DE CONTI.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
[N. B. Guſtavus landed June 24; and the intervening days, between that time and July, were employed in diſembarking and reviewing his army, and examining the country.]		The chancellor Oxenſtiern commandeth a ſeparate body in Poliſh Pruſſia, to watch the countenance of the Poles, and the king's new friends in thoſe parts; whilſt Leſley and Ruthven form a ſecond camp near Stralſund, caſting an eye of obſervation alternately towards the iſlands of Rugen and Uſedom on the one ſide, and the duchy of Mechlenberg on the other.	Walſtein, then expecting his revocation, lived privately at Memmingen, near Ratiſbon, to watch the motions of the dyet, and divert the diſgrace that impended over him.
Publiſhes his manifeſto.	Makes weak efforts againſt the king, with an army of equal numbers; the duchies of Pomerania and Mechlenberg being well-garriſoned throughout.		
4. Goes to reconnoitre the iſland of Uſedom, with 4000 men.			Tilly employed in reducing the landgraviate of Heſſe, and ſecuring his own grants of poſſeſſions in Weſtphalia and Lower Saxony.
5, 6. Gives audience to the deputies of the dukes of Pomerania and Mechlenberg, and the town of Stralſund.			
7. Takes one fort at Wolgaſt.	Extorts Gartz and Griffenhagen from the duke of Pomerania.		Torquato de Conti had the care of Pomerania, and the duke Savelli of the duchy of Mechlenberg.
8. Advances to the cloiſter and paſs of Pudegla.		The adminiſtrator of Magdeburg ſent to oppoſe Tilly in that duchy.	
9. Makes himſelf maſter of Swein.			
10. Signs articles of confederation with the duke of Pomerania.	Incamps half his army at Gartz, and half at Anclam.		30,000 veteran imperial troops were employed at this time in the ſiege of Mantua, under the command of Colalſo, Aldringer, and Galas.
14. The duke of Pomerania writes to the emperor.	Retreats to Anclam, and there forms a large camp.	Bauditzen and Hepburn act in Outer Pomerania with 8000 men.	
10—25. Remains in the iſlands of Uſedom and Wollin.			
23. Appoints a ſolemn faſt.			The dyet of Ratiſbon.
26. Tranſports his army over the Friſh-hof, and inveſts Stetin.			8000 men ſtationed at Deſſaubridge, to prevent the king from marching to Magdeburg.
— Takes it by dexterity.			
27. Orders Banier to give a camiſado to Dam.			
— Stargard taken and Camin.			
— Negociates with the adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, who places himſelf under the protection of Sweden.			

AUGUST 1630.

GUSTAVUS.	TORQUATO DE CONTI.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1—8. Commanded parties abroad.		Oxenſtiern commands in Pruſſia, near Brunſberg.	Walſtein remains inactive in Suabia, near Ratiſbon.
6. Paſs of Stolp ſecured.		Leſley and Ruthven take preparatory meaſures to facilitate the king's irruption into Mechlenberg.	Tilly continues to attempt the reduction of Lower Saxony.
9. Publiſhes a ſecond manifeſto.			The Duke de Savelli defends the duchy of Mechlenberg.
Fortifies Stetin, and fixes a camp there under Guſtavus Horn.	Remains inactive.	Chriſtian-William, adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, oppoſes Tilly.	Pappenheim blockades Magdeburg.
Offers Torquato battle.			10. The Electors write to Guſtavus.
15. Conceives ſome deſigns againſt Gartz and Grieffenhagen. Sends Horn to blockade Landſberg.		15. The Swedes attempt to ſurprize Landſberg in vain.	
Reſolves firſt to clear Pomerarania and the duchy of Mecklenberg.	Quits his laſt camp and retires to Gartz: Then to Stolp.	18. Marvellous eſcape of 700 Scots, who take Rugenwald by ſurprize.	18. The Emperor writes to him.
The plague rages at Stetin.	Marches at the head of 3000 men, to throw ſuccours into the town of Wolgaſt, but is defeated.		Tieffenbach and Goëtz conduct two ſeparate armies in Sileſia and Luſatia, and Balthazar di Marradas commands a third in Bohemia.
Takes Wolgaſt town and caſtle.			
20. Appoints a ſolemn faſt.			
Receives a reinforcement of 8000 men from Livonia.			
Fits up Wolgaſt caſtle for his queen.			The dyet of Ratiſbon continues.
Prepares an invaſion into Mechlenberg, by taking the important paſſes of Tribeſes, Gripnitz, and Trepto.			
It was in this month that the king fell into Aligheri's ambuſcade.			
Anſtruther, as ſome conjecture, pronounces his harangue at Vienna.	31. Breaks up his camp at Stolp, and intrenches once more near Anclam.		

SEPTEMBER 1630.

GUSTAVUS.	TORQUATO DE CONTI.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. The king obſerves a ſolemn faſt, it being Friday.	1. Aligheri, a deſerter from the Swedes, attacks the king's lines.	Oxenſtiern continues in his old ſituation near Brunſberg.	Aldringer, Galas, and Colalto recalled, with an army of 30,000 men from Mantua.
— Reviews his troops, and pays thoſe lately arrived.	2. Makes another attempt.	The Duke of Saxe-Lawenberg [Francis-Charles] and the Swediſh reinforcements act in Lower Saxony, and take Boitzenburg, Lawenberg, and Nyehauſen.	Colonel Reynacher oppoſes Saxe-Lawenberg.
Takes Griffenberg and Golnau.			
6. Leaves Stetin, and prepares to invade Mechlenberg.	4. Imperialiſts ruin Paſſevalk and Uckermund, and then leave them.	4. Bauditzen and Kniphauſen form the blockade of Colbergen.	Perpetual rencounters in the duchy of Magdeburg, between the Imperialiſts and adminiſtrator.
Sends aſſiſtances into Lower Saxony, which land the 25th near Lubec, and join Francis-Charles, Duke of Saxe-Lawenberg.	7. Retake them, and commit great outrage.		
13. Writes to the Catholic electors.		Bauditzen reinforces him, having taken Piritz.	Tilly ſtill continues in Lower Saxony, and on the frontiers of Heſſe.
14. Embarks with 12,000 men to reduce the duchy of Mechlenberg.	14. circa. Loſe 1000 men near Gartz.		
— Reaches Stralſund, and takes Bart and Damgarten.		Banier commands an army on the frontiers of Mechlenberg next to Pomerania.	The duke de Savelli commands Walſtein's troops in the duchy of Mechlenberg.
17. Writes to Lewis XIII. and Richelieu.	Torquato obſerves the motions of Horn at Stetin.		
— Appoints a ſolemn faſt.			
26. Advances to Ribnitz and forms a camp there, having taken the town.			Pappenheim takes Francis-Charles, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg priſoner at Ratzburg-caſtle.
28. Diſſolves the allegiance of Walſtein's new ſubjects by two proclamations.			— Reduces Allerſleben to capitulate.
Detaches Banier to the frontiers of Mechlenberg near Pomerania, and orders Bauditzen to inveſt Colbergen.			
Returns to Stralſund to indite proper letters to all his friends and enemies.			

OCTOBER 1630.

GUSTAVUS.	TORQUATO DE CONTI.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Beſieges Roſtoch, but converts the ſiege into a blockade.	Imperialiſts convey 4000 freſh troops into Roſtoch, with conſiderable loſs.	Bauditzen and Hepburn form an army of 8000 men near Rugenwald, in Back Pomerania: take Scheifelbein, and enter the Marche.	The duke de Savelli oppoſes Guſtavus in the duchy of Mechlenberg.
— Clears the whole ſea-coaſt with his fleet.			3. Col. Denhoff defeated near Stetin by the Imperialiſts.
—Advances towards Wiſmar.	Torquato ſends Holk's and Butler's regiments to reinforce Savelli.	4. Kniphauſen carries on the blockade of Colbergen.	
— Beats the duke de Savelli.			Oſſa and Montecuculi command in Suabia.
[Here, ſay ſome, he firſt exhibited the brigade or column.]			
King writes to Charles I. the letter not extant.	A convoy of four regiments of Walſteiners defeated.	Oxenſtiern continues in the neighbourhood of Elbingen to watch the Poles.	Göetz and Tieffenbach in Sileſia and Luſatia.—
			— Don Baltaſar in Bohemia.
11. Returns to Stralſund.		Banier ſucceeds the king in the duchy of Mechlenberg, as commander in chief. — Publiſhes an edict.	— Pappenheim in Lower Saxony.
Camerarius pronounces a ſpeech of the King's dictating at the Hague.		The adminiſtrator of Magdeburg acts in that duchy.	
Guſtavus remains at Stralſund. — Makes a ſhort digreſſion into Mechlenberg; returns again to Stralſund.		The adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg in Suabia.	
31. Writes to the emperor.			

NOVEMBER 1630.

GUSTAVUS.	TORQUATO DE CONTI.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
			3: The dyet at Ratiſbon concludes.
	Attempts fruitleſsly to throw a reinforcement into Colberg.		
	— Detaches 10,000 men to raiſe the ſiege.		
	5. Imperial mandate publiſhed againſt Guſtavus.		
		6 or 8. Monro takes Scheiffelbein.	
		Kniphauſen turns the blockade of Colberg into a ſiege.	9. The emperor publiſhes his edict concerning contributions and regulating the army.
		Roſtoch ſtill blockaded by Todt.	
12. Sends Falkenberg to defend Magdeburg.			
— Marches as far as Griffenberg to join Horn, and fight the Imperialiſts.		13. The ſtrange battle of Colbergen between Kniphauſen and Montecuculi.	
		A great fire at Colbergen.	
		Stations of troops in diſtant provinces, as in laſt month.	— The ſame on the Imperial ſide, only that Montecuculi ſerved in Pruſſia.
20. Returns to Stetin.			
— Continues there.			
		26. A dreadful tempeſt at Magdeburg.	

GUSTAVUS.	TORQUATO DE CONTI.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Continues ſtill at Stetin.		A ſea-fight between the Swedes and the Imperialiſts.—15 large ſhips under Gabriel le Roy, and 9 Swediſh men of war.—Swedes victorious.	The Duke de Savelli oppoſes the Swedes in the duchy of Mechlenberg.
Writes to the magiſtracy of Lubec.			
—Makes a ſhort excurſion into the duchy of Mechlenberg.	—Remains on the defenſive, beſeeching Tilly to ſend him ſupplies.		The Imperialiſts ravage and deſtroy all Pomerania.
— Summons all his troops for ſome great expedition; reviews them, and pays off all arrears.		The elector of Brandenburg publiſhes a manifeſto againſt the cruelties and depopulations of the Imperialiſts.	Tilly writes to the adminiſtrator of Magdeburg.
12. Finiſhes the fortifications of Stetin.	— Recalled.		
	ANNIBAL COUNT DE SCHOMBERG commands.		
	— Incamps under Gartz and Griffenhagen.		
23. Inveſts Griffenhagen.			
24. Takes it by ſtorm.			
27. Marches to beſiege Gartz.	The Imperialiſts fly to Cuſtrin, and thence to Francfort, burning the bridge over the Oder; their whole army ſaved by the elector of Brandenburg's giving it entrance into Cuſtrin.		
28. Takes Fort Morwitz.			
29. Gartz evacuated: And the Imperial army decamps.			

JANUARY 1630-1.

GUSTAVUS.	SCHOMBERG.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
The king denied entrance into Cuſtrin; and thereby loſt the power of ſaving Magdeburg.	—By the means of Cuſtrin, preſerves Spar's, young Walſtein's, Goetz's, and the old Saxon regiment.	Horn's blockade of Landſberg goes on.	Don Baltazar commands in Bohemia; Göetz, and Tiefenbach in Sileſia; Savelli, in the duchy of Mechlenberg; Offa in Suabia and Alſatia; and Pappenheim in Lower-Saxony.
—Takes Köeningſberg.			
8. Advances to Lubus, within four miles of Francfort.		8. Leſley takes Löcknitz.	
—Takes Legnitz-caſtle and Piritz, and ſecures all except Landſberg between the Warta and the Oder.			
The winter extremely ſevere.			
13. Treaty of Bernwalt ſigned between Sweden and France.	—Repreſents his bad ſituation to Tilly.		
	TILLY.	15. Horn, with a ſeparate army, obſerves Tilly near the frontiers of Sileſia.	Count de Schomberg made governor of Francfort.
The king publiſhes twenty-two new prayers.			Colonel Hatzfield murdered.
18. Reviews his army at Dam, which conſiſted of 16,000 men.			
	24. Advances to Francfort on the Oder.		
26. Poſts Horn at Köeningſberg to obſerve Tilly's motions.		—Recalled towards the end of the month, and poſted in the New Marche.	
—Grants kind protection to the inhabitants of the New Marche.			
—Gives over all thoughts againſt Landſberg: And taking the advantage of a ſevere froſt, enters Mechlenberg.			

FEBRUARY 1630-1.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
4. Sets out at the head of 16,000 men, on a second expedition into Mechlenberg.		The rhingrave commands in Mechlenberg.	Pappenheim acts in Lower-Saxony.
		Oxenſtiern in Pruſſia.	Other Imperial armies ſtationed as before.
Takes New Brandenburg, and Clemptno.		8. Dyet at Leipſic begins.	
— Propoſes terms to the inhabitants of the diſtrict round Stargard.			
Garriſon of Trepto diſlodged.			
14. Damin beſieged.	The duke de Savelli, governor of Damin, accuſed by Tilly.		
Löitch taken. Kniphauſen's army joins the king.	Tilly propoſes to ſtop the king's journey into Mechlenberg, but deſiſts.		
The king detaches Banier to take Loczin.			
— Incamps his troops between that and Trepto.			
Malchin ſurprized.			
Fridland and Weſtrow taken.			
[Guſtavus in eight months renders himſelf maſter of eighty cities, caſtles, and fortreſſes in Pomerania and Mechlenberg.]			
His Majeſty receives ſome ſuccours from Scotland; withdraws his garriſons from the iſle of Rugen; is reinforced by ſome of Oxenſtiern's army, and by the troops that inveſted Colberg.	—Advances from Francfort upon the Oder towards Mechlenberg.	All Back-Pomerania conquered.	
	—Paſſes by the king's lines but dares not attack them.		
— Being in expectance of Tilly, he places Banier at Damin, Kniphauſen at New Brandenburg, Count Ortenberg at Trepto, Horn at Fridland, and himſelf at the paſs of Paſſevalk, to guard the Oder and Pomerania.			
— Incamps himſelf between New Angermond and Freyenwald.	Bernſtein makes an unſucceſsful camiſado on Templin.		

MARCH 1631.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Articles ſigned with the Marquis of Hamilton.	— Puts the garriſon of Feldsberg to the ſword.		Don Baltazar, Montecuculi, Goëtz, Tieffenbach, commahd in Bohemia and the annexed provinces. Oſſa, in Suabia and Alſatia.
		2. Colbergen ſurrenders, after five months ſiege, to Colonel Todt.	
Guſtavus adds twenty new edicts, concerning plunder, and extortion, &c. to his military code.	9. Takes New Brandenburg by ſtorm, with an army of 22,000 men.	9. Horn retires to his maſter near Schwet.	
	— His great cruelty.	New Brandenburg is taken.	
— Arreſts the garriſon of Colberg, by way of reprizal.	— Dismantles it.	The Swedes defeat a body of Croatians near Munchenberg.	Coloredo attempts in vain to burn the king's bridge at Schwet.
— Incamps between Trepto and Damin.	— Enters Fridland, and attempts Trepto in vain.		Schomberg appointed to defend Francfort.
— Invents brigades in his camp at Schwet. Monro, part II. 25.	— Advances to Damin, and deſpairs of taking it.		
	— Returns to Repnin.		
18. Croſſes the Warta to obſerve Landſberg.	— Attempts fruitleſsly to deſtroy the king's fine bridge acroſs the Oder.	18. Remonſtrance and concluſions ſent to the emperor from the dyet of Leipſic.	Pappenheim employed in the duchy of Magdeburg.
— Conſtructs a famous bridge over the Oder at Schwet.	— Retires beyond Francfort on the Oder, from whence he came, ſay ſome; others alledge, he went back to Repnin.	24.—And to the Catholic electors.	
Zedpick taken.	— Orders a garriſon of 7000 men into Francfort.	A convention of the ſtates of Pomerania.	
25. The king determines to beſiege Francfort.	— And 5000 into Landſberg.	25. Horn ordered to watch the Imperialiſts on the ſide of Sileſia.	
27. Croſſes the Oder, and continues his march.	— Draws the garriſons from Trewen-Brietzen and Munchenberg.		
	— Fears to inveſt Damin.		
	— Forms deſigns againſt Magdeburg.		

APRIL 1631.

GUSTAVUS	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Arrives at Lubus.	The Francfort garriſon, conſiſting of 7000 men, eſcape, part of them into Sileſia.	The rhingrave and Bauditzen command in Sileſia. Take Croſſen the 16th.	The adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg, [Duke Julius] and the Proteſtants, form an union in Suabia, and levy troops.
2. Forms his approaches round Francfort.			
— Takes the town by ſtorm, and kills 3000 men.—Old Leſley made governor.			
— Sends 4000 men towards Landſberg.			
4. Guſtavus writes to the confederators at Leipſic, and the elector of Saxony appoints a thankſgiving.			
5. Follows the Landſberg detachment with the groſs of his army.			
— Sends the rhingrave and Bauditzen into Sileſia.		9. Treaty between France and the elector of Tryers.	
The town of Landſberg ſurrenders after eight days ſiege; and thus Pomerania and Mechlenberg are cleared, and a paſſage opened into Sileſia.	12. Tilly inveſts Magdeburg in form.		Don Baltazar, Tieffenbach, Montecuculi, and Dhona act in Sileſia, &c. againſt Bauditzen and the rhingrave.
		15. A detachment of Swedes beaten between Landſberg and Schieffelbein.	
		16. The dyet of Leipſic breaks up, it being Palm-Sunday.	
18. The garriſon marches away. The king returns to Francfort upon the Oder, negociating, by means of couriers, about Spandau, which he obtains afterwards.			18. Landſberg evacuated.
			The Imperialiſts attempt Croſſen in Sileſia.
			The emperor publiſhes an edict for raiſing new taxes.—Exciſes meat.
The States-general ſubſcribe to Guſtavus about 5000 l. per month.	21. Takes a ſtrong fortreſs.		
	— Alarmed needleſsly at Guſtavus's coming.		
The king garriſons Francfort, Croſſen, and Landſberg.	29. Farenbach, an Imperial colonel and engineer, performs wonders.		

MAY 1631.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Detaches from Furſtenwald near Francfort 10,000 infantry, and 80 troops of cavalry, towards Berlin.		Oxenſtiern commands in Pruſſia.	The Imperial commanders ſtationed as in the two preceding months.
— Sends count Ortenburg to demand Spandau and Cuſtrin.		Horn in Sileſia, reinforced by the king.	
2. Diſpatches Horn on the ſame errand.			
3. Has an interview with the elector in Copnick-grove.			
— Obtains Spandau only for a month.			
— Enters Berlin.			
A treaty of confederation between France and Bavaria.			
— The king goes to Potzdam.			
— Lies in his camp at or near Potzdam the remaining part of this month.			
6. Sollicits a confederacy with the elector of Saxony in vain.			
— Enters Berlin.		8. A treaty of confederation and alliance, for eight years, between France and Bavaria.	
10. Hears that Magdeburg is taken.	10. Takes Magdeburg by ſtorm; burns the city and deſtroys the inhabitants.		
— Incamps at Potzdam to intercept Tilly's retreat.	— Breaks Deſſau-bridge over precipitately.		
— Takes Old Brandenburg and Ratenau.	13. Makes his public entrance into Magdeburg.		
— Views the country near Magdeburg.	— Stays thereabouts many days.		
— Retakes Werben and Borg, near Jericho-monaſtery.			14. An Imperial ban publiſhed againſt the Leipſic confederators.
28. Eſcapes an ambuſh of Pappenheim.	— Removes from Magdeburg, and croſſes the foreſt of Hartz.		Pappenheim attempts to ſecure Havelberg.

JUNE 1631.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Takes Guterboch, to ſecure the two bridges over the Elb, namely, Deſſau and Wittemberg.	— At Alleſleben treats with the princes of the houſe of Saxony.	Horn commands the Swediſh army in Sileſia.	The Imperial generals in their laſt mentioned poſts.
5. Re-inſtates the dukes of Mechlenberg.	— Has a deſign on Erfurt.		
8. Re-delivers Spandau, with great reluctance.			
11. Obtains it by a new treaty of alliance.			
— Receives four regiments from his army in Pruſſia, and ſome new levies from Brandenburg.			
— Sends Oxenſtiern a reinforcement of 4000 men.			The Imperialiſts attempt Croſſen in vain.
12. Returns by water to Stetin. Gives audience to the Muſcovite ambaſſador the 15th. Propoſes to aſſiſt at the ſiege of Gripſwald.	13. Advances to Weymar.		
	14. Croſſes the Unſtrut.		
	15. At Oldſleben.		
— Publiſhes his apology concerning Magdeburg.	— Goes to Mulhauſen; has a deſign on the landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel.	16. Gripſwald capitulates to Todt, after a blockade and ſiege of 11 months.	
Anſtruther pronounces his harangue to the emperor.	— Sends Pappenheim to ſecure Havelberg; who afterwards raiſes contributions at Eiſleben.	17. Two dukes of Mechlenberg command in their duchies.	
	— Continues in theſe parts all the month.		
29. Guſtavus returns from Stetin to Berlin.	28. Propoſes to march and attack Guſtavus, but is diſmayed by Pappenheim's and Mansfelt's ill ſucceſſes.		
Bauditzen and Dewbatel croſs the Elb, by fording, with 4000 horſe and dragoons, and take Tangermond ſword in hand.			

JULY 1631.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
— Defeats Pappenheim near Magdeburg, and takes Stendal.	Pappenheim ſends for Tilly.		Furſtenberg, with 18,000 men (partly the Mantuan army) forces the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg to renounce the Leipſic concluſions.
9. Banier takes Havelberg, ſword in hand.			
The king incamps moſt judiciouſly at Werben.	Tilly, who had intended to make an irruption into Heſſe Caſſel, obliged to return.		
12. Concludes a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.			12. Fugger and Furſtenberg, with part of the Italian army, invade the landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel.
		16. The Marquis of Hamilton ſails from Yarmouth.	— Recalled to join Tilly.
17. Gives Bernſtein a camiſado, and ruins four of Pappenheim's beſt regiments.	17. Advances to Wolmerſtadt in the dioceſe of Magdeburg.		
— Incamps at Werben.		18. Duke Bernard acts in the landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel.	Tieffenbach commands in Sileſia.
— Receives a viſit from the landgrave of Heſſe and duke Bernard, with a tender of their ſervices.	19, 20. Reviews his army.		
21. Recals the garriſon of Tangermond.	21. Arrives at Tangermond, forms a plot to fire the king's camp and powder-waggons.		
— Diſcovers Tilly's plot, and turns it to advantage.			
23, 24. Several ſkirmiſhes.			
25. Guſtavus repulſes Tilly.	25. Attacks the king's lines.		
26—30. Continues on the defenſive in his excellent camp at Werben.	26—30. Remains quiet at ſome diſtance, namely, about Mulhauſen.		
— Writes a letter of thanks to the Magdeburgers.		31. The Marquis of Hamilton lands at Wolgaſt, with 6000 Engliſh forces.	

AUGUST 1631.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
— Remains at Werben.	— In the neighbourhood of Werben.		
	10. Diſlodges, and moves towards Saxony.	10. circa. The Engliſh joined by 4000 Swedes, newly landed.	
12. Signs a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.			
Queen of Sweden lands at Wolgaſt, with 8000 men.		Horn commands in Silefia, and Todt in the duchy of Mechlenberg.	
15. The king ſends his forces on various deſtinations, and leaves Bauditzen with the ſtanding camp at Werben.			
— Propoſes to form two other camps, one at Ratenau, and another at Old Brandenburg.	16. Joined by Furſtenberg, with 18,000 men near Mansfelt.		
		20. The elector of Saxony reviews his army.	
	— Summons the elector of Saxony to enter into new engagements, and demands a paſſage over Wittemberg-bridge.	The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel acts in his own country.	21. Pappenheim ravages Miſnia.
		The elector of Saxony incamps at Torgau to defend the banks of the Elbe. His whole army amounts to 20,000 men.	
— Receives preſſing letters from the elector of Saxony.	26. Takes Merſberg.		
	— Pillages Naumburg and Zeitz.	— Prevents Furſtenberg from paſſing the river.	
29. Advances with part of his army to Ratenau, whilſt the main body reaches Old Brandenburg.	29. Summons Leipſic.		
30. Marches towards Saxony.			
31. Arrives at Coſwick, where Arnheim confers with him.			

SEPTEMBER 1631.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Obliges the elector of Saxony, whom Arnheim repreſented, to ſign a treaty.	1. Ravages the country about Leipſic.	1. Elector of Saxony lies with 16,000 men near Torgau. 2. The Engliſh troops arrive at Stetin.	Gronsfelt and Boninghauſen act in Weſtphalia and Lower Saxony, againſt the duke of Lunenberg, archbiſhop of Bremen, and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel's troops.
3. Allowed to paſs the Elb at Wittemberg-bridge. 4. Meets the Saxon army and ſome Brandenburg troops at Dieben.	3. Inveſts it with 40,000 men.	3. The landgrave of Heſſe returns home from the king to carry on the war, taking duke Bernard with him. —Clears the abbacy of Hirſchfeild.	
5. Reviews the combined army. 6. Deliberates and halts on Tilly's taking Leipſic. 7. Marches and fights the battle of Leipſic. 8. Inveſts that city.	5. The town capitulates. 6. Tilly invites the king to battle by letter. 7. Defeated at Leipſic, and flies to Halle.		
9. Purſues the Imperialiſts to Merſburg, and takes it. — Diſpatches his army in ſeveral corps to purſue the enemy. 11. Takes Halle and Merſburg.	9. — To Aſcherſleben, and writes to Aldringer, and thence to Halberſtadt; 80 Engliſh miles. — Publiſhes monitorial letters to recal his diſperſed troops.		Aldringer and Fugger oppoſe the landgrave.
		12. The elector of Saxony inveſts Leipſic.	
13. Writes to Charles I. on the victory of Leipſic.	13. Leaves Halberſtadt.	13. Receives its capitulation, and reduces Miſnia. Banier ſent to oppoſe Pappenheim in the dioceſe of Magdeburg — Blockades Mansfelt in that town. The landgrave of Heſſe wages war fortunately in the dioceſe of Paderborn, and the abbacy of Fulda, &c.	
14. Collects his forces.		15. The landgrave of Heſſe takes Fritzlar.	15. Hover with their troops about Erfurt; retire.
16. Begins his journey, and marches along the Unſtrut. 17. Lies at Great Someren. 18. Takes Erfurt. — Settles the affairs of Thuringia.	17. Reaches Alvede, 15 miles.		The duke of Lorrain marches to join Tilly. Tieffenbach and Goëtz threaten to invade Saxony.
— Sends for Oxenſtiern out of Pomerania.	25. Arrives at Corvey, and croſſes the Weſer. Receives 5000 troops from Cologn.		—Quit Luſatia for private reaſons.
26. Advances to Arnſtadt.	26. Lies at Warburg. — Points his courſe between Waldec and Heſſe, and arrives near Fulda.	26. Bauditzen marches a part of the king's royal army by another road through the Thuringian foreſt.	
27. Reaches Ilmenau; divides his forces.		27. Horn, with another detachment, frightens the imperial armies from Eyſenach.	
28. Croſſes the Thuringian foreſt.		— The elector of Saxony, in conjunction with Hamilton's forces, invades Luſatia.	28. Aldringer near Eyſenach.
29. Lies at Schleüſſing.		29. Horn takes Gotha.	
30. Beſieges Köeningshoſen. — Frightens the imperial commiſſaries from Francfort on the Mayne.	30. Advances to Fritzlar in Heſſe Caſſel.	30. — Returns to the king.	30. Some Croatians alarm Dreſden.

OCTOBER 1631.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Takes Schweinfurt.		The elector of Saxony hears Paradeiſſer's propoſals of accommodation with the emperor, through the interpoſition of Cadretta, the Spaniſh ambaſſador.	Goëtz ravages Lower Luſatia, and Tieffenbach the Upper, and conquer both provinces.
2. Makes his entrance.	2. Removes from Fritzlar.		— They retreat, by orders from Vienna.
3. Diſpatches circular letters to the biſhopric of Bamberg and parts adjacent.	3. Ravages ſome towns in the landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel.		
4. Forces the biſhop of Wurtzburg to make his eſcape.	4. Joined by Aldringer.	Horn ſtays with the king all this month.	4. The Lorrainers paſs the Rhyne.
— Inveſts Wurtzburg.		Leſley, and the Engliſh under Hamilton, act in Luſatia and Sileſia.	Gronsfelt and Leſley oppoſe the landgrave of Heſſe.
5. Makes himſelf maſter thereof.			The elector of Bavaria puts himſelf at the head of 20,000 men.
5—8. Beſieges Marienberg-caſtle, and takes it by ſtorm.	6. Reviews his army at Fulda.	7. Arnheim reduces Lower Luſatia.	
8—14. Diſpatches his army in parties to make conqueſts in the dioceſes of Wurtzburg and Bamberg.	10. Reaches Aſchaffenburg; confers with the duke of Lorrain.	The landgrave of Heſſe takes Munden. — Enters the dioceſe of Paderborn.—Afterwards carries the war into Weſtphalia, and then marches to join Guſtavus.	
15. Wertheim taken.	— Sends Aldringer to join the Lorrainers.		
16. The king gives a camiſado to three regiments of Tilly.	16. Detaches 3000 men towards Wertheim, whom the king defeats.	16. Roſtoch ſurrenders to General Todt.	
17—20. Viſits his troops at their various ſtations.	17. Joined by the Lorrain army.	Banier beſieges Magdeburg; Hamilton and the Engliſh then with him.	
	18. Advances towards the Higher Palatinate.	18. Virmond beſieges Halberſtadt in vain; joins Manſfelt at Magdeburg.	
	20. Lies about Darmſtadt.	20. Arnheim reduces Upper Luſatia.	
21. Commanded parties abroad, &c. which ſurpriſe Rotenberg, Biſchofsheim, and Mergentheim.	21. Receives a repulſe near Rotenberg.		
	22. Takes Babenhauſen.		
	23. Sollicits the city of Francfort.		
26. Guſtavus publiſhes a ſecond manifeſto.	— Marches into the Bergſtraſs.	25. The elector and Arnheim enter Bohemia; take Tetchſin and Starahora, joined by old count Thurn.	Don Baltazar di Marradas commands againſt Arnheim, &c.
— Doubts whether he ſhall march to Nurenberg or Francfort on the Mayne.			28. The revocation of Walſtein agitated at Vienna.
			Manſfelt commands in the dioceſes of Halberſtadt and Magdeburg.
	30. Advances again towards the Higher Palatinate, and continues thereabouts.		The Croatians attack Old Dreſden, but repulſed.

NOVEMBER 1631.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Hanau taken by camiſado.		1. Arnheim ſummons Prague.	
	2. Retires into Franconia, and ſtorms Mergentheim. — Propoſes to rejoin the Lorrainers.		
5, 6. The king paſſes backwards and forwards to Oxenfurt. — Ill of a fever. Leaves Horn in Franconia.	5, 6. Forms a deſign of taking Oxenfurt ſword in hand, but without ſucceſs.	5, 6. Horn with a ſeparate army in the dioceſe of Wurtzburg, to obſerve Tilly. — Aldringer and the duke of Lorrain continue here the whole month. The landgrave of Heſſe ſent with his own army of 10,000 men to diſturb the ſiege of Nurenberg.	
7, 8. Advances towards Francfort.	7, 8, 9. Reduces ſeveral towns in his way to Nurenberg.	8. The elector of Saxony makes his entrance into Prague. Count Thurn publiſhes a general protection in Guſtavus's name.	Don Baltazar, Tieffenbach, Galas, and Goëtz act againſt Arnheim and count Thurn.
10—13. Takes Steinheim, Proceldea, Miltenberg, &c. in paſſing along.	13. Orders Oſſa to take Rotenberg.		
14. Croſſes the Mayne at Aſchaffenberg.	14, 15. Makes himſelf maſter of Weinſheim, Guntzenhauſen, Weiſſenburg, and Wilſburg-caſtle.		
15. Enters Hanau. Obtains Ruſelheim from the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt.		15. Banier ſent about this time to take the command in the dioceſe of Magdeburg; with him Hamilton acts and the Engliſh. — They inveſt Magdeburg for ſix weeks.	
16. Lies at Offenbach. — Makes his public entry into Francfort.	16. Ravages the margraviate of Anſpach. 17. Advances to Schwabach.		
19. Takes Hoëchſt. 20. Returns to Francfort. Joined by the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel with 10,000 men. 22. Retires to Hoëchſt to perform his thankſgivings in private for taking Francfort.	18. Inveſts Nurenberg.		
23. Forms a league with the counts of Veteravia.	23. Raiſes the ſiege.		
25—27. His actions near the Rhingau and near Bingen.	24, 25. Lies two nights at Rott, where his powder-waggons blow up. 26. Puts his army into garriſon and winter-cantonment; one part in Bavaria, and one in the Higher Palatinate.		Oſſa joins Tilly, and goes with him towards Bavaria. The duke of Bavaria appointed in effect generaliſſimo over the army of the league. — The Lorrainers forced to retire acroſs the Rhyne.
29. The army returns to Francfort.	28, &c. Goes to Donawert.	28. Arnheim and Thurn beat four imperial generals at the battle of Limburg.	

DECEMBER 1631.

GUSTAVUS	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Marches in order to inveſt Heidelberg.			
2, 3. Takes ſeveral towns in the Berg-ſtraſs.	2. Meets the elector of Bavaria, having repoſed his army in winter quarters.	3 Arnheim and Thurn take Egra; inveſt Budweis fruitleſsly.	
4. Beſieges Oppenheim fort, changing his deſign againſt Heidelberg.	4. Takes Kitzingen.	4. Horn takes Kitzingen.	Aldringer takes the field to relieve Rotenberg, but comes too late; he retires to Augſburg.
7. Paſſes the Rhyne, and engages the Spaniards.	— Goes to Nordlingen, and there remains inactive.		
8. Oppenheim town and fort ſurrender.	— Appoints Cratz to be veltmaréchal in the Upper Palatinate.		
9. The winter begins to be extremely ſevere.			
10. The king beſieges Mentz.		10. and Weinſheim; keeping the field all the month, and making advantage of Tilly's retiring into quarters.	
	12. The elector of Bavaria ſummons a dyet at Ingolſtadt.	12. Takes Gebſatel.	Pappenheim acts in Lower Saxony.
13. Mentz capitulates.	— Sends an ambaſſador to the emperor, and another to the king of Sweden.	13. Arnheim and the elector return to Dreſden, which diſpleaſes Guſtavus, who wanted them to keep the field.	13. The Imperialiſts attempt Prague in vain.
14. Guſtavus makes his public entrance, it being his birth-day: [ſay ſome.]			Walſtein accepts the generalſhip.
16. A public thankſgiving.		16. Horn takes Mergentheim; he blockades Rotenberg and takes it.	Galas and Baltazar command in Bohemia.
18. The king ſurprizes Fridberg.		— Marches into Suabia.	Boninghauſen and Mansfelt act in Mechlenberg againſt the dukes, Banier, Todt, &c.
		20. Beſieges Hailbron and takes it.	
		21. The landgrave of Heſſe beſieges and takes Köeningſtein caſtle; then retires with his army into his own territories.	
22—28. The Spaniards evacuate ſeveral towns in the Palatinate.		— Enters the abbacy of Fulda.	
The city of Spires accords with the king, following the example of Wormes.		24. Magdeburg propoſes to capitulate.	The Spaniards forſake many towns in the Palatinate.
Guſtavus hears propoſals from the Bavarian miniſter.		Banier and Hamilton diſagree about retreating.	
— Erects a column on paſſing the Rhyne.		26. The rhingrave commands on the Moſelle, and defeats the Spaniards in various rencounters, particularly near Frankendale.	Pappenheim raiſes the ſiege of Magdeburg.
		Horn returns into Franconia.	
		30. Takes Guntzenhauſen.	
		Col. Lohauſon, after a long ſiege, takes Doëmitz in Lower Saxony.	
		The dukes of Mechlenberg clear their country.	
		The Swedes take Mergentheim, [i. e. Mariendal] Friedberg, Köeningſtein, Hailbrun, Germerſheim, Landau, and Bingen.	

JANUARY 1631-2.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Manheim taken by ſurprize.		1. Horn continues near Weinſheim.	Aldringer keeps an eye to the city of Augſburg, and prepares to relieve Rotenberg.
3, 4, 5. Heidelberg and Frankendale blockaded.	3, &c. Goes to Donawert and Amberg, and forms a ſcheme of moleſting the elector of Saxony, by ſending to the Imperialiſts 10,000 Bavarian recruits.	2, 3. Reviews his army.	
Guſtavus negociates with England, France, Holland, the electors Palatine and of Cologn, and the duke of Neuburg.			7. Pappenheim evacuates Magdeburg; and the marquis of Hamilton repoſſeſſes it.
10. An armiſtice concluded for 14 days; the king writes to Horn on the ſubject.	10, 11. Returns to Nordlingen, to hinder Guſtavus from entering Bavaria through the duchy of Wirtemberg.	10. Obeys the truce, and viſits Iphoven and Nurenberg.	
11. Advances in the interim to Gelenhauſen, to give Pappenheim battle, who had violated the truce.		— Joined by duke William of Saxe-Weymar.	12. Pappenheim quits Wolfenbuttle.
The Spaniards neglect the convention and paſs the Moſelle.		Wiſmar ſurrenders to Todt and the duke of Mechlenberg.	14. The elector of Tryers publiſhes his manifeſto with regard to France.
19. The French ambaſſadors annex their ſubſcription to the armiſtice, or treaty of neutrality.	18. Sends ſome ordnance from Wilſburg-caſtle to Oſſa.	—A battle between the garriſon and the Swedes.	
20. The king returns to Francfort with his queen.	— Detaches more troops into the Upper Palatinate.	The archbiſhop of Bremen appears with 8000 men.	
		20. The rhingrave takes Kirchberg by aſſault, and defeats the Spaniards near Caſtel: Falls afterwards into an ambuſcade.	
22. Sends the rhingrave againſt the Spaniards.		21. Horn returns to Sweinfurt.	22. Walſtein publiſhes his placart to invite all deſerters and diſcontented old commanders.
24. The armiſtice expires.			The elector of Bavaria joins Tilly.
The king diſpatches duke Bernard on a ſeparate command, who takes ſeveral towns about Mentz.		25. Prepares to poſſeſs Bamberg.	Cratz made velt-maréchal under Tilly.
29. Protects the trade of Francfort by an edict.		29 Takes Hochſtadt.	Pappenheim retreats croſs the Weſer to Hamelen, being purſued by the generals Todt, Lunenberg, William of Weymar, Banier, the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the archbiſhop of Bremen.
		Duke William of Saxe-Weymar joins Banier and Hamilton in the dioceſe of Magdeburg.	

FEBRUARY 1631-2.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1, &c. At Francfort.		1. Horn takes Bamberg—detained by rains and floods.	
	2. Sends Cratz to ſuccour Forcheim.		
4. Quits it to repel the Spaniards, who had violated the truce.		Marquis of Hamilton ſets out to wait on the king at Francfort.	Pappenheim cuts to pieces 1500 new-raiſed Swediſh dragoons near Corvey.
	8—20. Employs himſelf in fortifying the banks of the Danube.		
10. The king of Bohemia arrives at Francfort, and Lord Craven.		Banier and duke William of Weymar take Goſlar, Northeim, Göttingen, and Erichſberg-caſtle.	
11.—The marquis of Hamilton.			
His majeſty goes to Hoëchſt, where the king of Bohemia finds him.			13. Di Marradas recovers part of Bohemia.
— That prince regaled ſplendidly by Guſtavus, as likewiſe a vaſt number of foreign miniſters.		14. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel retakes Warberg.	
Guſtavus ſends Oxenſtiern ambaſſador to Saxony, who does great ſervice at the dyet of Torgau.			
16.—Marches to Mentz in order to beſiege Creützuach.			
18. Inveſts Creützuach.			
22. Takes poſſeſſion thereof.	20. Goes into the Upper Palatinate.	20. Horn prepares to inveſt Forcheim.	
23. Returns to Francfort.	23. Prepares himſelf to attack Horn.	Duke Bernard conquers the whole electorate of Mentz.	
24, &c. Reduces the whole biſhopric of Mentz.	24. Advances to Altdorf.	Palatin-Chriſtian of Birkenfelt levies troops for the king.	
		Count Hanau takes Druſenheim.	
		Ulm accepts a Swediſh garriſon.	
		25. Banier and duke William of Weymar receive orders to march to the king on his entering Bavaria.	
	27. Enters Forcheim.	— Todt ſupplies their places.	
	28. Advances to Bamberg.	28. Horn prepares to receive Tilly.	The town of Cologne ſigns a neutrality with Guſtavus.
		— Duke William of Weymar ſent to reinforce Horn, but arrived not.	

MARCH 1631-2.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
—Receives the account of Horn's defeat. —Aſſembles his army, in order to be revenged on Tilly. 4. Sets out from Francfort.	1. Defeats Horn and enters Bamberg. —Continues about Hasfurt in the biſhopric of Bamberg.	1. Horn retires from Bamberg, and makes a fine retreat, croſſing the Mayne. 2. Cuts two regiments of his purſuers to pieces in retreating to Mergentheim. Oxenſtiern left commander in chief in the electorate of Mentz, and the Palatinate. 5. Horn retires to Schweinfurt.	Walſtein declared generaliſſimo, enters Bohemia with 20,000 men, not including Di Marradas's army. Pappenheim takes the field, and croſſes the Weſer, to the eaſtward ſide.
6. Advances to Aſchaffenberg. 7. To Lohr (thirty miles) halts there. 9. To Warenfelt. 10. To Arnſtein. 11. To Tettelbach. 12. To Kitzingen; diſpatching Hepburn to Oxenfurt.	12. Calls a council of war at Forcheim. 13. Reviews his troops, and marches into the Upper Palatinate. 15. Advances to Chriſtian-Erlang.	7. Writes to the king. 11. Joins him.	—Retakes Erichſberg and Eymbeck. —Marches through Hildeſheim and Lunenberg.
16. Marches to Weinſheim (his three armies now united) and Dunkelſpiel. 20. Incamps at Furt. 21. Makes a viſit to Nurenberg. —Hath ſome rencounters with Tilly's army. —Changes his deſign and march. 24. Advances to Oetingen and Pleinfelt. —Paſſes by young Pappenheim in Wilſburg-caſtle. 26. Takes Kayſerheim town and cloiſter, inveſts Donawert. 27. Takes it by ſtorm. 28. And a caſtle of the Fuggers. 29. Sends the Palatin Auguſtus with an army into the duchy of Neuburg; who takes Höchſtadt and Lawingen. 30. Banier makes an unſucceſsful camiſado on Neuburg. 31. The king leaves Donawert.	16. To Neümarkt, where he continues ſome days. 20. Retreats towards the Danube. 26. Continues about Ingolſtadt. 30. Retires into Bavaria.	15. Conducts the van-guard to Weinſheim.—Stays with his maſter. —Duke William of Weymar commands in Horn's abſence, in Thuringia, &c. —The elector of Saxony enters Bohemia, and boaſts that his troops amount to 37,900 men. Todt commands againſt Pappenheim. Some recruits land from England. They inveſt Boxtehude, and take it in three weeks. Sir Patrick Ruthven made governor of Ulm, and general in Suabia. General Todt diſplaced on Salvius's repreſentations. Leſley ſucceeds him, and being wounded, Bauditzen is ordered to ſet out, and take the command.—Mean while Todt ſtill acts.	31. Count Embden, with 10,000 Spaniards croſſes the Moſelle. He is ſupported with another army led by Gonſalvo di Cordoua.

APRIL 1632.

GUSTAVUS.	TILLY.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Advances with his army to Northeim.	1, 2. Lies incamped near Rayn.		Walſtein advances towards the middle of Bohemia; ſuppoſed to command 50,000 men.
2. Joined there by Duke William of Saxe-Weymar's reinforcements.			—Croſſes the Elbe near Budin; advances to Schlani. Takes Budin and Prague.
3, 4. — Erects his batteries and bridge in order to croſs the Lech.	3, 4. Spreads his troops along the Lech.		
5. The battle of the Lech.	5. Defeated, and carried off the field of battle, mortally wounded.		
6. The king advances into Bavaria.			
7. Points his courſe to Augſburg.	6, 7, 8, &c. The Elector of Bavaria takes the command, and flies towards Ingolſtadt.	7. Oxenſtiern, duke Bernard, and the rhingrave oppoſe the Spaniards with 15,000 men.	
8. Incamps at Lechauſen.			
9. Summons Augſburg. [Treaty ſigned between France and the elector of Tryers.]	ELECTOR of BAVARIA.	Horn detached to purſue Tilly's army, rejoins his maſter at the ſiege of Augſburg.	
10. Guſtavus receives the capitulation of Augſburg.			
11. Settles the government; reſtores the Lutheran religion.		13. Luca di Cagro, a Spaniſh general, intends a camiſado, and is defeated by the rhingrave.	
14. Makes his public entrance.			14. Don Philip de Sylva joins the Spaniards with 3000 men.
15. Goes to Waho [Aicha] in his way to Ingolſtadt.			
16. Inveſts that town.			
17, 18, 19. Employed in the ſiege, and repulſes a vigorous ſally.	18. Surprizes Ratiſbon.		
20. Overturned by a cannon-ball.	20. Tilly dies at Ingolſtadt.	20. The queen of Sweden eſcorted by Oxenſtiern to the city of Mentz.	
22. Makes a journey to Neuburg.		21. Col. Horneck ſurrenders Spires to the Spaniards.	
24. Gives over beſieging Ingolſtadt.		23. Horn ſent from Ingolſtadt to penetrate again into Bavaria.	
25. Takes Moſberg.		25. Returns.	
29. Goes to Landſhut, which Horn and Hepburn beſieged.		27. He and Hepburn beſiege Landſhut.	Pappenheim raiſes the blockade at Stade, and ruins Leſley's and Monro's regiments.
		Todt orders the Engliſh to blockade Stade.	

MAY 1632.

GUSTAVUS.	ELECTOR of BAVARIA.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
4. Turns back to Moſberg.		The rhingrave oppoſes Don Gonſalvo in the electorate of Tryers.	Pappenheim attempts to force a paſſage through Todt's army, but miſcarries.
5. Takes Freiſſingen.			
— Recals duke Bernard from the electorate of Mentz, and ſends Horn thither.		Bauditzen takes the command againſt Pappenheim.	— Goes to Wolfenbuttle. Negotiates about ſelling Stade to the king of Denmark.
6. Advances towards Munich.			
7. Makes his public entrance.			
9. Reviews his army.			
— Leaves Hepburn governor of Munich.			
		11. Horn arrives at Francfort, to replace duke Bernard.	— Enters the territories of Heſſe.
16. Quarrels with Sir H. Vane.			
20. Advances to Augſburg in order to give Oſſa battle.	20. Cratz makes an irruption into Bavaria.		20. Oſſa beſieges Biberach.
			21. Spaniſh generals forced to leave Spires.
			23. Greatly preſſed by Oxenſtiern's army and the French.
25. Raiſes the ſiege of Biberach.			25. Retreat with difficulty.
			26. Walſtein over-reached by Arnheim in a march. Takes Egra.
27. Returns to Augſburg.	27. Takes Weiſſenberg.		

JUNE 1632.

GUSTAVUS.	ELECTOR of BAVARIA.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
Leaves Bavaria, and marches to Munich.	—Enters the Upper Palatinate.	Duke Bernard left to purſue Oſſa, defeats Hannibal count Hohen-Oems.	
— Takes Aichſtadt, Diſſlingen, and Pappenheim-caſtle.	5, 6, Takes Sultzbach and Amberg.	Banier left with 8000 men at Augſburg.	6. Don Baltazar enters Luſatia.
7. Arrives at Furt.		Duke William of Weymar left with 12,000 men in Suabia.	
8, 9. Reviews his army.			
10. Makes a viſit to Nurenberg.	10. Advances to join Walſtein, and receives from him a reinforcement of 16,000 men.	10. Arnheim enters Luſatia to oppoſe Don Baltazar—ſaves Bautzen.	
—Attempts to intercept the duke of Bavaria.		The adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg obſerves Oſſa with 8000. men.	
11.— Reaches Lauff.			
12.— And Hirchſbruch.		Horn detached towards the Upper Palatinate.	
—Retakes Sultzbach.	13, 14. Returns towards the king.		
—Seizes the paſs of Hartmanſhoven.	WALSTEIN.		
—Retires to Nurenberg, on hearing Walſtein and the duke of Bavaria were in full march.	4. Takes Prague and offers Saxony a peace.		14. Ellenbogen in Bohemia ſurrenders to Holk.
	16. Having taken Leütmeritz, approaches Egra.		
19. Regains Nurenberg.	—Enters the Palatinate, in order to join the elector of Bavaria, who had ſurprized Ratiſbon.	17. The rhingrave beſieges Coblentz, and takes it the 21ſt.	
—Incamps there.		21. Beſieges Trarbach, and takes it.	
		[The French army in and near the electorate of Tryers.]	
	25. Joins the duke of Bavaria.	25. The elector of Saxony and Arnheim return to Dreſden to liſten to a negotiation, which Guſtavus hinders.	
	26. Both armies advance to Neümarkt. Walſtein leaves the diſtrict round Amberg.		
	27. Rencounter between his troops and Colonel Dewbatel.	Dewbatel, with 10,000 Swedes and Brandenburghers, enters Sileſia.	
	28. Advances to Freyſtadt.	Arnheim returns with his army, having made a very fine and artful retreat.	28. Pappenheim offers the Swedes battle.
	30. Arrives at Schwabach; and confronts the king.		

JULY 1632.

GUSTAVUS.	WALSTEIN.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
		3. Horn takes Graffenberg, after six days siege.	
4. Removes his camp to Furt.	4. Intrenches at Furt.	— And Berncastel, and Veldentz.	Pappenheim pressed by the duke of Bavaria to make a diversion in Thuringia or Saxony, which he refuses; and then marches to raise the siege of Mastricht, July 4.
5—10. Common rencounters.			
11. Oxenstiern begins his march from the electorate of Mentz, to join his master.	Commanded parties abroad.		
	Margraviate of Anspach ravaged.	12. Dewbatel seizes Great Glogau.	
		Banier recovers Munich, and drives Cratz out of Bavaria.	
		Duke Bernard clears the Lech from arch-duke Leopold's forces.	
		14. Bauditzen razes the fortifications of Duderstadt, and afterwards takes Einbech.	
		— The duke of Lunenberg besieges Duderstadt.	
20. The king takes a great convoy of Walstein's.	20. Walstein sends Holk with 19,000 men into Misnia.	—Takes it the 24th.	
		20. Oxenstiern joins the landgrave of Hesse Cassel; they advance into Franconia, making in all 10,000 men; wait at Wurtzburg for duke William of Weymar, who had been dispatched to bring the English, and some Swedish forces from Lower Saxony, and some Saxon regiments; in all about 8000 men.	
		24. Duke Bernard and Banier receive orders by an express to join their master.	
		25. Arnheim clears Lusatia; receives a reinforcement of 10,000 Swedes.	— Serves on the banks of the Weser, about the end of the month.
27. Gains intelligence of the imperial magazines at Freystadt.		Horn returns to Mentz.	— Gronsfelt left to command in his room.
30. Dewbatel gives that town a camisado, and destroys the magazines.		30. The duke of Lunenberg blockades Wolfenbuttle.	
The king defeats General Spar, and takes him prisoner.			

AUGUST 1632.

GUSTAVUS.	WALSTEIN.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. His oration to his generals on depredations, contributions, cruelty, &c.	The court of Vienna highly pleaſed with Walſtein's declining a deciſive engagement.	1. Lunenberg and Bauditzen divide their armies.	
	That general wants to enter into ſome accommodation with Guſtavus.	Bauditzen, in Pappenheim's abſence, breaks into Weſtphalia. Surpriſes Warburg and beſieges Paderborn the 12th: Raiſes the ſiege the 21ſt.	
4, 5. Parties ſent abroad.	— Diſpleaſed with velt-maréchal Cratz.	6. Horn routs the Imperialiſts near Straſburg.	
8. The king pays his army.	— Sends parties abroad all the beginning of the month.	9. Arnheim and the Swedes take Breſlau.	
— Takes Hertzog-Aurach, to facilitate the junction of his troops.		10, 11. Oxenſtiern's and duke William of Weymar's armies advance to join each other: Which junction was formed the 13th.	
		Horn enters Straſburg.	
		11.—Advances into the Lower Palatinate.	
		13, 14. Duke Bernard's and Banier's armies unite with Oxenſtiern's and duke William of Weymar's between Kitzingen and Weinſheim, having marched through the biſhopric of Aichſtadt into Franconia.	13, Holk makes an irruption into Vogtland, having taken Zwicka the 12th.
		15. Horn raiſes the ſiege of Wiſloch.	
17. His four little armies deſtined to join him, advance to Bruck.		17.— Cuts to pieces 1000 imperial cavalry by means of an ambuſcade. Puſhes Montecuculi acroſs the Rhyne.	16, 17, &c.—Ravages Miſnia.
		The combined Swediſh armies reach Hertzog-Aurach.	
18. The king meets them and reviews them.		18.—Lie at Bruck.	
20. Repairs a bridge which Walſtein had broken down.		— Arnheim and Dubalt gain the battle of Limburg.	
21. The junction formed: A public thankſgiving: Battle offered to Walſtein. His lines attempted.	21. Renders his intrenchments extremely ſtrong.	21. The combined Swediſh armies all conjoin with their maſter.	21. Gronsfelt forces Bauditzen to retire.
		Horn obtains Straſburg-bridge.	Pappenheim's great effort towards raiſing the ſiege of Maſtricht.
22. The attack continued.		22. — Enters Upper Alſatia. Leaves Dewbatel to beſiege Stolhoven.	23.—Repaſſes the Rhyne.
24. The deſperate engagement about Altenberg-caſtle.	24. Makes a very obſtinate reſiſtance.		
25. The king's fine retreat.			
26. He forms a new camp cloſe to Walſtein.	26. Sends parties abroad till the end of the month.	26. Little Jacob joins Bauditzen with 3000 cavalry.	Montecuculi leaves Alſatia to aſſiſt in Bavaria.
29, 30. Commanded parties ſent abroad.		30. Horn enters Suabia to aſſiſt the Wirtembergers, and takes Offenburg, and Ortenberg-caſtle.	

SEPTEMBER 1632.

GUSTAVUS.	WALSTEIN.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1, 2, 3. Small rencounters.	1—10. Sends abroad commanded parties.	Oxenſtiern ſtays at Nurenberg with General Bauditzen.	
4. The King explains himſelf to the Nurenbergers about decamping.		5. Horn returns to Straſburg. —He and Dewbatel command in Alſatia.	
7. A public annual commemoration for the victory at Leipſic.			
8. The king diſlodges.			
9. Lies at Neuſtadt.		9. Horn beſieges Benfelden.	
	12. Diſlodges.		
13. Removes to Weinſheim.			13. Galas beſieges Lauff.
14. Divides his army.	14. Arrives at Forcheim.		
15. Returns with half thereof towards Nurenberg, but then marches into Bavaria.		15. Duke Bernard, with 12,000 men, ſent to obſerve Walſtein in Franconia on one ſide, and Pappenheim on the other.	19. Pappenheim appears in the abbacy of Corvey in Weſtphalia.
— Recalled to Nurenberg by a letter from Oxenſtiern.			20. Purſues Bauditzen 20 miles.
		Duke William ſent to collect ſome Swedes and Engliſh which lay near Hanover.	— Montecuculi oppoſes the Swedes and Engliſh near Hanover.
21. Lies at Dunkelſpiel.	21. Summons Culmbach.	Hamilton and Hepburn leave the King and ſet out for England.	— Gronsfelt, Boninghauſen, and Mansfelt act all in Lower Saxony.
			Oſſa commands againſt Ruthven, &c. in Suabia.
22. At Nordlingen; thence advances to relieve Rayn.		22. Bauditzen enters Heſſe.	22. The two young dukes of Tuſcany go to ſerve in Walſtein's army.
		Arnheim in Sileſia and Luſatia.	Marradas, Tieffenbach, and Goëtz act againſt Arnheim.
			Tieffenbach ſent into Auſtria to repreſs the inſurrection of the peaſants.
	24. Advances to Bamberg.	24. The duke of Lunenberg forced by Gronsfelt to raiſe the ſiege of Wolfenbuttle.	24. Galas ravages Vogtland and Miſnia.
25. Mitzval ſurrenders Rayn.	25. Parts with the elector of Bavaria and his army.		25. Aldringer detached by Walſtein to aſſiſt the elector of Bavaria.
27. The king cuts to pieces 400 Croatians near the Lech.	Montecuculi takes Rayn, and attempts fruitleſsly to hinder the king from croſſing the Lech.	Ruthven and the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg command in Suabia.	
		— And the duke of Mechlenberg in Lower Saxony.	
	29. Walſtein takes Bareüth.		

OCTOBER 1632.

GUSTAVUS.	WALSTEIN.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1, 2. Paſſes the Lech.	1. Takes Coburg.	1. Duke Bernard advances to raiſe the ſiege of Coburg.	1. Galas takes Chemnitz. 2. Pappenheim ordered to join Walſtein; ſends Merodé againſt Bauditzen, and leaves Gronsfelt to obſerve the duke of Lunenburg. — Raiſes contributions from Mulhauſen. — Attempts Erfurt fruitleſsly; marches on to Walſtein.
3. Retakes Rayn. — And Landſberg.	3. Repulſed at Coburg-caſtle.		3. Holk and Galas conjoin their armies in Miſnia. 4. — Take Freyberg.
5. At Neuburg on the Danube beheads col. Mitzval. 6, 7. Prepares to beſiege ſome towns in Bavaria, particularly Ingoldſtadt.	5. Advances into Vogtland.		
8. Marches to Nordlingen.	8, 9. Gains ſeveral towns in Vogtland. 10. Arrives at Plauen. 11. Forms a camp at Weida.	Ruthven and the adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg act againſt Oſſa in the circle of Suabia.	
12. Orders Kniphauſen to retake Lauff.			12. — And Wurtzen.
13, 14. Purſues and defeats col. Munich. 15. Returns to Nurenberg, where he is recruited by 5000 Switzers.	13, 14. Advances towards Leipſic.		
17. Advances towards his army.	17. Sends ſome cavalry to make a bravado upon it. 18. Summons it to capitulate.		
19. Arrives at Kitzingen, and meets his queen.	19. Takes Weiſſenfels. 20, 21. Beſieges Leipſic.		
21. Joins duke Bernard at Schleiſſing, having marched from Bavaria into Thuringia in 14 days.	22. Takes the town.		
23. Reaches Araſtadt; ſtays there ſome days. — Incorporates the Engliſh and Scottiſh amongſt his other regiments. Oxenſtiern returns to Nurenberg.	23. —And the caſtle [Pleiſſenberg.] 25, &c. Reduces other towns in Miſnia.		
28. The queen of Sweden arrives. —The king reviews his troops at Erfurt. 29. Marches 13 miles beyond Erfurt. 30. Continues his march.	28. Forms his junction with Pappenheim.	28. Horn takes Benfelden, after a ſiege of near 8 weeks.	

NOVEMBER 1632.

GUSTAVUS.	WALSTEIN.	SWEDISH ARMIES in other Parts, &c.	IMPERIAL ARMIES in other Parts, &c.
1. Thurſday, arrives at Naumburg.	1. Sends ſome cavalry to Leipſic, and removes to Weiſſenfels.		
2. Diſpleaſed at being deified by the people.			
3. Intrenches himſelf, not propoſing to hazard a battle.			
4. Intercepts Coloredo's letter.	4. Detaches Pappenheim to Halle.		
5. Reconnoitres Walſtein's lines.	5. Prepares for the battle.		
— Reſolved to fight on Pappenheim's abſence.			
6. Gains the victory at Lützen.	6. Defeated, and flies.		
— Killed.			
N. B. When his Majeſty died he left ſix armies in the field, beſides his own; namely, Kniphauſen's in Lower Saxony, Dubalt's in Sileſia, the Palatin of Birkenfelt's in Bavaria, Bauditzen's in the electorate of Cologn, Horn's in Alſatia, and Ruthven's in Suabia; not to mention four confederate armies, viz. the Saxons, Heſſians, the troops of Lunenberg, and Bremen.			

APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY of the LIFE

OF

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

CONTENTS.

I. *ORATIO Guſtavi Adolphi Hulſingfordæ, in comitiis habita. Menſe Januarii, A. D.* M.DC.XV. *Ætatis ſuæ* XXI. Page 1.

II. *Letter from W. Lilly* [*the aſtrologer*] *to the king of Sweden, upon his receiving an honorary reward of a gold medal*, p. 7.

III. *Le capitolationi dell' Indie Orientali e Occidentali, inſtituta dal rè* GUSTAVO ADOLFO *di Suecia per beneficio de ſuoi ſudditi, fino dell' anno* 1626, *che poi fù da lui pochi giorni innanzi la ſua morte eſteſa anco alli ſudditi de ſuoi confederati, e di tutta Alemagna, con ampliſſimis privilegi, e ſono li ſeguenti*, p. 8.

IV. *Regiminis Suecici conſtitutio: quam rex invictiſſimus Guſtavus Adolphus ſecundus & magnus ultimæ voluntatis inſtar, regno populiſque ſuis, ſtatione hac mortali functus, exhibendam voluit*, p. 15.

V. *Articles ſigned by Guſtavus Adolphus with the marquis of Hamilton*, Ibid.

VI. *Articles ſigned by the marquis of Hamilton and Guſtavus Adolphus*, p. 17.

VII. *Speciales cauſæ belli Suecici: or the king's manifeſto on invading Germany*, p. 18.

VIII. *The monthly pay of a Swediſh regiment of infantry under Guſtavus Adolphus*, p. 21.

IX. *Articles de confederation accordez entre le roy de Suede & le duc de Pomeranie, pour eux, leurs ſucceſſeurs, provinces, & ſujects*, p. 23.

X. *Lettre du duc de Pomeranie à l'empereur*, p. 27.

XI. —— *des electeurs catholiques à la lettre du roy de Suede*, p. 29.

XII. —— *du roy de Suede aux electeurs catholiques*, p. 31.

XIII. —— *de l'empereur au roy de Suede*, p. 34.

XIV. *Reponſe du roy de Suede à l'empereur*, p. 36.

XV. *Harangue de l'ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre (c'eſt à dire le chevalier Robert Anſtruther) à l'empereur Ferdinand* II. *prononcé à Vienne, en mois d'Aouſt* 1630, p. 40.

XVI. *Lettre du roy de Suede au roy trés chreſtien*, p. 44.

XVII. —— *du meſme au cardinal de Richelieu*, p. 45.

XVIII. *Harangue du Sieur Camerarius, ambaſſadeur du roy de Suede, aux eſtats de Hollande & Provinces Unies*, p. 46.

XIX. *Treaty of confederation between Louis* XIII. *king of France, and Guſtavus* II. *king of Sweden, for the eſtabliſhment of the princes and ſtates of Germany, concluded at Bernwalt in the marquiſate of Brandenburg*, p. 48.

XX. *A ſhort narration of the proteſtant diet held at Leipſic, beginning Febr.* 8, 163°₁, *and ending April* 3, 1631, p. 50.

XXI. *Regis Suecici de Magdeburgenſi excidio publica expurgatio*, p. 57.

XXII. *Traicté de confederation & d'alliance pour huit ans entre Louis* XIII. *roy de France, & Maximilien, electeur de Baviére, ſigné par le dit electeur à Munich, le* 8 *May*, 1631, p. 58.

XXIII. *Haſſiæ landgravii cum* REGE *fœdus, ejuſque capita*, p. 60.

CONTENTS.

XXIV. *Epiſtola Guſtavi Adolphi ad Carolum* I. *regem Angliæ*, p. 63.
XXV. *The famous armiſtice, or treaty of neutrality accorded by Guſtavus at the interceſſion of France, to the princes of the league*, p. 64.
XXVI. *The ſubſcription of the French ambaſſadors to the treaty of neutrality*, p. 67.
XXVII. *The king's letter to Guſtavus Horn, (and probably to all his other generals) concerning the armiſtice*, Ibid.
XXVIII. *Traicté de Louis* XIII. *roy de France, &c. avec Philippe Chriſtoſle archeveſque de Treves, electeur, & eveſque de Spires: par lequel le roy s'oblige, d'aſſiſter le dit electeur, contre ceux qui le voudront opprimer*, & de plus, de faire ſortir deſdits archeveſché & eveſché les gens de guerre du roy de Suede. *A Ehrenbreitſtein l'an* 1632, *le* 9 *Avril* ——, p. 68.
XXIX. *Ode ſur la mort du grand Guſtave ; par M. Arnaud d'Andilly*, p. 70.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY of the LIFE

OF

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

I.

ORATIO GUSTAVI ADOLPHI Helsingfordæ in comitiis habita, menſe Januarii, A. D. M.DC.XV. ætatis ſuæ XXI. *

ILLUSTRES, generoſi domini, nobiliſſimi, clariſſimi, prudentes ac ho- 1615.
neſti. Ego quidem in præterito quadriennio, quo per omnipotentis providentiam huic regio imperio præfui, libenter & ſæpe quæſiviſſem occaſionem, quomodo poſſem aliquando de harum provinciarum conditione, & omnium veſtrûm ſtatu certi quid cognoſcere: ut in tempore, quod ad omnium veſtrûm ſalutem facit, ita ordinare ac diſponere poſſim: quò ſub meo imperio queatis (in quantum his incommodis temporibus fieri poteſt) ſervari per legum & legitimarum ſanctionum cuſtodiam; & ut ipſe (prout à Deo mihi commiſſa poteſtas hoc exigit) poſſim querelas veſtras & gravamina comperire, & poſtea illis remedia comparare; ſed quàm libenter hoc effectui dediſſem, & quantum mihi hoc cordi curæque fuerit; tamen ab hoc per multiplices difficultates, quas bellum ſecum traxit, ſemper præpeditus fui ad hoc uſque tempus & oblatam occaſionem. Hanc autem prætermittere nolui quo minus. Vos omnes ad me & hæc comitia vocarem: ut vobiſcum non ſolùm harum provinciarum negotia perpenderem, ſed etiam vobiſcum agerem de rebus quibuſdam, quæ pertinent ad commune regni & chariſſimæ patriæ noſtræ bonum & ſalutem. Itaque gratias vobis benevolas ago, quod tam promtè, quàm bonos & fideles ſubditos decet, hîc conveneritis. In memoriam vobis ſatis revocatis, quomodo Sigiſmundus rex Poloniæ eo tempore, quo ſecundum jus ſuum hæreditarium ad regiam dignitatem aſcenderat, hîc in dilectâ noſtrâ patriâ ſtatim ab initio, & poſtea continuè quoties occaſio hoc

* It was pronounced originally in Swediſh, and tranſlated verbatim by Loccenius. Hiſt. Suec. 4to, 526.

1615. ipsi dictare videbatur, eò annisus est, ut nos deducet à purâ & verâ apostolicâ doctrinâ; & occœcaret nos pontificiis erroribus ac tenebris, quò omnia ejus consilia & molitiones, tam accommodationis quadam specie, quàm insidiis & vi directæ erant. Hæ ut impedirentur, rex Carolus, dilectissimus & honoratissimus meus dominus pater laudatissimæ memoriæ, unà cum pluribus aliis rectè sentientibus christianis, Suecis, & patriæ verè amantibus viris, summopere studuit. Super istæc extranea cepit arma Sigismundus, eaque in regnum, patriam suam introduxit, & regni incolas ad civile bellum adversus seipsos concitavit & irritavit, & persecutus est beatæ memoriæ dominum parentem meum & illos, donec ipse & illi, necessitate coacti, defensionis arma contra Sigismundum capesserent, quibus ejus & assectarum illius machinationes anno 1598, ad Lincopiam, divinæ gratiæ providentiâ, frangebantur & irritæ reddebantur, ejusque & assectarum contra Deum & patriam perjurium puniebatur & vindicabatur. Inde quoque contra recens pactum ibi præstitum, patriam suam deseruit, omnem offensam & turbationem post se relinquens; per quæ non modò multi honesti viri, sed etiam totius regni status periclitari imò prorsus interire potuissent. Quamvis autem beatæ memoriæ dominus parens meus & regni ordines satis causæ habuissent regium imperium statim ab eo ad alium transferendi; tamen prius in diversis comitiis & conventibus ipsi & ipsius filio hoc obtulerunt. Sed ab ipso deinceps nihil aliud agitatum & susceptum est, quàm damnosum bellum adversus hoc regnum, per quod postea universi regni ordines permoti sunt ad abjudicandum & renunciandum ei jus suum hæreditarium ad hoc nostræ patriæ regimen & imperium; & de cætero mutarunt veterem unionem hæreditariam, atque in beatæ memoriæ dominum parentem meum transtulerunt; prout Norcopiensis & plures recessus, unà cum renunciationibus in publicum editis, ulterius continent ac ostendunt quas ut annihilaret Sigismundus rex, postmodò vi & astutiâ operam dedit. Ut autem eò melius reliquum suum propositum hoc modo persequi & promovere posset, exinde non solùm bello, sed etiam vanorum scriptorum copiâ hunc præsentem regni statum perturbatum ivit, velut quoque præterito tempore bello in Livoniâ, & diversis diplomatibus ac mandatis huc in regnum missis & disseminatis satis testatum fecit, in quibus non modò dominum patentem beatæ memoriæ & me, sed etiam omnes regni ordines famosis & falsò effictis scriptis, nostras & illorum actiones & facta laude digna conatur Sueciæ subditis totique mundo odiosa reddere. Ego me diversis temporibus ad amicam reconciliationem scripto obtuli: ut diuturnum illud & cruentum bellum aliquando deponeretur, atque provinciæ & regna salutarem pacem degustarent, & mala bellum concomitantia tandem cessarent. Sed ille nihil aliud quàm probrosa verba rescripsit, magis ad perturbationem, quàm conciliationem facientia. Ulterius contra inducias inter Sueciæ & Poloniæ delegatos præteritâ æstate factas, mandata & libellos famosos huc in Sueciam misit, eo fine, ut per eos, vos à pacis obligatione (qua vos in ante dicto inducierum pacto parenti meo & mihi devinxistis) abduceret, & sic discordiam, dissidium, atque, si fieri posset, intestinum bellum excitaret, à quibus periculosis ejus consiliis vos benevolè dehortor. Dat vobis dulcia & fallacia verba, dolet vestras vices & statum, quærit tamen sub eo fuco vos in graves conditiones conjicere. Vociferatur de eo in suis diplomatibus, quod in bello cum vicinis vestris & circumjacentibus regnis versemini; sed non addit, quod libenter vos à vestro juramento seducere, atque ad intestinum bellum irritare velit. Artificiosè quoque dissimulare & reticere potest, quis in causa fuerit, ut cum vicinis nostris

Russis

Ruſſis incideremus in hoc bellum. In ſumma hoc agit, ut quovis modo ſubditorum meorum animos à me abducere poſſit & alienare, atque ſic plus motuum creare. Quapropter vos gratioſè monitos volo, ut vobis ab hujuſmodi ſcriptis caveatis, & veſtros vicinos, conterraneos & parœcianos adhortemini, ne quis veſtrûm per ea circumveniatur. Ut verò eò melius & reipſa intelligatis Sigiſmundi artes, quibus ſemper uſus eſt, provincias & regna populatus eſt, multas turbas, bellum & ſanguinis effuſionem procuravit, conſtitui ſummatim coram vobis repetere, quomodo non ſolùm in animo habuerit per bellum in Ruſſiâ geſtum ſubigere noſtram patriam, ſed etiam quomodo præcipuâ in causâ (poſt delictorum pœnam) fuerit, ut implicaremur huic Ruſſico bello, & quâ ficta ſpecie deceperit Ruſſos; ut inde poſtea colligere poſſitis, quid intendat cum ſuis diplomatibus. Hoc ſatis notum eſt, quum rex Poloniæ, bello in Poloniam traducto, contra Sueciæ regnum nihil efficere poſſet, & ille cum ſuis & pontificii legati conſiliis & auxiliis, modum & viam parentem meum beatæ memoriæ & Sueciæ regnum occupandi ferme impoſſibilem deprehenderet, aliud excogitat medium, atque ſic conatur uno malleo duos ictus facere, ut dici ſolet. Polonis enim dabatur occaſio, ficto dolo Ruſſos ad inteſtinam perducendi diſcordiam; in qua ſibi non difficile fore arbitrabantur, ſive unum provehendi ad imperium, qui cum illis facturus eſſet, ſive totam Ruſſiam ſibi ſubjiciendi. Erat in Ruſſia anno 1605, Boritz Fœdorouvitz Gudenou, qui ex vili genere & ortu erat, & czaris Frederici affinis, ſuo tempore ſtabuli magiſtri officium gerens, quum verò factus eſſet czaris affinis, præponebat eum (quia ipſe parum cordatus erat) toti Ruſſiæ, qua re ipſi anſa dabatur plebem in ſuam fidem & obſequium adducendi, & quia videbat, czarem improlem eſſe, cogitabat de viâ magnum ducatum ſub ſe redigendi. Sed ipſi obſtaculo erat Johannis Baſilii, quondam czaris minimus natu filius, Frederici Ivanovitz frater, nomine Demetrius: eoque hunc clam occidi facit. Quum verò czar Fredericus Ivanovitz obiiſſet abſque hæredibus, plebs deſiderabat dictum Boritz, qui, pro vulgi arbitratu, non malè præfuerat imperio, defuncto czari ſuccedere. Alioqui ſibi in ſuâ adminiſtratoris dignitate quandam auctoritatem & exiſtimationem conciliarat; ita ut magnates, qui poſſent ratione conſanguinitatis eſſe proximi imperio, non auderent populo contradicere; ſed ipſi cogerentur, licet inviti, dictum Boritz eligere in czarem. Sed ille per decennium, quo Ruſſiam regebat, primatum invidiam & odium magis & magis in ſe derivabat. Quum ergo rex Poloniæ comperiſſet, iſtum in omnium Ruſſorum odio tandem eſſe, effingendum ſibi aliquid & tentandum eſſe cogitabat, quo ſeditio & inteſtinum diſſidium inter Ruſſiæ incolas cieri poſſet; nihil moratus, quod ante quinquennium pacem & amicitiam ad XX annos cum eodem Boritz feciſſet. Sed reperiebat fugitivum monachum gente Ruſſum, qui ex vili Otrapiorum genere ortus, nomine Griſka erat. Hunc monachum Sigiſmundus putabat eſſe idoneum, per quem conſilium ſuum effectui mandaret; quia aſtutus homo & magus erat. Idcircò evulgabatru morem, iſtum monachum eſſe Demetrium, Johannis Baſilii minimum natu filium, ſparſis in Ruſſia (ſecundum morem ejus hîc in regno præterita ætate uſitatum) non paucis diplomatibus & literis ſub iſtius Demetrii nomine, prætendens, verum Demetrium non fuiſſe interfectum, ſed illos, qui in mandatis habebant, eum occidere, ſubduxiſſe eum & abdidiſſe in monaſterium, ubi in hunc diem educatus eſſet, & poſtea, quum ad maturam ætatem perveniſſet, ſe contuliſſe in Lithuaniam, ut Boritzii tyrannidem effugeret, ideo monebat eos, ut à Boritzio deſciſcerent ad illum, qui verus eorum dominus eſſet. Rex etiam monebat

1615.

1615. Woiwodam de Sandomiria, ut quaſi per ſeipſum, ei aliquot millium auxilium præſtaret, quod etiam fecit. Ita monachus iſte, ſubmentito Demetrii nomine, cum illo exercitu pergebat, & obſidebat aliquot Ruſſicas urbes; quæ ſe confeſtim à rege Poloniæ & commento ejus decipi patiebantur. Ruſſi, qui ſatis ſciebant dolum ſubeſſe initio quidem ei aliquantum reſiſtebant, ſic ut rex cogeretur monacho ſuo plus auxiliarium copiarum mittere. Tandem tamen tædio Boritziani imperii afficiebantur, ita ut majorum ac minorum gentium ſubditi ab eo deficerent, & in partes Demetrii paſſim tranſirent. Itaque poſtquam rex Demetrii ſui ſucceſſum cognovit, fœdus cum eo inivit; & promiſit ei imperium Muſcoviticum, & nuptias Sandomirii principis filiæ. Ipſum contra obligatum iri ad introducendam pontificiam religionem in Ruſſiam, & ad juvandum regem Poloniæ in occupatione regni Sueciæ, cum aliis hujuſmodi. Proinde rex ei ingentem exercitum auxilio miſit; quo nonnullos cogebat, nonnullos ex imprudentia putantes ipſum genuinum czaris filium eſſe, impellebat ad ſuas partes ſequendum, quidam, ex invidia & odio Boritzii imperii, ei ultrò accedebant; donec Boritzius ex deſperatione ſibi ipſi mortem conſciſcebat. Boritzii filius ad aliquot hebdomadas poſt patrem ſuum adminiſtrabat imperium; ſed ille quoque cum matre ſuâ veneno ſublatus eſt. Itaque regis Sigiſmundi monachus ad Ruſſicum imperium coronatur in urbe Muſcovicâ. Hîc ex Boritzii caſu ſibi quivis cautelæ exemplum capiat, ac videat, quomodo DEUS plectat illos, qui per latrocinium & malas artes extollunt ſe in domini ſui ſedem ac thronum; etiamſi DEUS hoc ad tempus ferat; ſera tamen & gravis pœna cum vindicta tandem ſupervenit. Hîc etiam vobis conſiderare & cernere integrum eſt, quid Sigiſmundus rex libellis aut ſcriptis ſuis emiſſitiis effecerit, & quomodo dictum Boritzium imperio & vitâ dejecerit, & monachum exaltarit, Ruſſos perturbarit: unde poſtea omnes hi motus exorti ſunt. Poteſtis inſuper ex his judicare & colligere, quàm periculoſum propoſitum hujuſmodi ſcriptis, quæ indies huc mittit, adverſus patriam noſtram conceperit, à quo DEUS nos clementer cuſtodiat. Quilibet ſapiens vir etiam bene perpendere poteſt, in quanto diſcrimine Sueciæ regnum chara noſtra patria verſata ſit, quando iſte regis Poloniæ monachus imperium Ruſſiæ tenebat: erant enim illi fœdere conjuncti; erant unius pontificiæ religionis; erant duorum potentium regnorum, nobis vicinorum, compotes, ita ut, niſi DEUS illorum conſilia prævenisſet & fregiſſet, impoſſibile coram humanis oculis fuiſſet, ſe contra illos defendere. Sed ut illud ſacrum dictum habet: Decerne conſilium, & fiat irritum; armate vos, & tamen fugam capite: quia DEUS nobiſcum eſt; pro quo ipſi gloria ſit. Quum enim iſte Demetrius dicto modo à rege Poloniæ extolleretur ad imperium Ruſſiæ, ſtatim cogitabat de ſervando pacto ſuo, omnis generis præparationem ad bellum faciebat, quo ſecum animo conſtituerat adoriri Sueciæ regnum. Sed quum ei, ſecundum ante dicti fœderis tenorem, etiam illud pactum ſervaretur, ut principis Sandomirii filia ei nuptui daretur, & videretur firmum fœdus inter Ruſſiam & Poloniam coaliturum, atque in nos redundaturum, Deus aliam ingrediebatur viam. In ipſis enim nuptiarum diebus excitabat DEUS Ruſſicum dominum, nomine Baſilium Ivanovitz Suſki, qui ſatis ſciebat, hoc merè fictum opus cum iſto Demetrio eſſe. Ille faſtidivit Polonicum iſtud imperium; proinde commovit populum, & ipſos quoque magnates, ut eorum favor in ipſum inclinaret, atq; ſic, occiſo pſeudo Demetrio cum ſuis Polonis, ab ipſo pendentibus, hunc Baſilium Ivanovitz eligunt ſibi czarem. Hîc dictum fœdus jam cum ſuo Demetrio exſpiraverat, hîc omnia caſſa erant, pro quibus tamdiu laborarant,

rarant, hîc etiam amicitia inter Polonos & Ruſſos in merum odium, vindictæ cupiditatem, & apertum bellum converſa ac mutata erat. Sigiſmundi regis animo non parum ægrè erat, quod ejus conſilium in Ruſſia non felicius ceſſiſſet; putabat tamen, hîc nondum quieſcendum eſſe; idcircò cum ingenti exercitu à ſe armato ipſe proficiſcebatur in Ruſſiam. Ut autem Ruſſis, tunc vacillare incipientibus ulterius imponeret, iterum ſpargebat rumorem de Demetrio, quaſi non occiſo, ſed elapſo, & apud ſe in caſtris præſente. Sic Ruſſi, pro barbaricâ ſuâ levitate, majore ſui parte iterum deficiebant à czare ſuo & revertebantur ad partes Poloni, qua defectione Polonorum caſtra ita roborabantur, ut czarem & paucos illos, qui adhuc in fide ejus erant, in urbe Muſcovia obſidione cingerent, & in tantas anguſtias redigerent, ut auxilium à patre meo p. m. petere cogerentur; quia verò dominus parens meus haud ignorabat, quanti periculi res futura eſſet, ſi rex Poloniæ Ruſſiâ potiri deberet, regia ejus majeſtas ſuæ & patriæ ſecuritatis cauſa, deſiderio ejus deeſſe non poterat. Itaque eò mittebat exercitum ſuum, & czarem liberabat obſidione; & totam Ruſſiam liberaſſet, ſi quorundam extraneorum proditio non interveniſſet, prout multis veſtrum notum eſſe poteſt, qui ipſi adfuerunt. Hæc peregrinorum defectio tantum effecit, ut rex Sigiſmundus Ruſſiam occuparet, & filium ſuum, czarem fieri curaret, & Baſilium monachum faceret. Per hanc occaſionem regis Poloniæ molitiones, quas parens meus beatæ memoriæ, patriæ ſecuritatis cauſa, non poterat non impedire, primùm incidimus in hæc Ruſſica negotia, quæ poſtea anno 1613, per Ruſſorum dolum malum eruperunt in hoc bellum. Non poteſt illud abſque admiratione tam extraneorum, quàm incolarum abire, quomodo factum ſit, ut nos tam ſubitò cum Ruſſis, quibus nuper auxilium ferebamus, quique noſtri amici erant, adeò cruentum bellum nacti ſimus. Ut ejus rei cauſam ſciatis, & reipſâ videatis, eam ex merâ Ruſſorum inconſtantiâ & perfidiâ profectam eſſe, paucis coram vobis referam. Poſtquam beatæ memoriæ dominus parens meus, ut prius dictum eſt, ita propter regis Sigiſmundi molitiones permotus erat, ut ſuccurreret Ruſſis, pro qua re ipſi promiſſa erat Kexholmia ejuſque ditio in remunerationem expenſarum; quamtumvis autem czarem Ruſſiæ liberaſſet ab obſidione ferme triennali Muſcoviæ urbis: non tamen poterat caſtelli Kexholmenſis compos fieri, niſi illud obſidere & vi cogere deberet. Atque quum Kexholmia jam occupata eſſet, regia ejus majeſtas ſatis rationis habuiſſet ad diſpiciendum, quomodo de circumjacente terra ſibi ſtatim in rem ſuam conſulere potuiſſet; quia Ruſſi paulò ante Uladiſlaum regis Poloniæ filium, parentis mei inimicum, ſibi elegerant in czarem. Nihilominus tamen regia majeſtas in mandatis dederat ſuo mareſchallo, ut ſolummodò invigilaret horum finium defenſioni. Sed quum Ruſſos pœniteret, quod Polonis ſubjecti eſſent, qui crudeliter & violenter illis imperarent, recolligebant ſe ſuaſque copias, tam validas, ut urbem Muſcoviam & Polonos in eâ obſiderent. Quum tamen vererentur, ſe impares fore obſidioni perſequendæ, ex caſtris ad Muſcoviam ſcribunt Novogardiam, & cives iſtic jubent petere Campidominum ſibi auxilio. Qui quum ex ipſorum deſiderio adveniſſet, Ruſſorum conditio quotidie melior fiebat, partim ob Polonicorum militum ſeditionem, partim ob alias diſſenſiones inter Polonos natas, ita uti Ruſſi ſibi perſuaderent, ſe per ſeipſos hoc bene effecturos. Sed Novogardenſes hac occaſione circumventum ibant Campidominum, & blandis verbis eum tam diu detinebant, ut omnis ejus exercitus ad extremam famem redactus eſſet, ea re deinceps adductus eſt ad occupandam urbem Nougardenſem. Hoc facto, Ordines Novogardenſes, qui in arce erant, inibant contractum cum

1615.

1615. Campidomino, nimirum quod vellent unum ex domini parentis mei filiis sibi dominum & czarem eligere, quod etiam postea à proceribus in Muscovia approbatum est, secundum hujus contractus vigorem postmodò omnes reliquæ domus occupabantur. Posteaquam Russi Polonos, qui in urbe Moschâ erant, tamdiu fame torserant, ut cogerentur arcem & urbem dedere; isti *(Russi)* adeò animis inflati sunt, ut non solum obliviscerentur promissi de Carolo Philippo principe fratre meo in czarem creando; sed etiam omnium gentium juris. Non enim modò alium sibi czarem eligebant; sed quoque nostros milites, qui Tiphini & Augdoæ erant, ex improviso obruebant (secundum Nougardensium proprium desiderium, in illorum securitatem qui in præsidiis locati erant) eosque misere trucidabant, quod adhuc tolerari potuisset, si amicæ transactioni se accommodare voluissent. Ad eos diversæ literæ monitoriæ scribebantur, ut nobiscum amicè agere vellent. Sed illi eas literas quasi metu scriptas interpretabantur: ingentem enim exercitum ad Brunitz collocatum habebant. Ut autem illis ostenderem, se sibi ipsis imponere, per mea agmina ad Nougardam stantia excursionem ad eorum castra Brunitzensia fieri jubebam, obsidebam quoque Augdoam; & Deo favente ad Brunitziam sedentes cædebantur, & Augdoa capiebatur. Ut autem mundus intelligeret, quantum mihi displiceret sanguinis effusio &. cruentum bellum, deinde ex urbe Narwâ per Campidominum, Aulæ & Campi Marescallum, senatum Russicum ulterius admoneri faciebam, ut ad amicam compositionem animum applicare velint instruebam quoque Campi Marescallum Jesperum Andreæ & Magnum Martini potestate cum illis volentibus transigendi, sed illi probrosa & inania dicta regerebant. Interea tantum valui apud Magnæ Britanniæ Reges & Ordines Belgicæ, ut suos legatos ad hujus negotii compositionem mitterent. Illi quoque jam ad ipsius compositionis actum convenerunt, quomodo verò Deus illorum animos ad justitiam & pacem flectere possit, tempus docebit. Hunc in modum res processit, & nos ad Russicum bellum devenimus, quod mihi, per hoc triennium, impossibile fuit amovere ob hostis pertinaciam; quantæcunque etiam mihi curæ fuit. Spero tamen, Deum per media, quæ nunc dedit, omnia in bonum versurum. Quum ergo ita sit, quod rex Poloniæ omni conatu, diplomatibus & mendacibus scriptis, bello per Livoniam & Russiam, suscitato, hoc agit, uti dictum est, ut dilectam nostram patriam in perniciem præcipitet, & pontificis ac Polonorum servitutis jugo subjiciat; ideo cauto opus est, ne ab illis vos seduci patiamini, velut Russi fecerunt, sed eorum exemplum vos circumspectos faciat, considerantes, quot diversa mala imperiorum mutationes secum trahant; præsertim quando fit per intestinam discordiam. Proinde revocate vobis semper in memoriam varias obligationes, quibus dn. parenti meo beatæ memoriæ & mihi diversis temporibus vos obstrinxistis, additis scriptis & corporalibus gravibus juramentis. Ne quoque oblivioni tradatis immensa pericula ac molestias, quas pater meus b. m. & ego multis modis, vestræ salutis causa, passi sumus & sustinuimus. Intuemini porrò causas & ipsum fundamenum belli Russici, quod non regiæ majestatis b. m. vel meâ culpâ ceptum & tamdiu continuatum est; sed quod ducit originem suam veram ex ipsorum Russorum perfidia & pervicaciâ. Vos itaque boni viri velitis perseverare in illa fidelitate, quam hactenus in vobis comperi, sic ego de cætero quoque, ut hactenus, vestræ saluti summopere studebo operamque dabo, ut vos reducam ad pacem, quietem & meliorem statum; ad quod Deus omnipotens gratiam suam largiatur.

II.

II.

COPY of Mr. LILLY (the Aſtrologer's) Letter to the King of SWEDEN upon his receiving an honorary Reward of a gold Medal.

In the Aſhmolean Muſeum MSS. N°. 8365.

[This letter was written about 1612, when Guſtavus was 18 years of age.]

SIR,

THAT munificent honorarium, ſent from your royal hand by our valiant countrymen captain Owen Cox; he (accompanied with the right honourable Sir George Aſkew) delivered unto me the 5th of October laſt, (ſtylo vet.) which, with all humble thankfulneſs, I did receive. 1612.

But finding my weak labours have met with ſo great eſteem in your princely thoughts, even to invite a king, from the treaſure of his own virtue, and in the midſt of thoſe buſy engagements your majeſty has now on foot before Copenhagen, to caſt your no leſs gracious aſpect than high teſtimony of favour upon me, is a conſideration that would ſurpriſe me with the greateſt admiration, did not I perfectly ſee the meaſure of princes benefit holds more proportion with the largeneſs of their heart than merit of thoſe on whom beſtowed.

What brought me to honour your heroick name, and thence led on the engagement of my pen, in behalf of yourſelf and nation, was the large relations my only Engliſh Mecenas (the right honourable the lord Whitlock at his return from Sweden) gave me of thoſe princely endowments, your heroick virtues and generous inclinations: and now give me leave with humble reſolves to engage, that foraſmuch as your majeſty's favour, like a beam caſt from that king of planets, has out of your innate goodneſs, conveyed influence upon ſo obſcure and remote a perſon, your majeſty ſhall aſſuredly draw to yourſelf greater obligations than hitherto I could manifeſt; together with the reſolution of ſailing after your own ſhip, and under the fortune of your own trophy through the moſt perilous ſeas and trial of all your concernment.

And while my being is continued on earth will I retain this ſignal of your kindneſs as my chieſeſt treaſure; intending moreover its future preſervation in ſome eminent and publick place, and with ſuch an inſcription as ſhall ennoble your princely bounty, and record my humble gratitude to all poſterity.

That GOD whoſe great name the reverſe of your medal wears diſpoſe of all your deſigns, and may the guardian angel of Sweden, happily carry on your ſword with compleat and continual victory, and plant your tro-

phies

1612. phies throughout the dominions of all your enemies, theſe are and ſhall be a part of the earneſt and hearty votes of

Your majeſty's moſt humble

and moſt obliged ſervant,

A true Copy, Jan. 8, 1759.
Wm. Huddesford.

W. LILLY.

III.

LE CAPITOLATIONI della compagnia dell' Indie Orientali e Occidentali, inſtituta dal rè GUSTAVO ADOLFO di Suetia per beneficio de ſuoi ſudditi, ſino dell' anno 1626 *, che poi fù da lui pochi giorni innanzi la ſua morte eſteſa anco alli ſudditi de ſuoi confederati, e di tutta Alamagna, con ampliſſimi privilegi, e ſono li ſeguenti †.

1626. I. CHE fra dodici anni à venire niſſuno ſoggetto al regno di Suetia trapaſſando lo ſtretto di Gibilterra con altro titolo, che della general compagnia negotiaſſe nell' Africa, nell' Aſia, nell' America, nella Magallanica, ò ne' paeſi Auſtrali ſotto pena della perdita delle navi, e di tutte le mercantie; & i padroni delle navi, i quali in ſimili paeſi haveſſero traficato, foſſero tenuti render conto de' loro negotii, e come traſgreſſori de gli ordini, e decreti regii, foſſero puniti.

II. Che queſta compagnia s'intendeſſe cominciata al prima di Maggio 1627, e duraſſe ſino à dodici anni venturi; nel qual tempo à niſſuno de' compagni foſſe lecito ripigliare il danaro ſborſato; nè introdurre à parte del negotio altre perſone; ſe poi decorſi i dodici anni parerà alla compagnia prolongare il tempo del privilegio, egli concede queſta proroga in quel modo, che più piacerà.

III. Che ciaſcun anno ſi ſaldaſſero i conti, a i quali poteſſero eſſer preſenti tutti quelli, che di ſua parte haveſſero poſti nella compagnia mille ſcudi. Ogni ſei anni ſi faceſſe un computo finale di tutti i conti; imperoche ſe'l guadagno, e l'utile (il che non voglia Dio) non corriſponda al danaro poſtovi, in guiſa, che à gl'intereſſati non paia doverſi continuar la compagnia, all'hora foſſe diſciolta.

IV. Che ſi notificaſſe à tutti con publici editti, che ciaſcuno entrar poteſſe in queſta compagnia, dandoſi di tempo à gli habitatori del regno di Suetia ſino alle calende di Marzo, & a' foreſtieri ſino al primo di Maggio; di modo, che chi vorrà mettere il danaro nella compagnia debba pagarlo in quattro volte; cioè una parte nel termine preſcritto, e le altre tre parti in tre anni venturi.

* Loccenius ſays in 1627.

† Continuatione del Commentario delle Guerre ſucceſſe in Alemagna, &c. Deſcritto dal Sign. Conte Biſaccioni. In Venet. 4to, 1634.

V. Scorſo

V. Scorso il tempo prescritto si elegano i sopraſtanti, i quali solo siano tanti di numero, quante centinara di migliara di scudi fossero contati; se però tal'uno quale havesse contribuito cento mila scudi non volesse due sopraſtanti, i quali però hayer dovessero il salario, come se fossero un solo. 1626.

VI. I sopraſtanti debbano essere eletti con i voti communi de' participanti, e chi non havesse contribuito mille scudi, non habbi voto nell' elettione; e nissuno sia eletto per sopraſtante, il quale non habbia contribuito due mila scudi.

VII. I sopraſtanti primieramente eletti durino nel loro officio per sei anni; e passato questo termine delle tre parti di loro, due fossero di nuovo elette; e per la terza parte fossero sostituiti i principali de' participanti, il che cosi si osservasse ogni due anni, doppo i sei anni decorsi, finche terminasse il tempo prefisso nel privilegio.

VIII. Che tutti, e qualunque si fosse tanto del paese, come stranieri, che contribuito havesse nella compagnia 100 mila scudi, constituissero se gli pareva un sopraſtante, & a questo fine fossero apparecchiate tutte le nationi con le scritture del contratto, acciò per mezo di quelle possano trasmettere il denaro nelle mani di coloro, ch' essi stimano fedeli, e buoni; E che clascuno nella sua partita scrivesse à qual natione aggregar si volesse. Li forastieri, che risolvendosi habitare nel regno di Suetia contribuiranno 25, mila scudi nella compagnia, godano l'istesse ragioni, che i terrazzani, e siano liberi da ogni tributo, purche non esercitino nelle città negotii civili, e sia loro concesso per ogni volta, che gli piacerà, libero passo per partire.

IX. Li sopraſtanti siano di autorità, e di potenza eguali, senza riguardo de gli officii, ò delle dignità, che per altro haver potessero. E datoli il giuramento promettano, di sempre eseguir fedelmente l'officio loro; ogni cosa accommodare; procurare il commodo della compagnia; evitare il danno, favorire giustamente, & egualmente tutti senza riguardo d'amicitia, di nobiltà, ò di dignità di chi si sia; non perdonare ad alcuno, nè condescendere al piacer di altri; ma doppo l'haver à tempi debiti reso i conti, & osservati i capitoli del presente trattato, sodisfare per quanto potranno à rutti. Che non distribuiscano nè mercantie, nè navi proprie, nè ricomprassero da se, nè per mezo d'altri, ò direttamente, ò indirettamente dalla compagnia mercantia alcuna.

X. Che a' sopraſtanti si assegnassero di salario mille scudi l'anno.

XI. Se li sopraſtanti fossero astretti a prò della compagnia far viaggio, per la loro spesa, e fatica, oltre la paga delle vetture, havessero sei marche Suezzesi al giorno, che sono di nostra valuta lire undici, e soldi cinque.

XII. Che alli secretarii, cancellieri, & altri ministri si pagassero i stipendii dalla cancellaria della compagnia. Et i sopraſtanti di ciascheduna camera rendessero i conti particolari de loro secretarii, e ministri.

XIII. Ma se per sorte alcuno de sopraſtanti si riducesse a stato tale in qual si sia camera, che più non potesse assistere, & esser utile alla compagnia, si che perciò ne risultasse danno alcuno; il danno toccasse alla camera, in cui egli si ritrova, overo a quelli, che lo deputarono sopraſtante; e che si computasse il danno, sempre col danaro contribuito da lui, alla compagnia, quale per ciò resti sempre obligato ad essa; il che anche s'intendesse de' compagni, e di quelli, ch'entrassero a parte, i quali col ricomprare molte merci havessero fatto qualche debito con la compagnia.

1626. XIV. Che non si sostenessero, nè portassero in arresto i sopraſtanti, nè i loro beni sotto pretesto di render conti, nè de pagar debiti; ma tutte le pretensioni, che vertissero contro di loro si riducessero al giudice ordinario.

XV. Che i danari, che si metteranno nella compagnia siano esenti da ogni confiscatione, nè in conto alcuno si possano applicar ad altri; anzi, che se avvenisse, (il che Dio non permetta) che il rè di Suetia havesse risſa, ò guerra con altri regi, prencipi, ò republiche; li sudditi de' prencipi nemici, che havessero contribuita qualche somma di danari nella compagnia siano capaci di poter ripigliar la loro sorte principale, e tutti gli frutti, emolumenti, e commodi, come gli stessi sudditi, e confederati col rè di Suetia, e non altrimente, che se co' prencipi loro non fosse guerra ò discordia alcuna.

XVI. Che le città commode alla navigatione, e che esercitano la mercantia se contribuirāno trecento mila scudi, constituiscano camera, e le cose necessarie per la rata di questa somma.

XVII, Che fosse libero anche alle città, e provincie di ridurre il denaro contribuito a questo effetto in una somma, e determinar la camera, e le cose necessarie; dichiarando però, che le spese straordinarie ridondino nelle città, che ne riportano il commodo, e non nella compagnia.

XVIII. Che la flotta delle navi si radunasse à Gottemburgh, e di conserva da quel porto si partissero, e compito il viaggio di nuovo colà si riducessero: & ivi scaricassero le mercantie, e poi di novo rimandassero le navi, dove erano partite cariche, purche i venti, & il tempo lo permettano, e che non si temesse di qualche cosa sinistra a danno della compagnia.

XIX. Se qualche camera restasse sfornita di qualche sorte di mercantia, le altre, quando ne siano richieste, la provedino, e procurino, che simili mercantie peregrine, e forestiere, si ritrovino in tutti li luoghi.

XX. Che doppo l'elettione de' sopraſtanti, e la deputatione della camera, in ciascheduna di esse si deputino espressi direttori, li quali ogni giorno faccino i conti, e con li sopraſtanti deliberino, e determinino delle cose necessarie; come del continuare, o non continuare la compagnia, della distributione delle mercantie portate, e di somiglianti cose.

XXI. Che si concedesse alle camere autorità di permutare qualunque sopraſtante da una camera all'altra; e che ogn'una di esse camere, debba tenere in Gottemburgh un'amministratore; che le camere tra di loro in termine di due mesi doppo la partita delle navi mandino i conti l'una all'altra, acciò si possa saper la spesa delle merci caricate, e de gli apparati delle navi, & ogni tre mesi rimettere la somma delle cose vendute.

XXII. Che ogni volta, che parerà necessario, s'instituisca una dieta, & aduanza delle camere, accioche deliberar si possa sopra la levata delle navi; quante, & in che modo debbano esser fornite; in che luoco, & a che prezzo smaltir si dovessero le portate mercantie; rendere i conti, & altre cose simili. Il che ne' primi anni osservar dovesse la camera, che haverà contribuito più dell'altre; la quale perciò doverà haver la precedenza sopra le altre; le altre camere poi haveranno la loro precedenza, e luoco ad imitatione di questa.

XXIII. Che nella dieta compariſſero dodici sopraſtanti a nome di tutte le camere, alli quali egli haverebbe aggionto il terzo decimo voto a suo nome, acciocche con più commodità risolvere si possa sopra li maggiori affari; & a questo effetto ciascheduna camera constituisse tante persone, quante somme haveranno

contribuito

contribuito nella compagnia; per esempio, se qualche camera haveße ..... 1626.
la metà contribuisse sei persone, se la terza parte, quattro, se quattro parti, tré; o se la sesta parte, due; e tutto quello, che con questo modo dalla maggior parte delli voti concluso, e risoluto restasse, fosse da tutti gli altri accettato.

XXIV. Che tutte le mercantie, che fossero nel regno di Suetia introdotte, o da quello estratte fuori, paghino di gabella quattro fiorini per cento, e questo per una volta sola, doppo la quale ne a' banchi, dogane, ò porte, se li possa far pagar altro. Donasi anco facoltà alla compagnia, che dopo l'haver pagato li quattro per cento sopradetti, possino trasportar le sue merci per tutto il regno senza pagar altro datio, o gabella; purche le dette merci non si vendano a poco, a poco, con discommodo, e danno de' cittadini, e sudditi del regno.

XXV. Che egli ricevuto haverebbe sotto la sua protettione la compagnia, e la conservarebbe nel suo libero esercitio della mercantia, & uso della navigatione, e la difenderebbe contro tutti quelli, che tentassero di nuocerli, e ne' tumulti di guerra gli aiutarrebbe (richiedendo il bisogno) con la guardia sua propria.

XXVI. Che in se stesso pigliarebbe l'assunto di fabricare castelli, e fortezze in quei luochi, che saranno giudicati opportuni alla sicurrezza de' trafichi, e de' mercanti steßi, e di presidiarli con armi, soldati, & artiglierie a proprie spese.

XXVII. Che le prede, e le cose tolte a' corsari, & ad altri nemici s' impiegassero in utile della compagnia, & in difesa del trafico; senza che egli, o il suo ammiraglio sopra esse pretenda ragione alcuna; ma se l'acquisto delle prede si facesse con l'opera de' soldati del rè, in tal caso la preda si compartisse con egual portione.

XXVIII. Che egli non prenderebbe, nè si servirebbe di navi, artigliaria, danari, o mercantie, della compagnia, per servitio di alcuno di suoi, nè meno per uso del regno, senza il volere, e'l libero consenso della compagnia.

XXIX. Che egli dà facoltà a quelli, che hanno parte nella compagnia di far contratti con i popoli habitanti fra i termini, e confini sudetti, di far nuove confederationi con prencipi, e popoli forastieri a proprio nome, di fabricar città, castelli, e fortezze; di occupar luochi desolati, e di farli habitabili, e di operare, e procurare per quanto possono l'utile, e commodo proprio, e della compagnia. Con questo però, che non faccia violenza hostile contro gli habitatori di quei paesi, e che nè anche si tenti cosa alcuna contro i sudditi del rè di Spagna; nè che si pretenda, & eserciti commercio alcuno ne' luochi a loro soggetti senza espressa loro licenza; sotto la pena di già stabilita contra li trasgressori de suoi ordini, e contra li perturbatori della publica pace.

XXX. Se avvenisse mai, che questa compagnia sotto specie d'amicitia fosse ingannata, o in qual si sia altro modo mal trattata, e nell'uso de' trafichi, ò per forza, o per fraude impedita, o defraudata; all'hora gli cócedeua piena facoltà di rifarsi de' danni con qual si voglia modo, e mezo, che potranno; e di procedere contro coloro, che s'ingegnassero d'impedire li loco trafichi, o di farli violenza, come contro corsari, nemici, assassini, e turbatori della publica quiete.

XXXI. E per maggiormente scoprire il desiderio suo di ajutare, e promovere la compagnia, che egli vi contribuirà, e metterà a rischio della fortuna, come gli altri, quatro cento mila talari Suezzesi.

XXXII. Che oltre li quattro fiorini per cento da pagarsi in vece di datio, egli si prenderebbe il quinto dell'oro, argento, & altri minerali, che dalle cave de' metalli transportate fossero; o la decima parte de' frutti di quei paesi, in ricom-

1626. penſa de gli ajuti, privilegii, & eſentioni, che loro concedeva. Con queſte coſe però egli non comprende le mercantie, le quali foſſero dalla compagnia diſtratte; nè l'oro, e l'argento, o improntato, o nò, che dalla compagnia foſſe ſtato riceuto in vece delle ſue merci; ma che tutto ciò laſciarebbe alla compagnia, & oltre di quanto ſi è detto non riſcuoterebbe coſa alcuna.

XXXIII. E perche Guglielmo Uſſelinz da Anverſa Brabantino ha ſpeſo gran tempo della ſua vita in ricercare i ſudetti porti, e per teſtimonianza de' ſtati della Fiandra, e di Mauritio prencipe di Oranges, egli ſia ſtato il principal inventore in Olanda della compagnia dell' India occidentale, e con li ſuoi ammaeſtramenti habbi molto coadiuvato, & havendo egli di già riſoluto di ſtarſene nella Suetia, habbia promeſſo di fedelmente manifeſtare quanto egli con tante ſue fatiche haveva penetrato; però in ricompenſa di ciò egli vuole, che la compagnia le paghi un fiorino per migliaro di quelle mercantie, che dalla compagnia ſaranno o portate, o levate, per tutto quel tempo, che ſi faranno i trafichi ne' luochi accennati nel privilegio.

XXXIV. E perche di già abondantemente la compagnia è ſtabilita, e ne' luoghi foraſtieri ſono traſmeſſe genti del paeſe; perciò s'inſtituiſca un conſeglio, il quale con gli officii, con l'autorità, e con le reſolutioni attenda all' amminiſtratione della giuſtitia, alla conſervatione delle buone leggi, & alla continuatione della guerra; acciò, che queſta impreſa con giuſtitia ſi cominci, con prudenza ſi proſeguiſca, e felicemente ſi forniſca.

Queſto conſeglio debba determinare ſopra il far ſoldati, deputar governatori, ſopraſtanti, e Giudici, ſopra l'edificar città, e caſtelli; accommodar le differenze, e riſſe, che naſcer poteſſero fra gli habitatori di quei paeſi, & i foraſtieri colà paſſati; e lo ſteſſo anco quando fra queſti, e li ſopraſtanti, o camere e confederati ſuccedeſſe qualche diſcordia.

Finalmente queſto conſeglio habbi da mantenere, & oſſervare tutte quelle coſe, le quali ſono proprie, e convenevoli ad un buon ſtato, e politia.

Perche li mercanti, che devono attendere alli loro trafichi, adobbamenti di navi, conti, & alle loro corriſpondenze (coſi eſſe le chiamano) non poſſono applicarſi a ſimili affari, perciò con l'erettione di queſto conſeglio reſtano ſgravati.

Queſto conſiglio doverá inſtituirſi de' princ ipali de' participanti; quali devono eſſere eſenti da' negotii, & affari delle commiſſioni, de' nocchieri, & altre conſegnationi della compagnia, atteſo, che a queſte coſe doveranno attendere li ſopraſtanti, e dar informatione a loro conſiglieri, delle navi, e de gli aviſi, che poteſſero alla giornata ricevere, che in tutte l'occorenze ſi poſſa riſolvere di quelle, che far ſi debba.

In detto cóſeglio tutte le coſe ſi riſolvino có forme al parer de'piu.

Il numero de conſeglieri ſi debba preſcrivere conforme all'occorrenze, & al giudicio della compagnia.

XXXV. Se per ſorte qualche principe, communità, città, o compagnia contribuiſſe 500. mila ſcudi, in queſta compagnia, ſi deputi a ſuo nome un'agente con ogni plenipotenza, acciòche con lui trattar ſi poſſa delle coſe neceſſarie, che occorreranno.

XXXVI. Se alli participanti pareſſe eſpediente dimandare altre conditioni diverſe da queſte, le quali poteſtero eſſere di commodo, & utile alla compagnia, purche non repugnino a gli ordini del regno, ſalute della republica, & al beneficio della compagnia, gli ſiano liberalmente conceſſe.

Queſto

Queſto privilegio il Re di Suetia poco avanti la battaglia fatta a Lutzen, communicò a gli attenenti, & a' confederati della Germania, aggiungendovi queſti altri Capitoli.

I. CONCEDE ampia facoltà alli ſudditi delle provincie da lui ſoggiogate, & a tutti quelli, che ſeco ſi confedereranno, di conſtituire camere, & amminiſtrationi fuori del regno di Suetia ne' loro proprii diſtretti, & in qualunque luoco, che più loro piacerà. E ſe a chi ſarà ſuo attinente o amico, (non confederato) che di già li foſſe ſtato conceſſo di entrare nella compagnia, piaceſſe di adornar le proprie camere, debbano di ciò dichiarasi avanti, perche ſua maeſtà non intende negar ſimil coſa, conforme però alle occorrenze, & al biſogno. 1632.

II. E perche nel primo articolo del privilegio ſi nominano alcune parti del mondo; non doverſi ciò coſi rigoroſamente intendere, che la compagnia foſſe aſtretta più in un luoco, che in un altro, ma che con queſte dichiarationi S. M. concedeva facoltà d'indrizzare la loro navigatione dovunque più li piaceſſe, e di eſercitare li loro trafichi in ogni parte, e di terra, e di mare, dove poſſano ſperare commodo, & utile maggiore.

III. Che l'entrar nella compagnia ſia conceſſo ad ogn'uno ſino all'ultimo di Decembre 1633, paſſato il qual tempo non poſſino più entrarci. Nel detto tépo ciaſcuno, che entrerà ſia tenuto di pagar la quarta parte dello ſóma, che vorrà contribuire; e queſto acciò che la compagnia habbia il ſuo principio li 10. di Gennaro 1633, & indi durar debbi per lo ſpatio di dodici anni continui avenire. Nel reſto il ſecondo, e quarto articolo rimanghi nel ſuo vigore.

IV. Se poi qualcheduno di quelli, ch'entreranno nella compagnia voleſſe contribuir in una ſol volta tutta la ſomma, a queſti tali la compagnia ſufficientemente prometta, & a ſuo tempo attenda; che fornito il tempo preſcritto nel privilegio, li ſarà pagato la ſolita portione; e frutto delli ſuoi danari dal giorno, che li contò; non eſſendo di dovere, che alcuno tenghi morto il ſuo capitale, ſenza il dovuto utile, e frutto.

V. Oltre a tutte queſte coſe S. M. dichiarava, che il Talaro Suezzeſe, di cui ſpeſſo ſi è fatto mentione reſtaſſe ſempre nel ſuo valore, cioè di quattro Marche; ſei e mezza delle quali fanno uno ſcudo Imperiale, e che li conti nella compagnia ſempre ſi faceſſero a ragione di ſcudi Imperiali.

VI. Che le ragioni, e privilegii, li quali nel quinto, & ottavo articolo ſono conceſſi a quelli, che haveſſero contribuito cento mila Taleri Suezzeſi, ſi reſtringeſſero a cin quanta mila ſcudi Imperiali, e quelli, che ſono conceſſi nel ſeſto articolo a quelli, che contribuivano mille, e due mila Taleri Suezzeſi ſi limitaſſero a cinquecento, & a mille ſcudi Imperiali; & a quanto ſi è detto nel decimoterzo articolo a quelli, che contribuiſſero trecento mila Talari Suezzeſi, ſi reſtringa a 150 mila ſcudi Imperiali; e perche nell' articolo ottavo a quelli, che conferiranno 25 mila Taleri Suezzeſi, era conceſſo molti privilegii, come in eſſo capitolo appare, hora ſua maeſtà, li reſtringeva a 12 mila, e cinquecento ſcudi Imperiali; e di più (oltre le ragioni della civiltà, e l' immunita della gabella, che in eſſo capitolo ſi contengono) vi aggiungeva, che volendo eſſi eſercitare gli eſercitii della città, & altri trafichi lo poſſano fare, e gli ſia conceſſo.

VII. Che

1626. VII. Che li ſopraſtanti, quali foſſero in viaggio per gli affari della compagnia, ſenza haver riguardo a quanto fù detto nell'articolo undecimo, poſſano prendere dalle camere quanto farà loro di biſogno, conforme alla qualità de' luochi, & occaſioni.

VIII. E benche nell' articolo decimo ottavo, fuſſe ſtata deſtinata per camera generale, e per la radunanza delle navi la città di Goltemburgh; con queſto però dichiara S. M. che ſe qualche natione, o città haveſſe la ſua camera non troppo lontana dal mare oceano, e perciò non li foſſe di commodo il mandare le ſue navi a Goltemburgh; ſiano tenuti di ſignificarlo alle diete generali de'ſopraſtanti, e nominare il luoco dove potranno, o li ſarà commodo di unire le loro navi con l'altre.

IX. Se con l'aiuto del ſignor Iddio, e con l'induſtria, & opera de' Tedeſchi aveniſſe, che ſi ergeſſero più di dodici camere; così anco ſi accreſceſſe il numero de' ſopraſtanti, li quali per vigor del vigeſimo terzo articolo, mandar ſi devono alle diete generali.

X. In oltre ſua maeſtà eſtende il vigeſimo quarto articolo del privilegio a tanto che la compagnia ſia eſſente dal pagare datii, e gabelle nel regno di Suetia per li primi quattro anni. Con queſto però, che niſſuno abuſi queſta gratia con fraudi, ſotto pena della perdita delle navi, e delle mercantie.

XI. Forniti, che ſiano li quattro anni; nè gli altri avenire ſi paghino le gabelle conforme all' articolo vigeſimo quarto.

XII. Che le navi, e mercantie della compagnia, che capiteranno nelli porti, e città delli ſtati, prencipi, e participanti, che haveranno accettato il privilegio conceſſo da ſua maeſtà alla compagnia, ſiano tenute di pagar impoſitione delli quattro per cento impoſta; a queſto modo però, li due terzi per ſua maeſtà, e l' altra terza parte ſia delli prencipi, ſtati, e participanti ſopradetti, proportionabilmente ſecondo la ſomma del danaro, che haveranno poſto nella compagnia. Non intendendo però di contravenire alle altre impoſitioni, e gabelle, che poteſſero havere ſopra le altre merci; ma ſolo delle mercantie della compagnia.

XIII. Che li prencipi, città, e communità, le quali contribuito haveſſero alla compagnia 250 mila ſcudi Imperiali, oltre il reſidente conceſſoli nel trigeſimo quinto articolo, habbino anco un aſſeſſore del conſeglio; il qual conſiglio doverà eſſer formato conforme nell'articolo trigeſimo quarto ſi è detto.

XIV. Che per maggior confermatione dell'amplificatione, e dichiaratione de' privilegii conceſſi alla compagnia, ſua maeſtà eſtendeva la promeſſa fatta delli 400 mila Taleri Suezzeſi in 400 mila ſcudi Imperiali; per la qual ſomma di danaro egli non pretendeva maggior utile di quello foſſe toccato a gli altri pro rata.

Per chiara intelligenza di ogn'uno il Talero Suezzeſe, è di quattro marche, che di noſtra moneta ſono lire ſette, e meza. Il ſcudo Imperiale, è meza dobla.

IV.

IV.

REGIMINIS SUECICI CONSTITUTIO: Quam Rex invictiſſimus GUSTAVUS SECUNDUS & magnus ultimae voluntatis inſtar regno populiſque ſuis ſtatione hac mortali functus exhibendam voluit.

[Suppoſed to be completed in the beginning of the year 1630, and containing 35 pages in quarto.] 1630.

N. B. This invaluable M. S. which contained the proviſional diſpoſition that was made of the government of Sweden, in caſe he ſhould be killed in the German wars, during the minority of the princeſs Chriſtina, who was then aged about four years and ſomething more, was for a conſiderable time in the author's poſſeſſion, as all his intimate friends well know, but unfortunately loſt, with ſeveral other papers of conſequence, in going by ſea from London to Cornwall in 1758.

V.

ARTICLES ſigned by GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS with JAMES marquis of HAMILTON *.

WE Guſtavus Adolphus by the grace of God, king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, great prince of Finland, duke of Eſthone and Carel, and lord of Ingria, &c. To all and ſundry whom it concerns, make it known and certain, that whereas the illuſtrious and our ſincerely beloved lord James marquis of Hamilton, maſter of the horſe to the moſt ſerene king of Great-Britain, out of his zeal for the publick good, and for acquiring eternal fame, hath reſolved to dedicate himſelf and the fortunes and forces of all he is concerned in, for reſtoring our oppreſſed friends in Germany, and for that end hath offered to us by the illuſtrious and our ſincerely faithful colonel, Alexander Hamilton, his fidelity and ſervice, and that he will on his own expence gather a ſtrength of ſix thouſand men, and bring them over, as ſoon as may be, to any place we ſhall appoint, either againſt the Imperialiſts, or any other of our enemies, and maintain them on his own charge, and do us all faithful and vigorous ſervice with them, till this great affair be brought to a good iſſue, provided we ſhall authorize this his deſign with our protection, and give him the underwritten aſſiſtance; therefore, there being nothing dearer to us, than to make all vigorous reſiſtance to the common enemies of liberty, and having in high eſtimation the brave undertakings of 1630.

* Burnet's memoirs of the duke of Hamilton.

generous

1630. generous men, we not only would not reject, but have heartily embraced the nobleneſs of ſo good reſolutions: we have therefore admitted, like as by the vigour of theſe preſents we admit, the ſaid lord marquis into our ſervice, armies, and military counſels, on the following conditions:

Firſt, Whenever he ſhall ſignify to us, that he is ready to bring over his forces, we ſhall aſſign him a place for his landing, either to come and join with our armies, or to make an impreſſion elſewhere, as we ſhall think fit.

Next, If we appoint him to land in any place from whence he ſhall not come ſtrait to us, we ſhall for ſtrengthening his forces, ſend to the place we ſhall aſſign for his landing four thouſand foot out of our armies, whom we ſhall furniſh with all neceſſaries, and maintain on our charges a whole year.

Thirdly, Becauſe the ſaid marquis thinks two thouſand horſe are neceſſary for his foot, for whoſe levy and pay he promiſes all aſſiſtance; we ſhall therefore think of all ways and means for raiſing and maintaining theſe.

Fourthly, We not only give the ſaid illuſtrious marquis the abſolute command of this army in our abſence, but ſhall alſo join to him a counſellour, with whom he may conſult in all things, that ſo his deliberations be more expedite and clear.

Fifthly, Whatever the illuſtrious lord marquis ſhall take from the enemy, the lands and territories ſhall belong to us, but the revenues and all the emoluments ſhall go to him, and to the relief of his army: yet ſo as theſe revenues ſhall be gathered decently and in order, without depredations or plunderings; ſince our deſign is not to oppreſs thoſe who have been already enough preſſed, but rather to deliver them from the oppreſſions of others, as much as by the divine aſſiſtance we can.

Sixthly, That the marquis may more effectually perform what he hath bravely reſolved, and may ſooner make thoſe warlike inſtruments of his own invention, on which he relies much in his expedition, we ſhall not only with the firſt occaſion furniſh him with a hundred ſhip-pounds of crude iron, but ſhall alſo aſſign hammers for working it according to his deſign; of which inſtruments he hath promiſed to leave a model with us, and we ſhall be careful that none of our ſervants ſhall make uſe of them before he hath firſt made trial of them himſelf.

Seventhly, We ſhall alſo furniſh him with three hundred and ſeventy ſhip-pounds of iron-ball for his guns, and two thouſand and five hundred pikes, and as many muſquets.

Eighthly, Whenever the marquis ſhall advertiſe us of his needing gunpowder, we ſhall aſſign him bills of exchange in Holland for buying ſeventy-two ſhip-pounds of gunpowder.

Ninthly, If any other kings or ſtates ſhall concur with us, all they contribute ſhall be at our diſpoſal; but if the marquis his neceſſities require further aſſiſtance, we ſhall not abandon him, but faithfully aſſiſt him, as much as our affairs ſhall permit.

Tenthly, For all which the ſaid illuſtrious lord marquis with all his forces hath promiſed fidelity to us, and ſhall be bound to it as well as our men, and theſe who receive our pay, are, for which both he and all his captains ſhall be particularly engaged.

But becauſe there is to be a treaty betwixt our commiſſioners and the Imperialiſts at Dantzick, therefore if a peace ſhall be there concluded, ſo that we ſhall not need the ſervice of the marquis and his army, he hath obliged himſelf to pay for the foreſaid materials at their entire value.

All

All which things being thus concluded, and to be firmly obſerved by us, we have ſubſcribed theſe articles with our hand, and commanded our royal ſeal to be put to them. At our caſtle in Stockholm the laſt of May, Anno Dom. 1630. 1630.

Signed,

Locus Sigilli.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

VI.

ARTICLES ſigned by the marquis of HAMILTON with GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

WHEREAS there is a mutual compact agreed betwixt the moſt ſerene and mighty king of Sweden and me, for joining of our forces; that the articles be fully ratified, and leſt any thing afterwards fall in which may put a ſtop in our counſels, or give matter for ſiniſtrous gloſſes, I therefore ſubſcribe for my part all the articles, adding only the following explication to ſome of them. 1631.

To the firſt, if the moſt ſerene king aſſign me a place for landing, I vow and promiſe by the grace of God to do it, betwixt and the day of the next June.

To the ſecond, If the moſt ſerene king of Sweden ſend me the agreed number of ſoldiers out of his own forces, at the place and time appointed, I underſtand that by furniſhing them with all neceſſaries, a full and entire pay without any deductions be laid down for a whole year, according to the eſtabliſhment of his majeſty with his own officers.

Beſides, If the moſt ſerene king cannot allow of ſo great a diminution of his forces, it will be neceſſary that he not only ſettle a fund, for ſuch a ſum as may levy, arm, and pay, as many ſoldiers, but there will be need of ſome more; for the odds will be vaſtly great betwixt his majeſty's trained ſoldiers, and a ſudden levy of raw novices.

To the third, Since the article of horſe is conceived in general terms on both ſides, nothing being certainly fixed on either, it will be expedient that your ſacred majeſty declare your mind in it plainly, how far you oblige yourſelf: and what ſhall be agreed for me, betwixt your majeſty and theſe to whom this affair is truſted by me, I bind myſelf to ratify.

To the fifth, Since the reaſons of my expedition to Germany are the ſame with your majeſty's, I have firmly reſolved to help and relieve the oppreſſed princes and ſtates of Germany, with the eaſe of all theſe burdens with which they are now preſſed, and therefore ſhall do every thing in order, and decently, as becomes moſt friendly auxiliaries; and if any thing be taken by me from the common enemy, I ſhall deſire nothing more than that the right of it be entirely and inviolably your majeſty's.

1631. To the ninth, Since I have devoted my whole fortune with all my intereſts for promoting this our deſign, I promiſe that whatever any ſhall contribute for it, ſhall all be laid out for this war, which I ſhall with my whole forces manage and carry on, till either it pleaſe God that you obtain a deſired peace, or that the liberty of Germany, which is now oppreſſed, be reſtored.

To the tenth, Since by this article your majeſty requires and expects fidelity from me and my army, I James marquis of Hamilton, by theſe preſents give my faith for myſelf and them, and bind both myſelf and them; and for the confirmation of this I do ſubſcribe this article with all the preceding, and put my ſeal to it, at London the 1ſt of March, Anno Dom. 1631.

Locus Sigilli.

HAMILTON.

VII.

SPECIALES CAUSAE BELLI SUECICI *.

1630. QUANQUAM autem naſcens, & e Germaniæ malis validâ cum tempore incrementa ſumens Auſtriacæ domûs potentia, extraneis regibus, principibus, rebus publicis, ſenſim hoc modo magis magiſque formidoloſa facta fuerit, maximè cum, intra imperii Romani fines jam ſe non amplius continens, vicinos quoque, miſſis in Italiam, Boruſſiam, Tranſiſulana diverſis exercitibus, laceſſere haud vereretur: Guſtavus tamen Adolphus, ſecundus ejus nominis & magnus, Sueciæ rex, imprimis ſuſpectam habuit, luculenter depreheſo; quo magis Baltici maris littoribus illius vires appropinquarent, eò plures majoreſve adverſum ſe indies ſeri bellorum occaſiones.

Velut jam anno mileſimo, ſexcenteſimo, viceſimo ſexto, literæ quædam regis Sueciæ ad Tranſilvaniæ principem, nec ab hoſte, nec ad hoſtem miſſæ, a Cæſarianis referatæ, interceptæ, ac confictâ in regis invidiam verborum interpretatione, publicatæ fuerant: ipſo internuncio in carcerem compacto, ac durè & hoſtiliter habito. Quæ injuria, quo inopinatò magis regem a Cæſare, quem, nec verbo, nec facto, hucuſque læſerat, perculit, eò altiùs in pectus penetravit, ac deſcendit: maximè, cum verus literarum tenor nihil, in Cæſaris aut imperii Romani præjudicium tendens, loqueretur, ſed bellum, quod regi Sueciæ cum Polonis hac tempeſtate intercedebat, ſolummodò concerneret.

Porrò regi a fide dignis relatum: licet componendorum inter Sueciæ ac Poloniæ regna diſſidiorum ſæpe-numerò ſpes affulgeret; commiſſariis utriuſque regni annuatim in eum finem congredientibus: pacis tamen hos oſores, per internuncios ac literas, ſedulò apud Polonos operam dediſſe, ne vulnus in cicatricem co-

* Chemnitius de Bello Sueco-German. Vol. I. p. 7, &c. The reader may peruſe a fuller copy of this manifeſto in the Merc. Franç. Tom. XVI. p. 297—317.

iret,

iret, antequam in Germaniâ ſuum plene attigiſſet ſcopum; ſpe certâ Polonis datâ, 1630.
Germaniæ electoribus, principibus, ordinibus ſub jugum miſſis, ſeſe igitur, omnibus viribus collatis, eò gnaviter incubituros; ut Sueciæ quoque regnum à Polonis penitus opprimeretur.

Et quo verbis facta ſtatim reſponderent, Suecoſque omnibus bellorum gerendorum mediis, quantum pote, nudatos, Polonorum armis, favore ſuo ſuffultis, debellandos exponerent, & omni militum, & rei bellicæ commercio, quod utrumque liberum Polonis, Suecorum tunc hoſtibus, reliquerat, regi Sueciæ in Germaniâ interdicere viſum.

Clarius autem odium eorum in regem anno mileſimo, ſexcenteſimo, viceſimo ſeptimo emicabat; quando Adolphus, Holſatiæ dux, cum copiis haud contemnendis, Sigiſmundo tertio, Polonorum regi, ſubſidio ablegatus: idque eo potiſſimum tempore, quo, equitatu Polonico ad Dirſchaviam diſſipato, & toto exercitu in conſternationem haud exiguam conjecto, periculum erat, ne ipſis caſtris Poloni pellerentur. Quapropter hoc præter opinionem & immerito ſuo, illatum vulnus, regi eò magis doluit, quo certior ſpes erat, hoſtilem exercitum, abſque hoc foret, ad internecionem cæſum, atque ita hac vice debellatum iri. Nec verò miſſione militum, nec alio prætextu colorabantur iſtæ ſuppetiæ: quin potius ipſius Cæſaris ſigna, & imperii Romani aquilæ in hoſtili acie apertè fulſerunt. Dux quoque Holſatiæ, poſt navatam Polonis ſtrenuam aliquamdiu operam, è Boruſſia cum reſiduo milite in Pomeraniam regreſſus ibidem, non ſecus ac aliæ Cæſaris legiones, hiberna nactus eſt: ut vel inde, e Cæſaris ſtipendio nunquam exceſſiſſe, appareret.

Interea Cæſareus miles regis Sueciæ ſubditos, qui, negotiorum ſuorum ac innoxiorum commerciorum causâ, in Germaniam appulerant, ubicunque, nanciſci contingeret, hoſtiliter tractare: ablatis vi mercibus, & navibus fiſco addictis. Quod iidem, non aliò locorum ſe juſtius confugere rati, ad regem detulerunt: ejus opem, auxilium, patrocinium ſupplicibus ac querulis precibus implorantes.

Imprimis ſeptentrionalibus regibus ac regnis maximè ſuſpectum accidere: quod Cæſar ac rex Hiſpaniæ ſupradicto mileſimo, ſexcenteſimo, viceſimo ſeptimo, & ſequenti anno, per Georgium Ludovicum, comitem Suartzburgenſem, & Gabrielem de Roy, commiſſarios ſuos, Lubecam, aliaſque urbes Hanſeaticas, in partes ſuas traducere conati, illarum ope claſſem in mari Baltico comparare molirentur. Ut ut enim alius color rei quæſitus nil aliud, videlicet, intendi, quàm ipſarum civitatum commodum; hac etenim ratione, abrogatis, quæ exteri invexiſſent, monopoliis, navigationem & commercia civitatibus ſarta, tecta conſervatum, ac, inter alia, Hiſpanicarum mercium vectarum ad ſolos eorundem portus aſtrictum iri: ſeptentrionalium tamen regnorum reges, re altius penetratâ, aliorsùm id interpretati, aliquid monſtri alere negotium exiſtimabant; nec modo in regalium ſuorum ſuper mare Balticum, cujus tutelam & protectionem, ex majorum inſtituto, ſibi aſſerunt, inſigne vergere præjudicium, ſed & ipſis in regnorum viſceribus oppugnandis, media ac occaſionem quæri.

Quæ ſuſpicio in rege Sueciæ validiora incrementa ſumſit, poſtquam, finito bello Danico, a claſſe & navibus armandis minimè ceſſatum: in ſe enim, reconciliato Daniæ rege, fabam hanc cudi, haud ſine causâ ominabatur. Præſertim, quia Cæſariani, ſpe de adjungendis ſibi civitatum Hanſeaticarum viribus evoluti, Gedanenſium & Polonorum, cum quibus regi Sueciæ apertum bellum, naves

1630. in consortium asciverant, illarumque ope mare Balticum, harum artium hactenùs insolens, piratica infestum reddebant: in tantum; ut rex Sueciæ, regalium suorum, & securitatis maritimæ, commerciorumve conservandorum, classem & ipse suam magnis incommodis atque impendiis adornare, illâque Cæsarianos occupatis portubus, præsertim Wismariensi, inclusos tenere coactus fuerit.

Cum autem anno milesimo, sexcentesimo, vicesimo octavo, Stralesundæ urbs a supremo Cæsareæ militiæ Imperatore, Fridlandio, præsidia, quæ imperabantur, admittere detrectans, arctissimo premeretur obsidio, ferroque ac flammâ extrema quæque perpeteretur, recepit illa quidem ab initio a Daniæ rege militem auxiliarium, quem spontaneo motu, defendendæ urbi, hic submiserat, & necessitate exigente, plus auxiliorum ab eodem consequi poterat: ne tamen cum Cæsaris hostibus [quos inter tunc temporis Daniæ rex] conspirare argueretur, mox ad Sueciæ regem, confugiens, ut addicti neutri parti principis, cujus benignitatem antehac luculentis rerum testimoniis experta fuerat, tutelæ ac patrocinio, sequestro velut deposuit exagitatam infestis hostium armis libertatem. Nec rex justissimis de causis, quas ipsimet Stralesundenses per legatos suos deduxerant, recusare ullatenùs potuit; quin civitati, non ipsius modò, sed et publicæ, communisque securitatis gratiâ, misso non contemnendo militum subsidio, subveniret.

Salvâ tamen obedientiâ, Cæsari & duci Pomeraniæ, tanquam superioribus, debitâ; nec ad Cæsaris, aut cujusquam offensionem, sed solam civitatis, portusque Stralesundensis, & consequenter, totius maris Baltici defensionem, commerciorumve libertatem: ut ex fœdere, cum Stralesundensibus initio, sole meridiano clariùs apparet.

Inde militum tribunis, qui Stralesundensibus suppetias missi, in mandatis datum: ne extra obsidium, & necessariæ atque legitimæ defensionis cancellos, adversus Cæsaris exercitum quicquam tentarent. Qui & ipsi, ab initio, Danis, quamdiu illic loci unâ commorati sunt, in expugnatione oppidi Bart, aliisve factionibus, nequequam ad capessenda contra Cesarianos hostilia arma, instigantibus, regis sui mandatum causati, intra hos terminos immoti steterunt.

Eodem penè tempore Cæsar duces Megapoleos omnibus ditionibus, quas ab imperio ipsi, eorumve majores, tot per annos, feudi nomine possederant, privârat; ducemque Fridlandiæ summum terrâ, mari militiæ suæ imperatorem, his investitum erat. Quorum, & religionis, & sanguinis nexu junctorum, ducum vicem rex, ipsâ Christianâ caritate, arctâque necessitudine flagitante, jure miseratus: præsertim cum, omni aliâ ferè spe destituti, in his angustiis ad regem, velut sacram anchoram, confugerent.

VIII.

VIII.

The monthly Pay of a SWEDISH Regiment of Infantry, under GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Military Eſtabliſhment.	Per Month Dollars.	English Money. £.	s.	d.	
TO the colonel	184	32	4	0	1630
Lieutenant-colonel.	80	14	0	0	
Serjeant-major	61	10	13	6	
Chief quarter-maſter	30	5	5	0	
Captain	61	10	13	6	
Lieutenant	30	5	5	0	
Enſign	30	5	5	0	
Two ſerjeants, each	9	1	11	6	
The (*a*) *Fuhrer* (*b*) *Furryer* (*c*) *Muſter-writer*, and the (*d*) *Ruſt-maſter*, each	7	1	4	6	
Drummers and pipers, each	4	0	14	0	
6 Corporals, each	6	1	1	0	
15 (*e*) *Rot-maſters*, each	5	0	17	6	
21 Inferior *Rot-maſters*, each	4	0	14	0	
A common ſoldier	3½	0	12	3	
18 *Paſſe-volants*, (*f*) each	3	0	10	6	

Civil Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the ſame Regiment.

2 Chaplains, each	18	3	3	0
2 Examiners, or regiſters of the court-martial, each	30	5	5	0
4 Surgeons, each	12	2	2	0
4 Provoſt-marſhals, each	12	2	2	0
Clerk of the regiment	30	5	5	0
Clerk of the council of war	18	3	3	0
Serjeant of the council or court of war	18	3	3	0
2 Bedels, each	3	0	10	6
The executioner	7	1	4	6

(*a*) The *Furrer* attended the enſign, and took the colours when he was diſabled or killed.

(*b*) The *Furriers* were under quarter-maſters, and appeared in action armed with a halbert or partizan.

(*c*) The *Muſter-ſchreiber* as he is called in German, was clerk of the muſters.

(*d*) The *Ruſt-maſter* ſaw that the ſoldiers kept their arms clean and bright.

(*e*) The *Rot-maſters* took care of the ſeveral rots (each rot, or file, conſiſting of ſix men) which were committed to their charge. Twelve rots of muſqueteers and nine of pikemen, making a compleat company of 126 men, not including officers, paſſe-volants and ſervants.

(*f*) The *Paſſe-volants* were ſervants to the officers, and carried arms in the day of battle.

And

1630. And here it muſt be remarked, that if the ſervice required *Lehnung*, or advance money, it was his Swediſh majeſty's cuſtom (a certain ſum being due to his officers and ſoldiers at the expiration of each month) to divide the ſaid month into thirteen equal parts, and pay his troops a fixed portion of their ſtipend beforehand, upon the firſt, the eleventh, and one and twentieth day, amounting at the three ſeveral payments to the following proportion:

	Per Month. Dollars.	Engliſh Money. £.	s.	d.
Colonel	69	12	1	6
Lieutenant-colonel	32	5	12	0
Serjeant-major	14	2	9	0
Chief quarter-maſter	11	1	18	6
Captain	14	2	9	0
Lieutenant	11	1	18	6
Enſign	11	1	18	6
2 Serjeants, each	5	0	17	6
Fuhrer, furrier, muſter-writer, and ruſt-maſter, each	4	0	14	0
Drummers and pipers, each	2	0	7	0
6 Corporals, each	3	0	10	6
15 Rot-maſters, each	2	0	7	0
21 Inferior Rot-maſters, each	1½	0	5	3
A common ſoldier	1¼	0	4	4½
18 Paſſe-volants	1	0	3	6

Civil Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the ſame Regiment.

2 Chaplains, each	7	1	4	6
2 Examiners, or regiſters of the court-martial, each	11	1	18	6
4 Surgeons, each	7	1	4	6
4 Provoſt-marſhals, each	7	1	4	6
Clerk of the regiment	11	1	18	6
Clerk of the council of war	7	1	4	6
Serjeant of the council, or court of war	7	1	4	6
2 Bedels, each	1½	0	5	3
The executioner	5	0	17	6

IX.

ARTICLES de Confederation accordez entre le Roy de SUEDE, & le Duc de POMERANIE, pour eux, leurs Successeurs, Provinces & Subjets *, July 10th, 1630.

PREAMBLE reciproque entre Gustave, & Bogislaüs, * * * * * 1630.

* * * * * *

1630. cruelle oppreſſion, durant trois ans, n'ont eu penſée ny courage de ſe delivrer, ny de reſiſter, pour n'empirer leur condition. (6.) Si bien que n'eſperans plus aucun ſecours: (apres tant de capitulations & promeſſes ſaintement jurées & toutefois enfreintes.) (7) Survenant le louable & tres chreſtien ſecours de la ſacrée royale majeſté de Suede. (8) Qui n'eſt point venu contre l'empereur ny l'empire, avec leſquells ſa majeſté n'a rien de faſcheux à deſmeler. (9) Mais contre ceux qui contre tout droict & equité avoient occupé nos provinces, (10) afin de les delivrer de violence, & les remettre en leur premier eſtat & liberté, & pour par meſme moyen aſſeurer ſa perſonne, & ſa couronne, & ce avec des proteſtations chriſtiennes & amiables, qui ont eſté ſuivies de leur effet, à l'eſgard de la ville de Stralſund, & de la duché de Rugen, occupé par ſa majeſté. Nous avous eu pluſtoſt ſujet de louer & accepter, que de refuſer à noſtre tres grand prejudice, & de nos ſubjects, ſon ſecours & aſſiſtance.

Pour ce eſt il que nous Guſtavus, &c. et Bogiſlaüs, &c. avons enſemble convenus & accordez les ſuivants articles par nous d'un mutuel conſentement approuvé.

I. Nous avec nos eſtats, provinces & ſubjets reſpectivement, voulons et promettons ſincerement et de bonne foy, conſerver à l' avenir entre nous une ferme et conſtante amitié utile, et convenable à des bons voiſins, et ne faire ny ne permettre eſtre fait l' un à l' autre ouvertement ou couvertement, par qui, et en quelque maniere que ce ſoit, aucun hoſtilité; ains nous defendre les uns les autres par armes, et par mutuel ſecours, contre toutes violences, invaſions, ravages, *contributions*, oppreſſions, et contraventions, ne nous point abandonner, beaucoup moins nous trahir, ou ſubjuger, mais plûtoſt rechercher, et accroiſtre le profit et avantage, et deſtourner tout dommage l' un de l' autre: advancer de tout noſtre pouvoir le trafic et commerce de Suede en Pomeranie, et de Pomeranie en Suede; faiſans pour ce, ceſſer toutes inhibitions et empeſchements. A l' effect dequoy, nous roy. et duc ſuſdit, pour nous, nos ſucceſſeurs et eſtats, avons non ſeulement renouvellé ladite ancienne paction et accord, pour l' entretenement d'un bon voiſinage entre nous, nos royaumes, duchez principautez et leurs appurtenances, mais, auſſi l' avons par le preſent traicté de nouveau confirmé et corroboré, pour durer à jamais. Voulans en outre que la preſente confederation ſoit de dix ans en dix ans renouvellée et re-integrée.

II. Le dit accord s'entend eſtre renouvellé pour *la deffence* mutuelle contre la violence, non point pour l' *offence*, *(ſi non que pour l' entretenement des choſes convenües entre nous, il fuſt grandement requis)* auquel cas, chacun de nous ſera obligé de preſter l' un à l' autre, *juſqu' au dernier effort*, mutuel ayde et ſecours.

III. Au moyen de ce, le preſent traicté ne doit point eſtre reputé fait *contre la majeſté ſacrée de l' empereur ny de l' empire*, mais pluſtoſt pour le conſerver en ſon ancienne forme, liberté, religion, et paix religieuſe et ſeculiere contre les tumultuaires, et perturbateurs de la paix publique: *n' entendans point nous departir de l' obligation par laquelle nous Bogiſlaüs duc ſuſdit ſommes tenus á la ſacrée majeſté Imperiale et á l' empire, et au cercle de la Saxe Superieure*; ains au contraire, proteſtans de nous y conſerver ſelon noſtre devoir (*á la charge tout á fois qu' ils ne requerront de nous aucune choſe contrevenante au preſent traicté,*) et de demeurer avec nos duchez, eſtats, et ſubjets joints à l' empire, audit circle, et aux conſtitutions Imperiales; ne voulans qua l' occaſion du preſent traicté l' eſtat de nos provinces ſoit changé ny que rien nous ſoit oſté ny diminué de noſtre ſouveraineté, ny quant

aux

aux droicts royaux, dignitez, juriſdictions, droicts domaniaux et territoriaux à nous appartenans, ny ſemblablement quant aux privileges, tant generaux que particuliers de la nobleſſe de Pomeranie, et des ſujets et eſtats; ny aux conceſſions, droicts, ſtatuts, loix fondementales, ny aucun autre droict particulier. 1630.

IV. Puis que cette union tend principalement à ce que nous duc ſuſdit puiſſions eſtre delivrè de la cruelle oppreſſion, de laquelle noſtre conſtante & fidelle innocence, a eſté travaillée pour l' eſpece de trois ans, contre les lois ſacrèes de l'empire & dudit cercle, & contre les claires & expreſſes conſtitutions de la paix publique, & meſmes contre les ſpeciales ſincerations, mandements & declarations de la ſacrèe majeſté de l' empereur, & les provinces & pays de Pomeraine eſtre conſervez en leur ancien eſtat, ſans recevoir aucuns empeſchemens limites, ports & paſſages, & eſtre delivrez a l' advenir de tous dangers. Pour ces raiſons a eſté de part & d'autre unanimement convenu entre nous, de ſ' oppoſer par jonction de forces à tout autre qui en l' empire Romain contrarie, & peut en quelque facon que ce ſoit contravenir à la paix de la religion obtenüe avec tant de peine & de travaux.

V. Les villes, lieux & provinces de Pomeranie, par nous roy de Suede occupéz, ou que nous pourrons cy-apres occuper, ſeront par nous *remis entre les fidelles mains & au pouvoir dudit ſeigneur duc de Pomeranie avec toutes leurs appurtenances, droicts, regales, & juriſdictions, ſans nulle reſerve, ny tergiverſation, & ſans repetition de frais de la guerre: meſmes la ville de Stralſond luy ſera par nous rendüe, pourveu que, comme ledit ſeigneur duc ne doit rien aliener deſdites provinces de Pomeraine, principalement la principauté de Rugen*; auſſi il eſtabliſſe ès dites provinces *tels officiers*, qui en tout ce qui concernera la defence & conſervation deſdites provinces, ſe monſtrent de bonne volonté envers les *commiſſaires de Suede:* pourveu auſſi, que les *privileges de la ville de Stralſond ſoient maintenus en leur entier*, & que ſpecialement par deſſus touts l' alliance faite par la dite ville avec ſa dite majeſté ſoit conſervée inviolablement,‡ & que les griefs par eux pretendus ſoient promptement reparez, & equitablement jugéz.

VI. D' autant l' eveſché de Camin eſtant dans les provinces & eſtats de Pomeranie, & en conſequence de ce, devant jouir en ſon particulier de tout ce qui par le preſent traicté a eſté accordé, pour le bien general de la Pomeranie, a eſté particulierement convenu, que ſi contre les privileges, ſtatuts, & loix fondementales de l' eveſché & du chapitre, eſt attenté quelque choſe au fait d' election de l' eveſque ou du co-adjeuteur, ou à quelque autre occaſion que ce ſoit, nous roy & duc ſuſnommez l' empeſcherons conjointement de tout noſtre pouvoir, & maintiendrons la liberté du chapitre & du dioceſe, enſemble la libre election de l' eveſque, ſon eſtat, ſes droicts & ſes dignitez.

VII. *Nul de nous ſans le vouloir & conſentement de l' autre, ne pourra renoncer au preſent Traicté*, & beaucoup moins nous duc de Pomeranie ne pourrons, pour ce qui concerne la preſente defence de noſtre eſtat, faire aucun traicté, ny alliance, avec qui que ce ce ſoit. Que ſi ſa royale majeſté pour noſtre bien et de nos provinces, vouloit faire quelque traicté, il nous devra eſtre communiqué, duquel, ſi y voulons entrer et eſtre joints, ny nous, ny nos provinces ne pourrons en eſtre exclus.

‡ His majeſty in the year 1628, renewed a treaty (for former ones had ſubſiſted) betwixt Sweden and the town of Stralſund. It was to hold in force 20 years, and is preſerved by Lotickius. Tom. I. 608.

1630. VIII. Si quelque prince chreſtien ſe veut adjoindre à la preſente confederations, et ſ'y aſſocier à conditions raiſonnables, il luy ſera libre de le faire, moyennant que par la dite jonction les eſtats d' aucuns de nous n'en recoivent dommage, et n'empirent leur condition.

IX. Parceque qu'en cette confederation particuliere (permiſe de tout droict, entant qu'elle eſt pour la conſervation de la paix religieuſe et ſeculiere de Pomeranie) nulle mention n'a eſté faite des autres confederations et accords cy-devant faits pour la conſervation d' icelle; les dits accords ne pourront en rien prejudicier au preſent traicté, ny eſtre alleguéz contre iceluy. Et nous duc ſuſdit promettons de ne nous point allier par traicté avec qui que ce ſoit, ſans le ſpecial vouloir et conſentement de ſuſdit royale majeſté.

X. Si le dit ſeigneur duc, ſes provinces, et ſujets, à l' occaſion de la preſente confederation, eſſoient aſſaillis en guerre par qui que ce ſoit, en tel cas non ſeulement nous roy de Suede et nos royaumes et eſtats ſerons obligéz, et promettons d'entreprendre ſoigneuſement et fidellement la defence dudit ſeigneur duc, mais auſſi y attirerons les autres princes nos confederez, pour augmenter et fortifier le nombre et les moyens de la defence. Comme auſſi au reciproque, nous duc de Pomeranie, nos provinces et ſubjets ferons le meſme, au cas que ſa royale majeſté et ſes royaumes et eſtats fuſſent infeſtez par guerre, à cauſe du preſent traicté.

XI. Par la preſente confederation le privilege de naturalité ſ'entend eſtre reſpectivement accordé aux ſubjets du l'une et de l'autre parties, royaumes et eſtats de Suede et de la duché et eſtats de Pomeranie: et la nation Suedoiſe honorera, aydera et procurera le profit et advantage de la Pomeranoiſe, et la Pomeranoiſe de la Suedoiſe en temps de paix et de guerre; ſauf reſpectivement aux uns et aux autres, leurs droits, privileges, et immunitez particuliers.

XII. Pour la conſervation, facilité et advancement du commerce, la monnoye royale de Suede aura cours en Pomeranie, et celle de Pomeranie en Suede, et ſera expoſée ſelon l'evaluation qui en aura eſté faite ſur les lieux.

XIII. Si ſurvient quelque different ou quelque meſintelligence entre ſa royale majeſté et ledit ſeigneur duc ou entre leurs ſujets, ou eſtats, elle ne ſe terminera point par l'epée et par guerre, ains en la facon preſente par la pacification de Stetin en l'année 1570, c'eſt à ſcavoir par perſonnages d'authorité, nommés par les parties, ou eſleus par ſort.

XIV. Finalement, nous roy de Suede nous ſommes expreſſement reſervéz, qu' au cas que ledit ſeigneur duc vient à deceder ſans deſcendans maſles, ſes heritiers, avant que l'electeur de Brandenburg (auquel comme au futur ſucceſſeur de l' eſtat, l'hommage a deja eſté fait) ait approuvè et ratifié la preſente confederation, et avant que le dit ſucceſſeur ſoit venu en perſonne pour la liberation de ces provinces, ou au cas que cette ſucceſſion fuſt revoquée en doute, et rendue litigieuſe au dit ſeigneur electeur; nous roy de Suede, ou nos ſucceſſeurs de nos royaumes et couronne, retiendrons ces-dittes province en forme de ſequeſtre et de protection, juſques à ce que le droict ſucceſſif ait eſté pleinement eſclairci et eſtabli; et que par le ſucceſſeur les frais de la guerre nous ayent eſté entierement payez et rembourſéz (ſans toutefois en faire ſouffrir aucune charge ny contribution aus dites provinces, eſtats et ſubjets de Pomeranie) et juſques à ce que la preſente confederation ait eſté par luy deüement ratifiée et confirmée,

Tout

Tout ce que deſſus s'entend avoir eſté accordé & promis de bonne foy & ſans fraude. Pour certitude & perpetuelle fermeté de quoy, nous roy de Suede, &c. pour nous, nos ſucceſſeurs, &c. & nous duc de Pomeranie, &c. pour nous, nos ſucceſſeurs, &c. avons la preſent noſtre convention & confederation approuvée & confirmée de nos ſeaux royal, & ducal, & realle, ſignée de nos mains, au vieil Stetin le 10 jour de Juillet, vieil ſtil, l'an 1630. 1630.

GUSTAVUS.

BOGISLAÜS.

X.

LETTRE du duc de POMERANIE à l'EMPEREUR.

TRES HAUT, &c. *cum titulis majoribus*, ... 1630.

J'eſtime que ce ſeroit choſe ſuperfluë de redire au long à voſtre majeſté les non meritées calamitez & griefues miſeres, eſquelles les ruinaux logements de gens de guerre faits depuis trois ans en mes duchez de Stetin, Pomeranie, & en toutes les provinces, & dependantes d'icelles, m'ont plongé; puis qu'il eſt notoire à tout le monde, & que les plaintes que moy & le miens en avons faites, & les iterées reſponces que ſur icelles il a pleu à voſtre majeſté imperiale, me donner, le teſmoignent plus que ſuffiſament, ſans faire mention de ce que j'ay encore envoyé expres mes deputez à la preſente diete electorale de Ratiſbonne, tant à voſtre majeſté imperiale, qu' au college des electeurs, pour y faire remonſtrer en toute humilité & reſpect, & par toutes ſortes de circonſtances, l'extremité en laquelle je ſuis reduit. Mais bien m'eſt il forcé de repreſenter à voſtre majeſté, que ſur ces entrefaites le roy de Suede, &c. eſt arrivé en mes pays avec une puiſſante armée, & a *trouvé ſi peu de reſiſtance*, en ceux qui avoient eſté deſtinez pour la defence, (& qui ſous ce pretexte ont eſpuiſé moy, & les miens juſques au fond, & outre ce, deſarmé la pluſpart de mes ſujets, & meſme oſté leur chevaux) que d'abord il a pris le duché de Rugen, & enſuite le havre de Penemond devant Wolgaſt, puis s'eſt emparé de l'iſle, & de tout le pays d'Uſedom, avec la ville bien munie d'iceluy; du port Wollin, des deux havres Schwein & Divenau, outre le fort qui y avoit eſté commencé à ſi grands frais, & la ville bien murée de Wollin, qui eſtoient autant de retrenchements & forts pour defendre l'accés de cette ville de Stetin, lieu de noſtre reſidence; & notamment l'iſle de Rugen, ou il y avoit pluſieurs bonnes fortreſſes. De meſme l'havre de Penemond eſtoit bien fortifié & retranché, comme auſſi Uſedom, Wollin, Schwein & Divenau. De ſorte qu'il eſt à preſumer, que ſi ces defenſeurs euſſent voulu faire bonne reſiſtance, & ſe porter vaillament, le roy de Suede n'euſt peus en ſi peu de temps, faire de ſi grands progrez. Mais au lieu de cela, des qu'ils entendirent la venüe dudit roy, ſans l'attendre, leſdits defenſeurs pillerent les places ſuſdites, mirent le feu en quelques unes, & les abandonneret à la haſte, tournans leurs armes, qu'ils devroient

1630. roient employer contre le ſoldat eſtranger, contre les pauvres habitans deſarmez du pays; qu'ils ont comme en pays ennemy par une cruauté inouye pilléz & ſaccagéz, de ſorte que c'eſt choſe horrible à deſcrire, mais neantmoins veritable, & dont les preuves & teſmoignages ſe pourront ſuffiſament produire cy-apres. Voire on n'en eſt pas demeuré là, ains ils ont attaqué mon chaſteau & ma ville d'Uckarmond, qui eſt à un notable paſſage, chaſſé d'icelle ma garniſon contre l'accord exprez, & tout auſſi-toſt l'ont quittés & laiſſer vuide. A Wollin ils ont pillé la maiſon de la princeſſe doüariere, ſoeur d'electeur de Saxe, & taſché d'y mettre feu. De là eſt enſuivy que le roy de Suede prenant l'occaſion & ſon temps, (pendant que Torquato Conti mareſchal de camp pour voſtre majeſté imperiale avec la pluſpart de l'armée ſe jettoit contre la Pomeranie) eſt arrivé le 20 Juillet à la faveur du vent, (qui luy fit faire ſix lieus en deux heures) devant cette ville, que tout auſſi-toſt il inveſtit de telle viteſſe, & bloqua de touts coſtez, faiſans ſes approches de ſi prés, qu'il fut impoſſible de ſe mettre en defence, beaucoup moins recevoir ou attendre ſecours de l'armée de voſtre majeſté.

Que ſi là deſſus il plait à voſtre majeſté imperiale, ſelon ſa grande bonté & prudence, de laquelle elle eſt doueé de Dieu, aux electeurs & princes de l'empire, voire à tout le monde, de bien conſiderer & juger comment, & par quels moyens je ſuis tombé en ce malheur: je ne crains point d'encourir de droict & equité autre jugement ny cenſure, ſi non que la ſincerité & conſtance de ma foy vrayement Allemande (en laquelle je ſuis demeuré ferme, nonobſtant toutes mauvaiſes procedures) à eſté mal recogneüe; & que tout ces malheur ſe doit attribuer à cette nouvelle invention de loger des gens de guerre contre les ſtatuts de l'empire, & *exiger de ſi groſſes contributions* que la ruine totale du pays s'en eſt enſuivy, pour ne point toucher aux autres raiſons. Car par la grace de Dieu, je ſuis tout aſſeuré en ma conſcience, de n'en avoir jamais donné le moindre ſujet, ny par union ny par correſpondence, beaucoup moins par conſpiration ou aucune action ſuſpecte, ains pluſtoſt comme un vray & fidelle membre de l'empire Romaine, demeurant toujours ferme en termes d'integrité & innocence, pour deſtourner ces malheurs, perils, & extremitez de mon pays, ay recherché juſques à preſent toutes voyes & moyens, & tant envers voſtre majeſté imperiale, que vers les college des electeurs, comme auſſi vers vos generaux, capitaines & tous autres, qui pouvoyent ſervir à la cauſe, envoyé des ambaſſades notables à voſtre majeſté & aux ſuſdits electeurs; & de fraiche memoire, par l'advis des grands miniſtres d'eſtat de voſtre majeſté commandans icy, *une ambaſſade à la couronne de Suede.* Encore une à Dantzic; meſmes encore une preſentement à voſtre majeſté imperiale; ſi peut eſtre, par une ſinguliere & gracieuſe volonté de Dieu, il ſe pouvoit trouver remede & repos. Que ſi tout cela juſques à preſent ait rapporté peu de fruict, & que cette occaſion y ſoit ſurvenüe, ny moy, ny mes pays innocens n'en devons point patir, Ains tant plus & faudroit-il penſer aux moyens d'une ſalutaire paix & à deſtourner le mal. Auſſi ne veux-je perdre toute eſperance de paix & de remede, *veu que par le peu de diſcours que j'ay eu avec le roy de Suede je ne l'ai pas recogneu ſi animé, qu'il ſe porte pour ennemi de voſtre majeſté* ny de l'empire Romain; *mais que ſon deſſein n'eſt que de conſerver la liberté du commerce de la couronne de Suede & les membres de l'empire ſes voiſins, de tout temps confederez en leur ancien eſtat,* les defendant contre toute violence injuſte que les gens de guerre ont entrepris d'y exercer ſous le nom & ſouvent contre l'intention & mandement de voſtre majeſté. C'eſt que la neceſſité urgente m'a fait declarer à voſtre majeſté

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& la ſupplier tres humblement de me faire ſentir les gracieux effects de ſa clemence & promeſſes imperiales, & renvoyer mes deputez, par leſquels je la ſupplie en toute humilité de me deſcharger de tant de difficultez, avec bonne depeſche. Cela non ſeulement tournera à la louange & gloire immortelle de voſtre majeſté, mais le tout-puiſſant la comblera encore de toute proſperité & benediction, & moy je ne ceſſeray par continuelle obeyſſance & devotion de ſervir voſtre majeſté & la ſereniſſime maiſon d'Autriche; recommandant tres affectueuſement voſtre majeſté en la protection du tout-puiſſant, à ce qu'il luy donne un regne heureux & plein de proſperité & moy en toute ſubjection avec mes pays aux bonnes graces de voſtre majeſté. Donné à Stetin ce 14 Juillet 1630. 1630.

De voſtre imperiale majeſté le tres humble, tres obeyſſant,

& fidele prince de l'empire, & Feodal,

BOGISLAÜS.

XI.

LETTRE des electeurs catholiques à la lettre du roy de SUEDE.

NOUS Anſelme Caſimir par la grace de Dieu, archeveſque de Mayence, Philippes Chriſtophle archeveſque de Treves, Ferdinand archeveſque de Cologne, Maximiliam duc de l'une & l'autre Baviere, Jean Georges duc de Saxe, George Guillaume marquis de Brandebourg, archichancelier, grand eſcuyer, grand mareſchal, grand chambrier, & princes electeurs du ſainct empire Romain, par la Germanie, la Gaule, le royaume d'Arles & Italie. 1630.

Roy ſereniſſime, noſtre tres amé couſin & allié, voſtre dignite royale nous à expoſé par ſes lettres du ſeptieſme Avril pluſieurs plaintes, auſquelles elle deſiroit remedié par noſtre entremiſſe, avant que la neceſſité la preſſaſt de ſe pourvoir des remedes qu'elle jugeroit eſtre plus convenables, leſquels pourroient cauſer de grands maux en l'empire: comme auſſi elle s'excuſoit, de ce qu'elle avoit ſecouru la ville imperiale de Stralſond. Toutes ces choſes ayans eſté conſiderées, nous n'eſtimons point, que de là puiſſe naiſtre aucun ſujet qui porte voſtre dignité royale à deſſeigner & mediter quelque mauvais deſſein contre l'empire Romain: que ſi ceux de Stralſond ſe fuſſent monſtrez d'avantage affectionnéz, plus parfaits que par paroles envers l'empereur, leur ſouverain ſeigneur, la voye pour gaigner ſa clemence imperiale, eut eſté expediente au remede plus prompt contre les dommages de la guerre: car il ne leur eſtoit pas convenable d'appeller à eux des ſecours eſtrangers, ny d'en donner aux eſtrangers, au prejudice de l'empire.

Que ſi voſtre dignité royale a eſté offensée, & ſi elle a receu quelques indignitez par les ennemis de la paix; c'eſt choſe que nous n'approuvons pas: & ſi en la ſuſcription

1630. ſuſcription de nos lettres il n'y avoit pas ce qu'elle deſiroit, cela n'a pas eſté fait d'aucune mauvaiſe volonté, ny avec deſſein de diminuer ſon honneur, mais bien ſelon le ſtil duquel nous uſons meſme envers les autres roys. Et pour ce qui concerne les armes imperiales conduites en Baſſe-Saxe, & par apres aux coſtes de la mer Baltique, qui ont eſté ſuivies de preparatifs de guerre : pour ces choſes nous ne croyons point que ſa majeſté imperiale ait jamais eſté provoquée contre la couronne de Suede, ny ordonné eſtre entrepris aucun acte d'hoſtilité ſur l'eſtat de voſtre dignité royale : mais que ſon conſeil a eſté, d'aller au devant de tous ſujets de trouble, que vouloient exciter ceux qui eſtoient plus portez à ayder les conſeils ennemis, qu' à embraſſer la bien veillance de ſa majeſté imperiale qui leur eſtoit offerte.

Et de ce qu'elle ſe faſche, que ſes voiſins & parents ont eſté privez de leurs ſeigneuries paternelles, pour ce qui concerne les principautez & fiefs dependans immediatement de l'empire : nous ſçavons que voſtre dignité royale deferera d'autant plus equitablement l'arbitrage de cette cauſe à ſa majeſté imperiale, comme ſeigneur direct des fiefs de l'empire, que plus elle recogniſtra que ſadite majeſté eſt portée à la clemence, & qu'elle eſt tres-prompte d'adminiſtrer la juſtice à ceux qui la demandent. Auſſi auparavant nous avons fait voir noſtre ſoin par nos lettres, de recommender à l'equité de ſadite majeſté imperiale, la cauſe des ducs de Meckelbourg ; & que pour les ſecours qui ont eſté envoyez au roy de Pologne en Pruſſe, nous ne croyons que cela ait rendu ſa majeſté imperiale ennemie de voſtre dignité royale, veu qu'il n'apport rien de la raiſon de ce fait : mais bien croyons nous qu'elle a en a eu des cauſes particulieres, pour leſquelles elle a jugé n'eſtre à propos de n'abandonner le party d'un roy, qui lui eſt parent & amy : & d'avantage, puis qu à preſent les treſors ſont accordées de part & d'autre ; ſi voſtre dignité royale veut pretendre de là, ou de quelques autres cauſes, avoir eſté offensée, nous ne pouvons croire toutefois, que telles choſes puiſſent ou doivent eſtre ſujet de troubler l'empire par les armes, veu qu'il ne manquera pas d'autres voyes & remedes pacifiques pour compoſer les differents, & ſatisfaire à l'une & l'autre partie. Ce qui eſt cauſe que nous exhortons voſtre dignité royale de ne ſe laiſſer induire par les conſeils de qui que ce ſoit, de lever les armes contre l'empire, ny de vouloir faire juger les differents de ceux, qui juſques à preſent ont refuſé de rendre obeyſſance à ſa majeſté imperiale : & ne pouvons nous empeſcher de trouver eſtrange de voir maintenant, d'armées levées contre l'empire par voſtre dignité royale, & de ce qu'elle ne retire ſes troupes : veu que voicy le temps auquel on peut conſulter de plus grandes affaires avec noſtre empereur invincible, nous promettans de travailler à l'eſtabliſſment d'une bonne & ſolide paix en cette aſſemblée de Ratiſbonne. Et ſi elle fait autrement, chacun pourra voir qu'elle ne veut recevoir aucun conſeil important à ſa ſeureté ; mais que voſtre dignité royale veut entendre aux mauvais deſſeins de ſa majeſté imperiale. Reſte donc qu'en nous promettant de meilleurs ſuccez en toutes ces affaires, & nous confiant en l'aſſeurance de la paix, nous offrions nos offices mutuels à voſtre dignité royale, lui ſouhaittans que toutes choſes heureuſes luy ſoient concedeés par Dieu tout puiſſant. Donné à Ratiſbonne le dixieſme jour d'Aouſt mil ſix cens trente. De voſtre dignité royale, les tres prompts amis & alliez.

XII.

XII.

LETTRE du roy de SUEDE aux electeurs catholiques *.

GUSTAVE ADOLPHE. Reverendiſſimes, tres-nobles & tres-illuſtres princes, nos tres chers amis & alliez. Nous avons receu les lettres de vos dilections du dixeſme Juillet, & dixieſme Aouſt, à nous renduës depuis peu de jours, & ayans conſideré la forme exterieure d'icelles, nous avons recogneu que maintenant avoient eſté corrigées les choſes contenuës aux lettres precedentes de vos dilections, concernantes noſtre titre de roy, ainſi qu'il eſtoit raiſonnable: & ayans ouvert les voſtres dernieres, il y a dequoy s'eſtonner, de ce que, contre la couſtume ordinaire, & le ſtil uſité aux lettres electorales addreſſées non ſeulement à nous, mais auſſi aux autres roys & princes ſujets à l'empire Romain, les noms de vos dilections ſont exprimez à vos lettres, comme ſi cela avoit eſté fait à deſſein de preferer les noms des autres à noſtre titre royal, & pour cauſer quelque prejudice à noſtre dignité & majeſté royale. Mais nous voulons croire que tout cela s'eſt fait par les ſecretaires, la plume deſquels a poſſible eſté ainſi conduite par quelques ennemis de la paix publique, afin que toute communication & commerce de lettres d'entre nous & vos dilections, ſoit à l'avenir rendu plus difficile, veu qu'ils cognoſſoient fort bien que nous ne voulons admettre ny permettre aucune choſe qui ſoit contraire à noſtre dignité royale: & pour meſme ſujet nous n'avons auſſi deu par aucune raiſon recevoir ny accepter les lettres que l'empereur nous à eſcrites depuis peu, en la ſubſcription deſquelles ſa majeſté nous appelle Uſeren Furſten (noſtre prince) en ſorte qu'il ſemble nous vouloir comprendre au nombre de ſes ſujets, & neantmoins nous ne tenons du benefice imperial la moindre poignée de terre; mais nous diſons que tout ce que noſtre empire embraſſe eſt tenu par nous de Dieu ſeul & de l'eſpée, ſa divine bonté par ſa clemence ayant favoriſé noſtre tres-juſte cauſe en toutes les guerres que nous avons faites juſques à preſent. Mais nous ne voulons point nous arreſter plus long-temps ſur ces choſes, veu principalement qu'il ſe ſçait aſſez, que par tels actes choſe aucune ne peut eſtre derogée d'avantage à noſtre majeſté royale, que de là il n'en puiſſe arriver autant à la dignité de vos dilections. 1630.

Et pour ce qui concerne ces choſes, nous avons eu pour agreable, de ce que vos dilections aſſurent n'avoir peu approuver les injures & indignitez à nous indignement & injuſtement faites par les communs perturbateurs du repos public: mais nous aurions bien plus agreable, ſi les remedes convenables à ces maux euſſent eſté appliquez en temps & ſaiſon; il ſemble que maintenant vos dilections s'eſlevent contre les choſes par nous commiſes, & excuſent aucunement & non entierement deſadvoüent tout ce qui s'eſt fait juſques à preſent par nos ennemis; veu qu'auparavant par nos lettres, nous avons ſuffiſamment exposé les raiſons qui nous contraignoient de donner ſecours à la ville de Stralſund & de procurer autant qu'en nous eſtoit poſſible le ſalut de cette ville voiſine, qui depuis pluſieurs ſiecles eſt conjointe par divers liens à nous & à noſtre couronne, & d'aller promptement au devant du peril eminent, qui menacoit nos eſtats &

* Mercure Francois, Tom. XVI. p. 338, &c.

la

1630. la mer Baltique. Et neantmoins nous n'avons enterpris aucune hoſtilité contre l'Empire Romain, ny attenté aucune choſe à ſon prejudice; mais pluſtoſt nous nous ſommes perſuadéz qu'en cela nous remportions de grandes leüanges de l'Empire par nos merites, pour avoir empeſché que cette ville ne fuſt opprimée par les iniques perſecuteurs contre ſa meſme authorité imperiale, & l'ayant veu preſte à tomber és mains des enemis de l'Empire Romain, nous avons comme embraſſé la meilleure voye pour ſa conſervation, l'avons maintenuë ſaine & entiere au meſme Empire: et eſtimons n'eſtre neceſſaire ny convenable de reciter icy toutes les particularitez de cette affaire, veu que nous pouvons facilement eſperer, que nul (au gouſt duquel nos premiers actes n'ont peu ſatisfaire) ne peſe derechef toutes choſes d'une balance eſgale: ſcavoir ſi la ville de Stralſund n'avoit pas aſſez de cauſes juſtes & preſſantes d'implorer un ſecours eſtranger contre une force non moins injuſte qu'extreme; & ſcavoir ſi elle pouvoit trouver une voye meilleure & plus expediente, pour s'aller rendre à la clemence de ſa majeſté imperiale, comme à un autel d'un port de ſalut. Ceux meſme du deſtroit du ſond ſont tous preſts de faire voir cela devant tous les juges plus equitables du monde, & chacun pourra facilement recognoiſtre combien peu profitoient en ce temps la' les decrets de l'empereur, non ſeulement pour delivrer cette ville innocente du danger d'eſtre ruinée, mais auſſi pour pouvoir tant ſoit peu refroidir & temperer cette haine mortelle & fureurs inhumaines, qui s'allumoient à la ruine extreme de cette place; ſes ennemis poſans tout droict & raiſon à la violence des armes.

D'avantage vos dilections diſent qu'elles ne peuvent croire que l'empereur n'ait eſté provoqué à prendre les armes, & faire des preparatifs de guerre pour envoyer en Baſſe-Saxe, & qu'il avoit ordonné qu'apres que ſes armes ſeroient conduites és coſtes de la mer Baltique, elles ſe jetteroient en ſes eſtats & pays. Ce que nous euſſions creu auſſi tres-volontiers, ſi tant d'exemples funeſtes contraires, que nous avons veu de nos yeux, ne nous euſſent fait recognoiſtre, que pluſieurs en ce temps là, pour avoir adjouſté trop de foy à ces choſes, ont eſté chaſtiez par des peines tres ſeveres: & euſſions jugé eſtre choſe indigne de noſtre dignité & authorite royale, de donner quelquefois trop de creance en de choſes de ſi grande importance, qui regardent le ſalut de l'eſtat & des peuples que l'eternel a mis ſous noſtre puiſſance. Mais nous ne penſions pas qu'il fuſt trop tard de ſe plaindre de cela. Toutefois pour ce qui eſt de l'empereur, nous ne nous promettions pas rien de mal de ſon coſté, quoy que pluſieurs ayent eſté aſſez offenſéz par ſes miniſtres: mais comme tels perturbateurs de la paix, n'eſtans par nous provoquéz, n'ont pas laiſsé de nous faire mille indignitez, & d'adjouſter injures ſur injures (ainſi que vos dilections cognoiſtront par la deduction des dommages & offenſes receus d'eux, que je leur aye depuis peu envoyée) & ainſi nul ne doit trouver eſtrange, ſi eſtans frappez de crainte & d'apprehenſion non vaine & inopinée, mais tres-juſte, nous avons commencé d'avoir tels procedez plus que ſuſpects. C'eſt pourquoy nous aſeurans ſur le droict tres-equitable de la defenſe, et que nous nous ſommes reſolus de defendre noſtre dignité par d'autres voyes, & avons eſté forcéz à prendre en tels maux le remede plus ſalutaire pour en prevenir de plus grands, & pourvoir ſoigneuſement, qu'eux qui ſont faits à la navigation, n'entreprennent d'entrer en nos provinces qui leur ſont voiſines, & en celles de nos royaumes qui ſont au delà de la mer, ſans empeſcher que le domaine direct ſur les choſes qui dependent des fiefs de l'empire,

pire, ne ſoit conſervé à l'empereur en l'empire Romain. Et toutesfois ce droict 1630.
d'amitié, de voiſinage & de conſanguinité, ne ſe peut rompre, ny faire en ſorte qu'l ne ſoit licite de ſe condouloir ſur les adverſitez des amis & voiſins, & beaucoup plus des parents & alliez, & qu'il demeure encores à nous comme roy & prince d'avoir leur cauſe & raiſon pour recommendée, veu principalement que non tant en leur propre faute, mais bien que les ſiniſtres deſſeins des ennemis eſtans ſans defenſe, & ny ayans en leur cauſe aucun ordre de droict gardé qu'avoit accouſtumé d'eſtre conſervé en l'empire Romain, tant à convaincre qu'a condamner, ils ſe ſont veus precipitez en une ſi grande calamité.

Vos dilections ſe perſuadent auſſi, que l'empereur a eu ces cauſes particulieres, pour quoy il n'a pas jugé eſtre à propos que les amis & parents du roy quittaſſent ſon party, & que pour cela ſecours avoyent eſté envoyez au Polonis en Pruſſe, & que par ainſi ils n'eſtiment pas cela eſtre ſi grande choſe, qu'il n'y ayt encores d'autres moyens pacifiques pour compoſer les affaires, & partant que l'empire ne devoit eſtre troublé par d'autres mouvements de guerre. Et nous au contraire, nous nous laiſſons facilement perſuader, que ces cauſes impulſives & perſuaſives n'ont manqué à nos ennemis pour envoyer ces ſecours, ou bien que ces raiſons là ſont pour juſtifier les cauſes de cet affaire, ou bien pour improuver nos actions. Nous voulons que vos dilections jugeants l'amitié qui eſt entre l'empereur & le roy de Pologne, ne nous impoſent pas la neceſſité de ne pouvoir ſouffrir telles invaſions & actes d'hoſtilité: & n'y a ſorte de droict qui decide, qu'il ne nous ſoit loiſible de defendre noſtre dignité contre tels violateurs, qui ont exercé toutes ſortes d'hoſtilitez au tré grand prejudice de nos eſtats, & d'en pourſuivre la vengeance par le juſte droict de la loy talion; & qu'il vaut mieux les aller chercher finalement de hors, & aux coſtes eſtrangeres, qu'en la maiſon & aux entrailles de noſtre royaume. Ce qui ne ſe peut faire, qu'avec une perpetuelle ſolicitude & agitation: pour ce que noſtre droit, ny les treves faites entre nous & le royaume de Pologne, ne peuvent ſe rompre ny diminuer. Et quoy que toutes ces choſes ſoient ainſi, les dernieres pourtant ne doivent pas eſtre premierement entrepriſes. Car vos dilections ſe ſouviendront, combien de fois nous nous ſommes travaillez, pour oſter toute diſcorde par compoſition amiable: mais ſi les choſes que nous avions ſi bien meditées, ont manqué au ſuccez deſiré, cela ne nous doit eſtre imputé, mais bien à leur iniquité, ſubterfuge & malice, qui ont indignement rejetté, & ſe ſont en partie moquez des moyens par nous propoſez. C'eſt pourquoy les remedes lenitifs ne profitant de rien, il ne ſe faut ſcandaliſer, ſi nous nous ſommes reſolus aux remedes corroſifs & ſeveres. Et pour ce que vos dilections par leurs lettres n'ont couché aucunes paroles des remedes qui ſe devoient eſperer, afin que par voſtre authorité & interpoſition il fuſt pourveu à faire ceſſer ces juſtes plaintes, ce n'eſt pas avec injure que nous les recherchons. Car quelle autre choſe ſe pouvoit-il recuéillir de là ſinon une option ou une neceſſité qui nous reſtoit, de pourvoir au ſalut de leurs eſtats, & du noſtre par une autre voye?

Neantmoins nous voulons bien repeter icy ce que nous avons ſouventefois proteſté, que nous ne voulons eſtre ennemis de l'empereur Romain, ny de vos dilections, ny des autres ordres & membres de l'empire, qui ne nous ont offenſez, ny les provoquer à l'advenir; mais ſeulement de demander par nos armes, que l'ambition, fureur & licence particuliere d'aucuns qui ſont accoutumez de peſcher en eau trouble, ſoient reprimées, afin qu'elles ne croiſſent outre

1630. meſure; & que la ſeureté de nous & de nos voiſins ſoit certaine. Ce que faiſans, nous ne troublerons l'empire Romain, ny ne voulons aſſiſter ceux qui refuſent l'obeyſance deuë à l'empereur & à l'empire, ny offenſer aucun de ſes eſtats, mais pluſtoſt pourſuivre les perturbateurs du repos public, & conſerver les nobles membres de l'empire de ruine & de ravages, & de venger les injures par eux faites. Finalement vos dilections nous exhortent de retirer & emmener nos armées, ce que nous jugeons devoir faire, ſinon lors que nous ſerons aſſeurez de la ſatisfaction des injures à nous injuſtement faites, & qu'il apparoiſſe de la ſeureté, tant de nous que de nos voiſins. Que ſi avant l'année courante les autres qui ont eſté pluſieurs fois admoneſtez, ſe fuſſent monſtrez prompts à rappeller leurs troupes ennemies de la Pruſſe, nous n'euſſions maintenant amené nos armées en ces coſtes. Toutefois ſi quelques conditions de paix, juſtes, equitables, & aſſeurées, ſont miſes ſur le tapis, & que nous recognoiſſions que la choſe ſe faſſe par l'autre partie : tant s'en faut que nous nous monſtrions contraries au traictés de la paix, que nous confeſſons ingenuëment que le but principal de nos armes n'eſt que la paix juſte & aſſeurée. C'eſt pourquoy nous faiſons de congratulations à l'empire Chreſtien, & à vos dilections, de ce que nous apprenons qu'elles elevent leur eſperance à une ſolide paix, & qu'elles ſemblent promettre, que la vertu, le ſoin & l'affection de voſtre illuſtre college inclinent à la paix commune de la Chreſtienté : & comme nous nous promettons toute ſorte de biens & amitié de vos dilections ; auſſi nous trouveront-elles touſjours diſpoſez & preparez à la paix. Donné à Stralſond le 13 Septembre 1630. De vos dilections bon amy & parent Guſtave Adolphe roy de Suede.

Le meſme roy de Suede ayant veu les lettres que l'empereur luy eſcrivit au mois d'aouſt, cy-deſſus inſerées, & par icelles comme ſa majeſté imperiale s'eſtonnoit de ce qu'il eſtoit entré és terres de l'empire, le blaſmant de cette entrepriſe voulut ſe juſtifier par ce qui ſuit.

XIII.

LETTRE de l'Empereur au Roy de SUEDE *.

NOUS Ferdinand par la grace de Dieu, empereur des Romains, &c. Au ſereniſſime prince Guſtave Adolphe, roy de Suede, des Goths & Vandalles, &c. noſtre amitié, dilection, & ſalut. Sereniſſime prince & tres cher amy, il nous a eſté rapporté de divers lieux, dignes de foy, que voſtre dilection a dreſſé n'agueres une puiſſante armée de cavalerie & infanterie, dont elle a inopinément fait entrer une partie, apres avoir paſſé la mer, dans les iſles de l'empire Romain, & en terre ferme au duché de Pomeranie, s'y eſtant emparée, non ſeulement de quelques places, villes, & chaſteaux d'importance : mais a auſſi outre cela commencé d'uſurper les gabelles & peages (qui en vertu de droict royal, n'appartiennent qu'à nos) & eſt encores en volunté de nous aſſaillir par toute ſorte d'hoſtilité, & d'empieter d'avantage ſur les pays dudit empire.

* Mercure Francois, Tom. XVI. p. 334, &c.

Nous

Nous n'avons point ſouvenance, que depuis que nous ſouſtenons cette grande charge d'empereur il ſoit arrivé entre nous aucun contraire ou ſiniſtre accident, ou que nous ou l'empire ayons donné occaſion de trouble ou diſſenſion, moins d'une ſi ouverte hoſtilité. Et pourtant il nous ſemble fort eſtrange, que voſtre dignité a entrepris de jetter contre nous & l'empire, les fondemens d'une guerre, poſſible tres facheuſe à l'une & à l'autre des parties, & ce pour quelque different particulier, touchant la ville de Stralſond, duquel voſtre dignité n'a deu concevoir aucun ombrage de danger ou prejudice. Car tout cela s'eſt paſsé dans noſtre territoire, & de l'empire, & concerne les droicts, & privileges d'iceluy, eſquels voſtre dignité n'a non plus de droict de nous faire la loy, qu'avec raiſon elle ſe trouveroit offencée, qu'en ſemblables debats l'on entrepriſt, de la maiſtriſer en ſon royaume de Suede. Et ce d'autant plus, qu'à noſtre opinion ledit different pouroit facilement eſtre composé & aſſoupy, ſous des conditions equitables, ſans venir à aucune hoſtilité ou effuſion de ſang, par l'entremiſe du roy de Dannemarc, qui n'a fait aucune difficulté de s'en charger, auſſi promptement qu'on le luy avoit proposé & conſeillé, ſi voſtre dignité s'y fuſt portée de meſme zele & affection que nous, & qu'elle euſt au temps prefix & aſſigné envoyé ſes miniſtres avec inſtruction ſuffiſante. Mais comment que ce ſoit, il eſtoit plus que raiſonnable par le droict des gens, que voſtre dignité (ſupposé, qu'elle euſt creu d'eſtre aſſez bien fondée de nous attaquer par armes & de rompre toute amitié) nous euſt prealablement denoncé la guerre par un deffi public & legitime, avant qu'envahir l'empire ſi injuſtement, aſſeurant voſtre dignité, que nos preparatifs de guerre prez la mer Baltique, & ailleurs, n'ont point eſté faits pour l'offencer, ny cy devant, ny à preſent : ains qu'au contraire nous avons eu le deſir, de continuer entre nous les effets de bon voiſinage & toute amitié mutuelle, comme nous avons encore cette meſme affection, pourveu que voſtre dignité par ſes procedures contraires ne nous donne plus de ſujet de nous porter à d'autres reſolutions, & qu'elle faſſe ceſſer cette guerre non neceſſaire. C'eſt pourquoy nous l'exhortons amiablement, de ne s'ingerer plus avant és affaires de l'empire & que (ne luy ayans donné nulle occaſion) elle n'offence ny nous, ny les membres dudit empire, ains qu'elle retire ſon armée, au pluſtoſt des iſles & terres d'iceluy par elle occupées : Qu'elle n'empeſche plus par ſes navires, la navigation & le commerce maritime, & qu'elle ne nous incommode point, ſoit par mer, ſoit par terre, en la perception des droits de l'empire. Que ſi au contraire (ce que nous n'eſtimons pas) il arrive, que voſtre dignité en meſpriſant noſtre preſente declaration imperiale, & confidente aſſurance de noſtre amitié, perſiſte en cette hoſtilité, & s'opiniaſtre à retinir les places par elles priſes, par ruſe de guerre, ou par force : nous, avec l'ayde & conſeil des electeurs de l'empire mettrons promptement en eſtat pour les recouvrer, & prendrons à cœur la conſervation de noſtre reputation & de l'empire, enſemble la defence & manutention des eſtats, qui continueront la fidelité & obeyſſance qu'ils nous doivent, afin d'obvier à une plus grande calamité. Nous eſperons, que voſtre dignité ne permettra point, que l'affaire vienne à cette extremité ; & ſelon qu'elle aura deferé à nos preſentes lettres imperiales, nous ſerons tres prompts & diſpoſez à luy faire paroiſtre par bons offices noſtre amitié & bien-veillance en ce qui luy ſera agreable. Donné à Ratisbonne, le dix huictieſme Aouſt, mil ſix cens trente. D. V. D. couſin & affectioné,

1630.

FERDINAND.

XIV.

LETTRE du Roy de SUEDE à l'Empereur *.

1630. AU ſereniſſime & tres puiſſant prince Ferdinand II. de ce nom, empereur eſleu des Romains, d'Allemagne, d'Hongrie, Boheme, Dalmatie, Croatie & Sclavonie, roy, archiduc d'Auſtriche, duc de Bourgogne, Stirie, Carniole & Virtemberg, comte de Habſbourg & Tirol, noſtre tres cher couſin & amy.

Sereniſſime & tres puiſſant empereur, couſin & tres cher amy. Nous avons (non ſans admiration) entendu par la lettre de voſtre ſerenité, datée du 18 d'Aouſt, & a nous renduë ſeulement le 6 de ce mois, en noſtre camp de Ribnitz, qu'elle s'emerveille beaucoup, que cet eſté paſſé nous ſoyons entrez avec noſtre armée en Allemagne, & que vous taſchez de nous rendre coulpables, tant de cette entrepriſe meſme, que de ce qu'elle ſoit faite ſans aucune denonciation ou defi public. Certainement nous ne penſions jamais que voſtre ſerenité euſt peu tomber en une ſi profonde oubliance des choſes paſsées, ny ſe meſprendre contre la perſonne de celuy qui a commencé d'offenſer l'autre par ſes armes, puis que nous nous ſommes tousjours promis de ſon equité, qu'elle n'imputeroit jamais à la partie innocente ce que la coulpable avoit commiſe, & ne chargeroit l'une de la faute de l'autre : attendu que c'eſt le maiſtre de camp de voſtre ſerenité, qui ſans aucune prealable denonciation (nous ne rapporterons icy par le menu une infinité de cruautez & de hoſtilitez contre nous exercées) nous a jetté ſur les bras és années paſſées une grande & puiſſante armée, tant de cheval que de pied, ſous les eſtendarts ou aigles de l'empire Romain. Ce qui eſt notoire, & autant manifeſte comme il eſt tres veritable que nous n'avons que trop experimenté les mauvaiſes intentions & violences de ladite armée, leſquelles, ny nous-meſmes, par noſtre innocence, ny le conſeil de noſtre royaume, par ſes remonſtrances bien fondées & tres equitables, n'avons peu faire arreſter ny revoquer. C'eſt pourquoy, bien que nous le pezions en gros, ou en detail, nous ne pouvons comprendre ſous quel pretexte ou titre on nous pourroit charger de la cauſe de cette guerre, & par quelle raiſon on pourroit preciſément demander de nous la denonciation, laquelle voſtre ſerenité a meſme negligée, eſtant certain que nous n'avons travaillé qu'à tenir pour noſtre ſeureté la guerre eſloignée de nous, ſans la faire à autruy. Nous ne voyons auſſi aucune raiſon, qu'on nous charge du crime commis contre le droict des gents, puis que ce droict contient en ſon vray ſens, qu'és guerres deffenſives les defits ne ſe font tousjours par des herauts ou rois d'armes, mais par la nature & qualité meſme de telles guerres, quand on ſe ſent contre le droict tout-a-fait offenſé, & ouvertement aſſailly : voire qui plus eſt, pour ne manquer à une denonciation, quoyque ſuperfluë, & pour ne donner ſujet de ſe plaindre de nous avec fondement, comme ſi nous euſſions trompé le monde par les projets d'une paix, au envahi l'empire à l'improviſte, nous nous ſommes ſervis de cette precaution d'eſcrire à deux diverſes fois aux electeurs de l'empire Romain, comme auſſi nous avons

* Mercure Francois, Tom. XVI. 347, &c.

admoneſté

admoneſté voſtre ſerenité par un deputé de noſtre dit conſeil vers le general de 1630.
voſtre ſerenité, que ſi l'on n'ayoit eſgard à nos juſtes plaintes, en nous donnant ſatisfaction des fautes contre nous commiſes, nous ſerions conſtraints de pourvoir par autre voye à la ſeureté & conſervation de noſtre eſtat & dignité.

Voſtre ſerenité dit bien, que depuis ſon advenement à la dignité imperiale elle n'a commis ou permis aucune choſe tendante au prejudice ou danger de noſtre eſtat; que vos appareils & preparatifs par terre & par mer, n'ont jamais eu le but d'apporter aucun dommage à nous ou à nos eſtats, & que par des moyens paiſibles on euſt peu compoſer nos differents, n'eſtans pas d'une telle importance, qu'avec raiſon on ſe pouvoit formaliſer pour troubler l'empire. Mais ſur cela nous diſons que nous n'avons pas l'intention de debatre icy, ſi ces proteſtations ne ſont directement contraires aux actes & effects ſi evidens, remettans tout au jugement libre de tout le monde. Et que nous ne ſcavons pas auſſi exactement, ſi voſtre ſerenité (dont les penſées nous ſont incogneues) ait eu quelque intention de nous faire du mal, ou de nous offencer: mais que ſous l'ombre & l'authorité du nom, & de la haute dignité imperiale, ſoit par voſtre commandement, ou par une grande connivence nous nous trouvons offencez, & outragez de beaucoup de dommages & affronts. Nous le ſcavons & ſentons, veu qu'il eſt auſſi manifeſte, que ſi quelqu'un ſe vouloit amuſer à en faire des demonſtrations ou deductions plus amples, ce ſeroit eſclairer le ſoleil en plein midy. Dont nous appellons ſans difficulté à la conſcience de voſtre ſerenite, laquelle nous prendrous pour teſmoin ou juge. Et quant à l'appareil de guerre, & de ce que nous en avons deu juger, nous rapportons à la cognoiſſance que tout le monde en a, & aux diſcours tant paſſez que preſents de vos miniſtres et officiers: mais principalement à leurs actes, traictez, entrepriſes, excez, deſſeins & conſeils, leſquels comme trop ſuſpects & apparents, deſcouvrent aſſez ce que nous en avons deu attendre. Et ſi tout cela n'eſtoit aſſez notoire, le duché de Pomeranie & les provinces voiſines pourroient teſmoigner, que ſous le faux pretexte de la crainte de nos armes, mais en effect à deſſein de nous deſplaire & faire du mal, les gens de voſtre ſerenité les ont tourmentez, pillez et entierment ruinez.

Nous advoüons bien clairement & ſimplement, que les differents ſurvenus entre nous pouvoient eſtre utilement terminez par autres moyens que par armes, d'autant qu'il ſeroit à ſouhaiter que vous n'euſſiez interpreté ſiniſtrement, ains acunement ſouffert noſtre ſecours juſtement donné à la miſerable & trop injuſtement oppreſſée ville de Stralſund, ſans prejudicier en aucune façon à l'empire Romain, ains pluſtoſt pour garentir les decrets de voſtre ſerenité, comme nous avons de bon cœur, et d'un courage endurcy à la patience & conſtance, poſtpoſé à la commune tranquilitié, et au repos public de la Chreſtienté, toutes les indignitez et offences que noſtre couſin le duc de Holſtein, par voſtre commandement, et ſous les enſeignes de l'empire nous a faites. Par ainſi nous ne doutons point que nous n'euſſions peu venir à quelque accommodement, au lieu qu'au rebours on nous a contrains d'aſſembler avec grande deſpence une puiſſante armée, et la paſſer et loger en Allemagne, pour obvier en temps aux perils et dangers qui s'advancoient et nous menacoient trop evidemment. Mais puis qu'il a pleu a voſtre ſerenité de choiſir une voye contraire, et vos ſubdeleguez, lors preſens en la ville de Lubec, pour aſſiſter au traicté qui s'y faiſoit avec le roy de Dannemarc, s'eſtans enhardis, contre le droict des gens, de refuſer et defendre l'accez à nos ambaſſadeurs y

1630. envoyez á cette fin, pour travailler à la compoſition de l'affaire de Stralſond; joinct auſſi que les armées de voſtre ſerenité ſe ſont ouvertement declarées de nous en vouloir, & l'ont confirmè par toutes ſortes d'hoſtilitez: nous avons cette grande confiance, qu'il n'y aura ame vivante, aimant le droict & l'equité, laquelle eſtant authoriſée pour juge ou arbitre, ne declare que la faute ou coulpe n'eſt pas en nous, mais bien en vouſmeſmes, qui avez mieux aimé de preferer la guerre à la paix par une certaine malveillance & inimitié conceue contre nous ſans aucun ſujet. Or combien que nous ſentons ſi iniquement & ſans aucune juſte cauſe provoquez nous voyans hors de toute eſperance de venir à quelque accommodement, eſtans bien certains qu'on ne nous imputera jamais aucun deſſein ou attentat inique, ny deſraiſonnable, pour lequel nous, pour eſtre plus exempts de tout ſiniſtre ſoupcon, ne ſerions plus obligez d'entendre à la paix, qu'on nous a voulu vendre trop chere: toutefois pour manifeſter à la Chreſtienté noſtre zele & ardeur au bien & tranquilité publique, nous n'avons point voulu deſiſter de nos conſeils & intentions dirigées á icelle, ains par nos ſerieuſes & aſſidues recherches, avons eſmeu le roy de Dannemarc, à ce que par ſon interpoſition, durant l'hyver paſſé, il nous preparaſt le chemin d'une amiable conference, qu'on feignoit devoir eſtre entamée entre nos commiſſaires de part & d'autre en la ville de Dantſick, ou nous avions envoyé, noſtre chancelier avec les adjoincts, bien munis de ſuffiſant pouvoir & inſtruction. Et afin que les factions de guerre ne troublaſſent ou empeſchaſſent les propoſitions & deliberations de paix, nous avons arreſté & dilayé de faire advancer noſtre armée, non ſans grande perte de temps, deſadvantage notable, & frais extraordinaries. Pour lequel ſoin particulier, qui ne viſoit qu'au repos univerſal de la Chriſtienté, nous avons pour recompenſe, que non ſeulement nos bonnes & ſalutaires penſees ont eſté aneanties par pluſieurs illuſions & ſubterfuges: mais que voſtre ſerenité oſe encores nous imputer la malheureuſe iſſue dudit traicté, au lieu qu'avec raiſon elle devoit pluſtoſt examiner les actions & procedures de ſon commiſſaire, par leſquelles voſtre ſerenité auroit cogneu, qu'il a empeſché que les mediateurs de cette affaire eſtans à Dantſick ne peuſſent meſmes venir à quelque entreveuë avec nos ambaſſadeurs, pour donner fondement a un traicté ſelon que la couſtume & la raiſon requierent en tel cas. Voſtre ſerenité euſt auſſi outre cela mieux fait, de conſiderer que ledit traicté ſe pouvoit autant commodément & bien faire en quelque autre lieu, qu'en la ville de Dantſick, puis que cette place, pour quelques differents ſurvenus entre nos officiers & ladite ville, s'eſtoit renduë ſuſpecte. Et voſtre ſerenité euſt deu quitter toute opiniaſtreté, pluſtoſt que de cauſer au repos publique des prejudices & dangers ſi grands, ou de rompre totalement & à deſſein tout traicté; principalement à l'eſgard que nos commiſſaires eſprouverent aſſez clairement par des raiſons manifeſtes & urgentes, qu'il ne leur eſtoit plus loiſible ny poſſible de condeſcendre a aucun traicté au ſuſdit lieu de Dantſick, bien que voſtre commiſſaire fiſt des inſtances toutes contraires.

Quand donc tout cecy, tant en general qu'en particulier, ſera bien conſideré, nous pouvons fort librement laiſſer le jugement à toute perſonne ſincere & exempte de paſſion, lequel de nous deux a plus juſte cauſe de ſe plaindre; & ſans aller plus loin, nous remettons tout a l'interieur de voſtre conſcience, afin qu'elle en ſoit juge, veu que la noſtre nous aſſeure fermement, que vous meſmes nous tenez pour incoulpables.

Voſtre

Voſtre ſerenité dit bien, que'lle veut conſerver avec nous & noſtre royaume de Suede une amitié indiſſoluble, à condition que nous quittions & rappellions nos armées. Mais les choſes ſont venuës trop avant, & ne ſont plus en leur entier, puis que les dangers qui ont menacé & menacent tousjours nous & nos ſujets, ne ſont point imaginatifs, mais reels & effectifs: outre ce qu'on nous a, non par paroles, ains par armes, rudement attaqué, en exercant contre nous toute ſorte d'hoſtilité, tant par mer que par terre. Et pourtant nous eſperons que voſtre ſerenité nous excuſera, ſi pour noſtre ſeureté nous ne pouvons accepter telles offres & promeſſes, que vous appellez des ſincerations, veu qu'icelles ne nous pourront jamais donner aucune ſatisfaction, parce que nous ſommes plus griefuement bleſſez & offencez en effect, que de ſimples paroles: & croyons que voſtre ſerenité ne prendra en mauvaiſe part noſtre reſolution, de tenir fermes nos armes, que la neceſſité inevitable, & vos outrages nous ont fait prendre; & de ne ceder, ny ployer en aucune maniere, juſques à ce que nous ſoyons exempts par vrayes & parfaictes cautions, du peril trop evident qui penche ſur nous, & que les grandes offenſes, & violents affronts à nous faits, ſoient reparez par une ſolide & reelle ſatisfaction ſans aucune tache de noſtre reputation. En cette conſtante & tres-juſte intention, nous attendrons conſtamment tout ce qui nous arrrivera de la main de Dieu, à la bonté duquel, comme à la juſtice de noſtre cauſe, nous avons tout remis, & recommandé. 1630.

Mais ſi da'venture voſtre ſerenité eſt cependant touchée d'un ſentiment, qu'il ſoit deſormais que le vaiſſeau de la Chreſtienté, agité & tourmenté par des orages de guerre, ſoit en fin conduit au port de la paix, autant ſalutaire & profitable, comme ſouhaitée de tant d'oppreſſez ſoubs le joug des miſeres, ſans l'abandonner plus aux tempeſtes furieuſes des ravages & deſolations, & que pour cet effect le renouëment d'un traicté de paix aggréera à voſtre ſerenité: nous donnons parole d'y vouloir promptement entendre, & d'y apporter tout ce qui ſera en noſtre pouvoir pour l'advancement & le progres d'un œuvre ſi ſainct & glorieux.

Ce qui aura lieu, ſi voſtre ſerenité promet & demonſtre, effectivement; que les princes & villes d'Allemagne, comme reſpectivement nos tres chers couſins, beaux freres, parents, amis, alliez & voiſins, ſeront reſtituez en l'eſtat au quel ils eſtoient devant ces derniers troubles, en ſorte que nous puiſſions eſperer cy-apres de joüir d'une entiere ſeureté, pour noſtre eſtat, de ce coſté là: que l'amitié & bonne correſpondence entre noſtre royaume & ledites provinces ſoit reſtablie, & que nous ſcachions eſtre caſſez, aneantis, & revoquez, tous appareils & equipages de guerre par mer, comme nous eſtans trop ſuſpects & contraires à la prerogative que nous avons de protecteur de la mer Baltique: & que finalement les deſpenſes par nous faites pour noſtre defenſe, à laquelle nous avons eſté obligez & conſtraints par vos injures & offenſes, viendront en juſte deuë conſideration. Alors voſtre ſerenité n'aura pas ſi toſt de ſon coſté accomply ces choſes, que par effect elle trouvera que nous ferons voir à tout le monde combien nous ſommes pouſſez d'ambition à maintenir, tant avec vous qu'autres nos voiſins, une amitié inviolable, ſincere & conſtante, & que nous deſirons ſur toute choſe vous vaincre & ſurpaſſer par toute ſorte d'amitié & de bons offices, apres que la bonne intelligence entre nous ſera reſtablie, & tous mal-entenduës oſtez. Les choſes doncques eſtans remiſes en tel eſtat, nous ne voudrions veritablement donner aucun ſubjet à perſonne de ſoupconner, ou de ſe plaindre juſtement que nous meſlaſſions impertinemment ou preſomptueuſement des affaires qui ne nous touchent

1630. ent point, ou peu. Car comme nous ne ſommes accouſtumez de nous ingerer aux affaires d'autruy, quand elles ne ſont tellement joinctes à nos intereſts, que celles là trainent ceux-cy avec elles : teſmoin nos deportements, durant le temps de la guerre par tout allumée en Allemagne, où nous n'avons ſongé qu' à ce qui concerne noſtre royaume, & non à la Germanie juſques au temps que par outre evidence & iniquité de vos miniſtres, les affaires eſloignées nous ſont venuës ſur les bras, & par leur union, conſequence, & reflexion, nous ont pouſſé & engagé à prendre ſoin de celles d'autruy, comme des noſtres propres. Par ainſi l'on nous trouvera maintenant & à l'advenir en ſi bonne intention, que nous ne tenons, ny ne voudrions tenir, en aucune facon que ce ſoit, les affaires d'Allemagne, pour les noſtres, & vous aſſeurons de ne vouloir vous y donner la moindre faſcherie.

Nous concluons donc avec cette ſincere & ſaincte proteſtation, que tout cecy ſoit entendu, ou droictement, ou ſiniſtrement, & que cette affaire ſe tourne, ou en paix, ou en guerre : que nous ne couvons aucune inimitié ou hoſtilité contre l'empire Romain, jaçoit que vous taſchiez de vous ſervir de telles expoſitions pour voſtre deſcharge & excuſe, & pour nous charger de hayne & de blaſme. Mais tant s'en faut, que nous vouluſſions jamais ſonger à aucune choſe, tendante à ſon prejudice ou dommage ; qu'au contraire nous declarons, de vouloir continuer & conſerver une pure & vraye amitié & correſpondence auſſi longuement, que de ſa part on s'abſtiendra de toute hoſtilité contre nous, & qu'on ne favoriſera par aſſiſtance nos ennemis, pour ne nous forcer de venir à des oppoſitions & revenges legitimes. Et tout ce que dit eſt vous ſuffra pour le preſent d'une declaration bien nette de noſtre affection & volonté ſur ce ſujet. Vous recommandant à la ſaincte grace de Dieu. Eſcrit à Stralſond ce dernier jour d'Octobre mil ſix cents trente. De voſtre ſerenité, tres-affectionné couſin,

GUSTAVE ADOLPHE.

XV.

HARANGUE de l'ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre (c'eſt à dire le chevalier ROBERT ANSTRUTHER) à l'empereur FERDINAND II : Prononcé à Vienne en mois d'Aouſt, 1630.

1630. LE ſereniſſime, & tres puiſſant roy de la Grande Bretagne, mon ſeigneur & prince tres clement, ſalüe affectueuſement voſtre majeſté imperiale, luy ſouhaitant tout bonheur, proſperité & longue vie.

Comme ainſi ſoit que le ſereniſſime roy mon maiſtre ait appris tant par lettres & reſponce, de voſtre majeſté qui me furent miſes en main à Ratiſbonne, (touchant l'affaire du prince Palatin :) Que par le rapport de bouche que je luy en ay fait, juſques ou il auroit eſté procedé en traittant dudit affaire, à ſçavoir que voſtre majeſté imperiale ſe ſeroit declarée, *Que ſi le prince Palatin accepte tout ce qui eſt contenu ës quatre conditions preſcrites en la reſponce de voſtre majeſté* & y conſent *avec la ſubmiſſion requiſe*, & l'accomplit de bonne foy, que voſtre majeſté, *non par aucune obligation de droit, ains meüe de ſa pure grace, & en conſideration des interceſſions tant*

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du roy catholique, que de celuy de la Grande Bretagne, non ſeulement luy offroyeroit le pardon de toutes les choſes paſſées, revoqueroit la ſentence de ſon ban, mais auſſi luy fourneroit ſon vivre & entretenement des revenus du Bas Palatinat, & de ce que ſereniſſime infante a ſous ſa puiſſance . . . . . 1630.

. . . . . .

& combien, que cette declaration & reſponce fut *telle* qu'elle auroit peu *juſtement* eſmouvoir l'affection du ſereniſſime roy mon maiſtre, & le porter *à embraſſer & employer les autres moyens, qui pour lors luy eſtoient, & luy ſont encores à preſent offerts & en main, il auroit toutefois mieux aymé preferer la voye d'un traicté amiable, & j'y tant de fois eſſayé*, ſe fiant & appuyant ſur cette eſperance & promeſſe donnée, tant de la part d'Eſpagne que d'ailleurs, à luy & à ſes miniſtres, que par la continuation du traicté commencé, & par l'eſtabliſſement de la paix entre ſa majeſté & le roy d'Eſpagne, *Il viendroit en fin à bout de ſon juſte & equitable deſſein par le moyen d'une compoſition amiable: & que pour y parvenir il a une grande confiance, en la manſuetude & clemence de voſtre majeſté imperiale.*

Puis donc que par la ſinguliere grace & faveur de Dieu, l'affaire en eſt venu juſques là, que toutes occaſions de guerre & diſſentions eſtant de tout leveés & aſſoupies, avoit eſté faite & affermie une paix heureuſe & reciproque entre le roy mon maiſtre, & le roy d'Eſpagne, l'incertitude de laquelle avant ſa concluſion eſtoit alleguée, comme empeſchement & retardement, à ce que cette affaire ne fut amené à une heureuſe fin: il a maintenant jugé à propos & expedient de me deputer derechef comme ſon ambaſſadeur vers voſtre majeſté imperiale, pour faire paroiſtre à tout le monde par ce nouvel eſſay, qu'il ayme trop mieux obtenir ce que juſtement il deſire & demande *par la voye douce (& ſans guerre) d'une amiable compoſition.* Pourveu qu'il voye quelque apparence probable de n'en eſtre fruſtré de ces pretentions, *que d'embraſſer les moyens & conſeils plus violents, & remettre l'affaire au danger d'un hazard incertain & formidable.* Ce qui meſme ne ſe pourroit pas faire, ſans faire eſbranler ou rompre l'amitié & correſpondence qu'il a eu juſqu' à preſent avec la maiſon d'Autriche.

Or afin qu'il ne manque rien, de ce qui pourroit eſtre requis pour haſter & avancer l'affaire de queſtions, le roy mon maiſtre, comme chacun peut ſçavoir par clairs & divers teſmoignages qu'il en a donné, *a tant fait* qu'il *a perſuadé & diſpoſé* le ſereniſſime prince Palatin ſon beau frere, en ſorte qu'il eſt preſt de ſatisfaire aux *quatre conditions propoſées & preſcrites* par voſtre majeſté, *autant qu'il ſe peut, avec ſon honneur & ſauve ſa conſcience*, & autant qu'il ſera trouvé convenable, à l'equité & à la raiſon: ſe promettant au reciproque, que voſtre majeſté imperiale, revoquant le ban dudit prince le recevra en grace comme auparavant, & le reſtablira en *ſes pays & droicts patrimoniaux & hereditaires*, apres tant de calamitez & l'exil de pluſieures années, qu'il a ſouffert & ſouffre encores, non ſans eſmouvoir à compaſſion tous ceux qui penſent à ſon eſtat & condition preſente.

Or en quelle ſorte & par quel moyen le prince entend de ſatisfaire auſdites conditions, je l'expoſeray plus amplement quand il aura pleu à voſtre majeſté imperiale (comme tres humblement je l'en requiers) de nommer quelques uns de gens de ſon conſeil, comme il fut fait dernierement à Ratiſbonne, pour ouyer & entendre le tout: car ſi je voulois preſentement expoſer leſdicts moyens en preſence de voſtre majeſté imperiale, ce ſeroit vouloir abuſer de la patience d'un ſi grand prince qui me donne une audience ſi favorable.

Ces choſes eſtant en ce poinct, & la declaration du prince Palatin eſtant telle, que l'on eſpere, que voſtre manſuetude & clemence s'en contentera & n'exigera

1630. *rien d'avantage ou de plus dur* de la part dudit prince : le sereniſſime roy mon ſeigneur & maiſtre requiert inſtammement de voſtre majeſté imperiale, ayant en ſin eſgard à ce qu'on s'eſt eſſayé par tant d'ambaſſades & de traictéz, & qu'en conſiderant tant de recommendations de roys & princes, comme auſſi tant d'autres raiſons & conſiderations tant de foys miſes ſur le tapis : & que mettant auſſi en conſideration l'eſtat tant preſent que futur des affaires d'Europe ; & finalement en peſant en la douce balance de ſa clemence la ſuſdite declaration, ... recoive ſon beau-frere en grace, & le retabliſſe ſelon la pourſuite qui en a eſté faite depuis tant d'années, avec tant d'ardeur, travail & ſoin, y eſtants meſmes intervenües les interceſſions preſque de tous les roys & princes de l'Europe ; & que voſtre majeſté ne reſtreigne point ſi fort la grace qu'elle luy veut faire, que de la renfermer dans *de limites ſi eſtroits, que de ne luy vouloir accorder plus que ſon vivre*, ains qu'elle l'eſlargiſſe & amplifie autant qu'il eſt convenable à la grandeur & clemence imperiale du plus grand prince de la Chreſtienté, & comme l'ont eſprouvée quelques autres, qui toutefois avoyent failli & choppé plus lourdement, à ce qu'il apparoiſſe & ſoit notoire à tant preſens qu'à venir, que voſtre majeſté imperiale, aura eu eſgard tant à ſa propre grandeur, & à ſa clemence renommée par tout le monde, ne voulant point que la ſplendeur & le luſtre de ſa grace ſoit obſcurci par le nuage d'une beneficence trop reſerrée, & qui ſeroit comme contre ſon naturel : comme auſſi qu'elle aura mis en conſideration, la dignité des roys & princes, comme eſtant choſe peu convenable à leurs qualitez, ſi apres une telle moderation, de laquelle ils ont uſé dès le commencement de ces mouvemens, apres tant de peieres & ſervices, apres tant d'ambaſſades, & apres avoir employée tants de labeurs & de deſpenſes, ils ne pouvoient encore rien impetrer en faveur de leur parent & allié, *ſi non ſon vivre ſimplement : ce qui toutefoys tant par la preſcription du droict, que par la loy de pieté ne peut juſtement eſtre denié à aucun*, & finalement que voſtre majeſté imperiale, aura eu eſgard à la condition & qualité du prince, en faveur de qui on intercede : comme eſtant iſſu d'une tres-illuſtre maiſon, & allié aux plus grands roys & princes de l'Europe. Conſideré meſme, qu'eſtant, pour lors, encore jeune & non en age de majorité, il auroit pluſtot eſté pouſſé par les conſeils precipitez des autres, que non point porté de ſon propre mouvement à faire ce qu'il a fait, & finalement qu'ayant un grand nombre d'enfants en tout ce fait innocents, il ſeroit digne d'eſprouver une d'autant plus favorable condition & grace plus liberale.

Si donc voſtre majeſté imperiale le reçoit en ſon ancienne bien vueillance, & le reſtablit en ſa premiere condition, elle donnera la parachef, & mettra la comble à tant d'illuſtres triomphes, & rendra la memoire de ſon auguſte nom, non ſeulement recommandable par tout le monde, comme ſur un haut theatre, mais meſme la rendra venerable, comme conſacrée au temple de la clemence & de la vertu, ayant atteint le faiſte des victoires, qui eſt de ſe vaincre ſoy meſme. D'avantage s'il eſt vray que les princes en pardonnant ſont rendus les plus ſemblables à Dieu, comme a dit quelqu'un : voſtre majeſté imperiale laiſſera un teſmoignage à toute la poſterité, & un exemple digne de loüange, monſtrant combien elle a eu à cœur, & s'eſt etudiée d'imiter les vertus divines en toutes ſes actions, ſur tout en s'eſlargiſſant à donner & conferer ſes graces. En outre, voſtre majeſté par ce moyen gratifiera à tant des roys & princes entremetteurs, & faiſant grace à un obligera tous les autres, & entre tous s'obligera le ſereniſſime roy mon ſeigneur & maiſtre

maiſtre d'un bien de tant plus ferme d'une amitié inviolable: & obligera encore 1630.
le prince ſon beau-frere, & ſes nepveux iſſus de ſa tres chere & unique ſoeur, à une obeyſſance & reverence perpetuelle: & avec tout cela affermira ſa puiſſance & ſon eſtat, & la grandeur de toute la tres illuſtre maiſon d'Autriche, comme d'un boulevard invincible d'amour, & la laiſſera aſſeurée pour ſes enfans & leurs deſcendans à touſiours.

D'abondant voſtre majeſté imperiale exaucera par ce moyen, & appaiſera les ſouſpirs, les doleances, les complaintes, les gemiſſemens & prieres du peuple innocent & foulé depuis tant d'années, & ſur lequel recombent toutes les incommoditez & les troubles qui naiſſent de la guerre, tandis que les plus grands & les plus puiſſans en demeurent exempts: reſtaurera auſſi & reſjouïra pluſieurs milliérs de pauvres perſonnes tres affligées, & qui ne demandent autre choſe que d'eſtre fomentées par une douce paix, les garentira de la ruine qui leur pend ſur la teſte, & obligera chacun à prier continuellement pour la proſperité & conſervation & de voſtre majeſté, & de toute la maiſon d'Autriche.

Finalement voſtre majeſté imperiale empeſchera que ceux qui ſe ſentent intereſſez & auſquels il importe, perdans patience, pour ſe voir entretenus en vain par des longueurs & retardemens à deſſein, & par l'apparence de quelque eſperance douteuſe & ambigüe, ne viennent à ſe jetter dans les conſeils precipitez d'une dangereuſe neceſſité, & coupera les racines d'autres mouvements, & les pretextes de nouveauté que les voiſins & eſtrangers, prompts à en rechercher, & prendre les occaſions, pourroient facilement prendre de là: & en ſuite poſera un ferme fondement par lequel d'autant plus promptement & aſſeurement la paix ſera rendüe non ſeulement à l'Allemagne, mais auſſi à toute l'Europe, & ſeront auſſi d'autant plus aiſement appaiſez les autres mouvemens qui ſemblent s'eſlever & gliſſer à cette occaſion: & pour auſquels remedier il n'y aura aucun de tous ceux qui auront part au plaiſir & benefice; du reſtabliſſement & reconciliation du prince Palatin, qui ne s'y employe promptement & volontiers, eſtant autrement à craindre que ſe ſentant offenſés au meſpris qu'on aura fait de leur interceſſion & priere, ils ne s'en eſmeuvent, & qu'ils n'ayment mieux, & n'eſtiment plus à propos de pourvoir à leurs affaires, en jettant de l'huyle ſur le feu, que de l'eau pour l'eſteindre.

Que donc voſtre majeſté imperiale daigne mettre en conſideration ſelon ſon incomparable bonté & ſageſſe, toutes telles & ſemblables raiſons, & ſe remette devant les yeux d'un coſté *les prieres interceſſoires faites les années paſſées de Philippe* III. *roy d'Eſpagne, & de l'archiduc Albert* de glorieuſe memoire; & comme auſſi *la moderation* de laquelle a uſé le defunct roy de la Grande Bretagne *en la guerre de Boheme*, & ſes *meritez non petits* envers la maiſon d'Autriche, & ſes diverſes ambaſſades, tant en Allemagne qu'en Eſpagne, avec de ſouvent reïterées proteſtations; & d'autre coſté qu'elle *ait eſgard au moins à cette preſente ambaſſade* du ſereniſſime roy mon ſeigneur & maiſtre, appuyée d'une part du conſentement, authorité, & conjonction du roy catholique, & d'autre, comme comblée de la nouvelle interceſſion du roy de Dannemarc, comme pour mettre la derniere main à toutes les autres; & enſemble ait eſgard aux humbles prieres, ſi affectueuſes & tant de fois reiterées du prince, de fait duquel il s'agit, aux lettres eſcrites de ſa propre main avec tant d'humilité & de ſoumiſſion, à l'affection & deſir qu'il a de ſe monſtrer tres prompt à rendre à voſtre majeſté imperiale toute fidelité & obeyſſance, conſtamment & inviolablement; & de recompenſer à l'advenir par un

1630. grand ſoin & diligence tous les devoirs & ſervices qui par injure du temps auroient eſté obmis.——Que voſtre majeſté imperiale daigne auſſi jetter *les yeux benins de ſa grace ſur une tendre numereuſe & innocente famille Palatine, & ſur une troupe d'autres leurs parents & alliez qui embraſſent en ſuppliant les autels de voſtre clemence & bonté imperiale!* & pour fin, que voſtre majeſté imperiale contemple la gloire, l'utilité, la felicité & le profit qui en redonderont à jamais ſur voſtre majeſté imperiale & ſur toute la maiſon d'Autriche, & s'eſpandront ſur tout l'empire, voire par toute la Chreſtienté!

C'eſt ce que j'ay eu charge & mandement de la part du ſereniſſime roy mon maiſtre de repreſenter à voſtre majeſté imperiale, attendant là deſſus avec toute humilité & devotion une favorable reſponſe.

XVI.

LETTRE du Roy de SUEDE au Roy Tres Chriſtien *.

TRES ſereniſſime, & tres puiſſant prince, frere, & couſin; l'ambaſſade que voſtre majeſté nous a envoyée, au mois de juin dernier, nous a eſté d'autant plus agreable, que par icelle, elle a declaré quelle eſtoit ſon amitié & ſa bienveillance envers nous, comme auſſi ſon affection loüable & conſtante, qui a regné ſi long temps entre les roys de l'un & l'autre royaume, nos predeceſſeurs, ſoit maintenant renouvellée; voire plus eſtendüe & amplifiée pour ce qui concerne l'utilité de l'aſſeurance, & liberté mutuelle, des peuples des nos royaumes; ce qui eſtoit à deſirer ſingulierement en l'eſtat de l'Europe troublé & agité. Auſſi votre majeſté nous a elle tellement recogneu enclin & porté à cette affaire ſalutiare, en ce que nous nous trouvons maintenant comformes en meſmes deſſeins & deſirs. Mais pour ce que l'ambaſſadeur de voſtre majeſté le ſieur baron de Charnacé, *a (pour quelque conſideration, qu'à peine pouvons nous comprendre) trouvé un ſcrupule en l'inſcription des patentes de noſtre traiſté d'alliance, et n'a peu agreer que nous miſſions nos titres & nom aux patentes expediées de noſtre part pour ledit traiſté, ainſi qu'ont accoutumé de faire tous les autres roys: choſe, que nous avons trouvé fort eſtrange, de s'arreſter à un poinct de ſi peu d'importance, qui ne convenoit nullement à la diminution, ou augmentation de l'une ou l'autre majeſté! Toutefois à peine avons nous eſtimer eſtre du devoir d'un roy de negliger les moindres choſes qui concernent la dignité royale; & plutoſt euſſions nous ſouffert la rupture de ce traiſté, que de relaſcher aucune choſe de cette dignité que nous avons receüe de Dieu & de nos anceſtres.* Mais pour ce que nous ne pouvons nous perſuader en quelle facon nous devons interpreter *ce faict dudit ſieur ambaſſadeur*, ne voulans croire que cela ait eſté fait de la volonté & par commandement de voſtre majeſté; pour ce que nous avons touſjours receu des bons teſmoignages de ſon amitié, & bons offices reciproques & eſperons encore les meſmes d'icelle; pour ce ſujet nous avons mieux aimé agir avec elle par toute ſorte de bienveillance & offices mutuels, que par aucuns prerogatives, & eſperons d'elle toute affection reciproque,

* Mercure François, Tom. XVI. p. 360, &c.

& qu'elle recognoiſtra que nos majeſtez ne deſpendent que de Dieu ſeul, & ne voudra ſouffrir aucune choſe contraire à noſtre dignité. 1630.

Que ſi voſtre majeſté juge eſtre expedient pour le bien commun, & pour nos royaumes, que le traicté d'alliance ſoit encore continué entre nous & voſtre majeſté, (afin que nous perſuadions que c'eſt nous, outre l'utilité commune qui le requiert, & ſur l'aſſeurance que nous avons de l'aſſiſtance à nous promiſe de voſtre majeſté, que nous nous employerons en cette guerre d'Allemagne) il ſera neceſſaire pour rendre plus facile l'effect de ce traicté, que nos ambaſſadeurs ſoient à l'advenir munis & inſtruits de bons & ſuffiſans pouvoirs, pour exprimer la force & intention des premiers en ce qui concerne cette alliance. Nous recommandons affectionément à la clemence & faveur de votre majeſté, les illuſtres perſonnes comte de Lenoue, & baron de Semur, porteurs des preſentes, qui nous ſemblent dignes de cette charge, & leſquels nous deſirons employer à lever des troupes, ſous le bon plaiſir & permiſſion de voſtre majeſté, tant à eux qu'aux autres qui ſeront par nous envoyez en vos royaumes, *y faire levées des ſoldats pour nous & noſtre armée*, & quoyque nous ne doutions nullement de ſa bonne volonté, neantmoins nous demandons amiablement avoir d'elle quelque choſe d'aſſeuré, ſurquoy nous puiſſions croire qu'il plaiſt à voſtre dite majeſté nous gratifier en cette affaire. C'eſt dequoy nous la prions, comme auſſi de ſe vouloir perſuader que nous uſerons de meſme promptitude, & tant en cette affaire qu'en toutes autres : & que nous ſommes tres preſts de luy teſmoigner toutes ſortes d'affection & ſervice, priant finalement Dieu tres puiſſant, qu'il donne à voſtre majeſté toute bonne & heureuſe protection, ainſi que nous le deſirons de tout noſtre coeur.

Donné à Stralſund le 17 de Septembre, 1630.

GUSTAVUS. ADOLPHUS.

XVII.

LETTRE du Roy de SUEDE au Cardinal de Richlieu *.

PAR vos lettres à nous rendües de la part de votre dignité illuſtriſſime, le . . . . . ; Nous avons veu comme elle recognoiſſoit la digne eſtime, que nous faiſons de ſes rares & eminentes vertus, & comme nous magnifions ſa grande & loüable affection pour le bien commun: auſſi nous ſommes nous perſuadez, que voſtre meſme dignité illuſtriſſime recognoſſoit quelle eſtoit noſtre conſtante affection & intention ; & que non ſeulement elle conſerveroit cette bonne opinion qu'elle en avoit conceüe, mais auſſi la rendroit plus illuſtre pour meriter du bien commun, & du deſir de la ſervir. Auſſi ne doutons nous point que nous n'euſſions perceu quelque fruict des ſoins qu'elle a pour la ſeureté, repos, & liberté publique, ſi le ſieur baron de Charnacé, ambaſſadeur de ſa majeſté trés Chreſtienne, *n'euſt trouvé du ſcru-* 1630.

* Mercure François, Tom. XVI. p. 363.

pule,

1630. *pule, en ce que moins nous eſperions y en avoir.* C'eſt pourquoy il ſera adviſé ſuivant les conſeils tant eſtimez de votre dignité illuſtriſſime, par quel conſeil ſalutaire toutes les choſes deſtinées au bien public pourroient eſtre conduites à la fin tant deſirée, & oſter toutes ſortes de remiſes & delais à une affaire ſi ſalutaire & importante ; en quoy la ſera deüe à votre dignité illuſtriſſime, laquelle meritera grandement de nous, & de tous autres qui ont principalement intereſt en la cauſe dont il s'agit. Sur ce nous recommandons votre dignité illuſtriſſime, à la divine protection, & ſommes preſts de faire tout ce qui ſervira à ſa gloire.

Donné à Stralſund le 17 de Septembre. 1630.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

XVIII.

HARANGUE du Sieur CAMERARIUS, Ambaſſadeur du Roy de SUEDE aux Eſtats de HOLLANDE & PROVINCES UNIES.

[Pronounced in October, 1630.]

ILLUSTRES & tres-puiſſants ſeigneurs, &c. Je ne doubte point que les lettres du roy mon maiſtre que je preſentay avant hier à M. le preſident, n'ayent eſté leües a voſtre aſſemblée : mais ayant charge expreſſe de ſa majeſté de vous deduire plus amplement de bouche ſes bonnes intentions, je ſuis venu ~~pour m'en acquitter en peu de paroles, pour ne point~~ prejudicier au bien public parmy vos grandes occupations.

Vous vous ſouvenez combien vous avez eu le ſoin du ſalut & de la ſeureté publique, depuis que par le changement des affaires d'Allemagne la maiſon d'Autriche en Allemagne eſt devenue puiſſante, a commencé à entreprendre ſur la liberté preſque de tous les roys & eſtats : *& avez depuis quelques années exhorté ſa majeſté par ambaſſadeurs exprés de donner ſecours aux oppreſſez.* Vous ſcavez auſſi que ſa dite majeſté vous a tousjours communiqué en confiance tous ſes deſſeins, & offert par pluſieurs fois ſon affection & ſecours : C'eſt ce qui'l fait encores à preſent, vous donnant à entendre, les cauſes & motifs qui l'ont fait reſoudre á paſſer la mer avec ſon armée.

Le vint-unieſme de Mars dernier, ſa majeſté vous avertit *que par l'interceſſion du roy de Dannemarc il s'eſtoit porté pour entendre à un traitté de paix à Dantzic,* vous donnant moyen, ſi le trouviez bon, d'y envoyer de voſtre part des perſonnes, qui par leur conſeil pourroient ſervir au bien public & au voſtre particulier. Ses lettres vous ont eſte rendües *un peu tard*, & je ne ſçay ſi à cauſe de cela vous n'aurez point *mal pris la bonne intention* du roy mon maiſtre ; *mais vous avez recognen par effet, que le retardement n'y a point fait de prejudice.* Mais je n'ay peu entendre ſi vous *avez reſpondu*, & *quoy*, aus dites lettres de ſa majeſté, *qui ſe fachant de ce que je ne luy fait nulle mention d'une choſe de ſi grande conſequence,*

conſequence, je m'aſſeure que ſi je n'obtiens autre choſe, pour le moins vous me 1630.
juſtifierez envers elle, de ne luy avoir peu eſcrire ce que je n'ay peu ſcavoir de vous.

Or eſpere-je que, comme ſa majeſté, ne vous a rien celé juſques icy de ſes deſſeins & conſeils, que vous auſſi ſelon l'amitié, qui depuis tant d'années a eſte contractée avec vous, traicterez ſa majeſté avec pareille confiance, afin qu'elle puiſſe prendre & executer ſes reſolutions plus promptement & ſeurement, ſoit pour la paix, ſoit pour la guerre, principalement quand il entendra, que vous vizez unanimement au meſme but de recouvrer la liberté publique?

Le dés en eſt maintenant jetté:——ſa majeſté a paſſé non ſeulement le Rubicon, mais la vaſte mer *, & s'efforcera, moyennant l'ayde de Dieu, d'acquerir par armes la ſeureté qui n'a peu juſques icy obtenir, ny par lettres, ny par ambaſſades, ny pour ſoy, ny pour autres: ou, pour le moins, de mettre l'affaire en tel eſtat que les armes facilitent la paix.

Et ſa majeſté ayant enterpris une telle charge, non point pour aucune utilité particuliere, mais ſeulement en conſideration de la calamité publique, & principalement pour remettre la mer Baltique (à la domination de laquelle l'Eſpagne & l'Autriche aſpirent il y a long temps pour voſtre ruine) en ſon premier eſtat: pour faire reflorir le commerce, & procurer voſtre bien & utilité; elle ſe perſuade que vous ſeconderez ſes genereux efforts, non ſeulement de vos vœux & faveurs, mais auſſi de voſtre conſeil & aſſiſtance. . . .Sa majeſté *n'eſt point ignorante de l'incertitude des choſes humaines, & ſçait fort bien que les armées ſont journaillieres*, & partant elle eſpere qu'en tout evenement vous ne permettrez point qu'elle ſe voye du tout negligée & deſtituée de ſes amis, au peril & cauſe commune, elle ſe porte avec moins d'allegreſſe en ſa proſperité, ou que Dieu ne vueille, elle ſe trouve plus empeſchée à ſe relever en adverſité.

Si le bonheur, dont le ciel vous a comblé cette année paſſée par tant de victoires & emoluments, eſt ſi grand, que vos ennemis meſmes ne peuvent croire que vous ne vouluſſiez vous prevaloir de tant de favourables occaſions à leur ruine, en faveur de vos amis: ne permettez donc point que le fruict de vos victoires vous ſoit oſté & à vos amis, & retourne à vos communs ennemis: ce qui ne peut faillir d'arriver, ſi vous ne vous portez à rompre de plus en plus *les forces d'Eſpagne* deja fort ebranlées: ou pour le moins, aſſiſtiez vos amis, qui ſe portent courageuſement à les divertir de vous.

C'eſt ce que ſa majeſté m'a commandé de vous repreſenter, & ſerieuſement enjoynt de luy faire entendre voſtre reſolution *au plutoſt*, pour pourvoir de bonne heure à ſes affaires, ſoit pour la guerre, ſoit pour la paix. *Partant, je vous prie bien humblement de ne point differer voſtre reponſe, ſi d'avanture vous ne deſirez traitter de cecy particulairement avec moy par les deputez.* Je vous obeiray de tout mon pouvoir, comme meſſieurs, &c. &c.

* One may take the liberty here to hazard a ſlight conjecture. The expreſſion of *vaſtemer*, conſidering the ſhort paſſage from Stockholm to the iſle of Rugen cannot with any propriety be applied to the expedition of G. On the other hand the Germans, if I miſtake not, uſually call the Baltic the *Eaſt-Sea*, [*die Oſt-See*] La Oëſt-mer; which the capital initial to *Vaſte* in the French copy, and the hyphen between *that* and *mer* ſeem to confirm. But a Frenchman thinks nothing deſerves orthography, which happens to be out of the limits of his own country.

XIX.

XIX.

TREATY of Confederation and Alliance for five Years between LEWIS XIII. King of FRANCE, and GUSTAVUS II. King of SWEDEN, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Princes and States of GERMANY; concluded at BERNWALT in the Marquiſate of BRANDENBURG, Jan. 13. 1631 *.

1631. SERENISSIMI ac potentiſſimi principis domini, domini Guſtavi Adolphi, Suecorum, Gotthorum, Wandalorumque regis, magni principis Finlandiæ, ducis Eſthoniæ & Careliæ, nec non Ingriæ domini, domini noſtri clementiſſimi commiſſarii: nos infra ſcripti Guſtavus Horn, de Malla & Heringa, eques auratus, & exercitus Suecici campi mareſcallus, Joannes Bannerius militiæ generalis, regni Sueciæ ſenatores; & Carolus Bannerius de Hufſten, ſecretarius natus & pro tempore ad aulam Pomeranicam legatus, notum teſtatumque facimus:

Quod cum ad componendum bellum Sueco-Polonicum à ſereniſſimo ac potentiſſimo principe ac domino, domino Ludovico XIII. Galliæ & Navarræ rege Chriſtianiſſimo, miſſus eſſet illuſtriſſimus dominus Hercules baro Charnacæus, conſiliarius ſtatus & tribunus, ac poſt illud negotium feliciter peractum, non minorem ſacræ regiæ majeſtatis noſtræ zelum intelligeret, quam ſereniſſimi ſui regis voluntatem fœderis ineundi, in communium amicorum vicinorumque libertatem recuperandam.

Et quoniam conditiones quibus ejuſmodi libertas recuperari, & mutuum fœdus iniri poſſe videretur, à ſacra regia majeſtate domino noſtro, cui horum locorum conſtitutiones omnium optimè ſunt perſpectæ, antehac propoſitæ ſereniſſimo Galliæ regi per dominum legatum communicatæ, ipſi adeo placuerunt, ut mandata & plenipotentiam procuratoris domino legato dederit de iis tractandis ac concludendis; noſque ex parte ſacræ regiæ majeſtatis domini noſtri deputati eſſemus, ut cum eo de toto hoc negotio conveniremus.

Poſt acceptas igitur traditaſque utrinque legitimas principum noſtrorum plenipotentias, cum præfato domino legato Galliæ de dicto fœdere, nomine ſacræ regiæ majeſtatis domini noſtri, ſequentes articulos ſtatuimus & concluſimus, ſicuti & vigore harum ſtatuimus & concludimus.

I. Ut ſit fœdus inter præfatos ſereniſſimos Sueciæ & Galliæ reges pro defenſione ſuorum reſpectivè communium amicorum, ſecuritate etiam maris Balthici, & oceani, libertate commerciorum, nec non reſtitutione oppreſſorum imperii Romani ordinum; et ut fortalitia ac propugnacula quæ extructa ſunt in

portubus

* The preſent copy is taken from a very curious work, entitled, Recueil des Traités de Confederation & d'Alliance, entre la Couronne de France, & les Princes & Eſtats Eſtrangers Depuis l'an MDCXXI, juſques à l'an MDCLXXII. *Sine loco*. Here are inſerted many pieces which the grand collectors of treaties in the French intereſts have been aſhamed to own.—We find another copy of the treaty of Bernwalt in the Swed. Intellig. Part I. 75.

portubus ac littoribus alterutrius maris oceani aut Balthici vel in Rhœtia demoliantur, & in eum ſtatum reducantur in quo proximè ante hoc bellum Germanicum fuerunt. 1631.

II. Et quoniam adverſæ partis animus à juſta illatarum injuriarum reparatione in hanc uſque diem alienus fuerat, factaſque hactenus interceſſiones rejecerat, idcirco communium amicorum ſalus armata manu vindicator.

III. In eum finem rex Sueciæ pro tanta belli mole exercitum triginta mille peditum & ſex mille equitum ſuo ſumptu in Germaniam ducat & habeat. Rex Galliæ *quadringenta millia talerorum imperialum quotannis tribuito*, ejuſque ſummæ mediam partem 15 menſis Maii, alteram 15 Novembris Lutetiæ Pariſiorum vel Amſterodami in Hollandia (prout regis Sueciæ miniſtris videbitur) infallibiliter numerato ac tradito.

IV. Conſcriptio militum ac nautarum, exportatio navium ac rerum bellicarum in mutuis territoriis libera ſit, hoſtibus verò denegetur.

V. Delinquentes in diſciplinam militarem & fugitivi, domino ſuo pro adminiſtranda juſtitia in eos tradantur.

VI. Si deo placuerit regi Sueciæ felices ſucceſſus concedere, in negotio religionis non aliter ſe geret in occupatis deditiſque locis, quam ſecundum leges & conſtitutiones imperii, et in locis in quibus exercitium religionis catholicæ Romanæ reperietur, in integro remaneat.

VII. Ad hoc fœdus quicunque alii ſtatus vel principes voluerint, ſive in Germania, ſive extra eam, admittantur. Idque debitè caveatur, ut qui admiſſi fuerint, nec clam, nec palam, ſuo vel alieno nomine adverſæ parti faveant, aut regibus præfatis, vel communi cauſæ noceant, quin potius ſinguli ad hoc bellum ſumptus contribuant, quantos unicuique vires permiſerint & intereſſe requirit, eaque peculiari conventione tranſigantur.

VIII. Cum duce Bavariæ & liga catholica in imperio Romano amicitia vel ſaltem neutralitas ſervetur, ſi illi reciprocum præſtiterint.

IX. Quod ſi per dei gratiam occaſio tractandi ſe offerat, ex communi fœderatorum conſilio tractetur, nec ullus fœderatorum ſine altero quid ſtatuito, pacemve inito.

X. Hoc fœdus quinque annos durato, à data nimirum præſentium uſque ad primam diem Martii Stilo Veteri, anni ſupra milleſimum ſexcenteſimum trigeſimi ſexti; intra quod tempus niſi ſecura pax obtineatur, ex communi rurſus fœderatorum conſilio prorogetur.

XI. Conventum eſt tandem ut quoniam præterito anno de hoc fœdere tractari cœptum, ut in ſex annos concluderetur.

Et cum rex Sueciæ multos interea in hoc bellum ſumptus contulerit, ideo pro priori illo anno jam ferè elapſo nomine regis Galliæ ipſo die ſubſignationis præſentis tractatus N. N. talerorum imperialium præſtentur, quæ etiam per certas cambii literas à nobis recipientur, & ad cæterorum quinque annorum ſummam non pertinebunt.

In quorum omnium fidem, &c.

Actum in Stativis regiis Bernwaldi in Nova Marchia Brandeburgenſi, decima tertia Januarii, anno 1631, ſtilo veteri.

XX.

A ſhort NARRATION of the PROTESTANT-DIET held at LEIPSICK: beginning February the 8th 1630-1, and ending April the 3d 1631. Printed at London 1632.

[*N.B.* In re-publiſhing this piece, we have altered here and there a few incuracies of ſtyle, and rectified *ſuch errors* in point of *fact* as occurred to us.]

1631. THE imperial dyet at Ratiſbon thus ending November $\frac{8}{17}$, left matters in a far worſe ſtate than it found them: for that men perceived now their very hopes to be taken away, as their liberties and goods had been before: and the proteſtant princes finding themſelves ſtartled by four things eſpecially, perceived it high time now for them to take the alarm. The firſt of the four was this: that whereas the duke of Saxony had in the time of the dyet written advice unto the emperor, of the king of Sweden's approaching: the emperor tells him again, how he hoped that himſelf (the elector of Saxony) and Brandenburgh would well aid him with money, ammunition, and other neceſſaries. By which anſwer, the elector of Saxony perceived a new bill of charges coming upon the proteſtants next thoſe parts, where the king of Sweden was landed. The ſecond was this: the compendious courſe taken by the emperor for the recovering of the church lands; which neither the elector of Saxony was able to ſtop by his letters unto the emperor, nor the elector of Brandenburg, and other princes, with their preſence at the dyet*: but that even before their own faces, daily commiſſions were ſent out againſt them. A third was this: the rigid courſe (taken by advice of the jeſuits) for reformation of the proteſtant churches and ſchools, and the forbidding of the liberty of the Auguſtan confeſſion. The fourth was, that decree of the emperor's (publiſhed four days before the breaking up of the dyet, though projected long before) for the continuance of the wars againſt the king of Sweden: whereas the way had been propounded and adviſed upon before, how to compound the matter, rather than how to continue the troubles. And what aggravated the decree for the wars being, not only that the princes were to be at the charges of it, but that the levies were to be laid and collected, not by the conſent of thoſe who ſhould pay them, but at the pleaſure of the imperial commiſſaries: for the moderating of whoſe power, and repreſſing the numbers and inſolences of the ſoldiers, notwithſtanding ſome ſlight promiſes were now made; yet how far they would be kept, was in their own pleaſures. The proteſtants by theſe arguments being not only made ſuſpicious, but ſenſible too, that there were not over-many good intentions in the emperor towards them, their eſtates or religions, began to enter into a conſultation for their own ſafety. The plot for it was laid thus. That whereas there had been a conference between them and the catholicks at the former

* We have proved the contrary of this aſſertion in the part of our hiſtory that relates to it: the two electors alledging by way of excuſe for their perſonal abſence, that the imperial troops had rendered them unable to defray the expences of ſuch a journey. *See alſo memoirs of the houſe of Brandenburg.*

dyet,

dyet, concerning the church lands; the further treaty thereupon, was referred unto a diet (procured by the catholicks) to be held at Franckfort upon Mayn, in Auguſt following; the duke of Saxony ſhould write his letters unto the emperor (which was ſeconded by the mediation of the electors of Mentz and Bavaria,) intreating liberty for the proteſtants to hold a diet by themſelves, in ſome convenient place; that ſo by their united councils they might be provided, for an anſwer at the future diet of Franckfort. 1631. The emperor grants the dyet.

The imperial aſſent being thus obtained, the proteſtant princes by their letters and ambaſſadors, agree upon the diet: the place to be Leipſick, and the time the 8th of February. That the ſeveral princes and ſtates therefore might know beforehand, what inſtructions to give unto the ambaſſadors they were to ſend; the duke of Saxony in his invitatory letters to each of them, lays open the purpoſe of the intended diet; fairly communicating the main propoſitions, both unto them and to the emperor. The contents whereof were, firſt, to conſult how the church might with a good conſcience, be maintained in her ancient liberties and happy ſtate. Secondly, how to keep their due obedience to the emperor, and yet preſerve the ancient conſtitutions and peace of the empire. Thirdly, how to maintain correſpondency with the catholick princes. And fourthly, what to anſwer for themſelves both in general and particular, as well concerning the maintenance of the reformed religion, as to the emperor's edict concerning the church lands, when they ſhould come to meet at the dyet of Franckfort. Saxony's letters.

The princes thus invited, and the time now come, upon the fourth of February 1631, the elector of Saxony enters Leipſick in great ſtate, and the elector of Brandenburg a little after him. Thither in perſon came theſe proteſtant princes alſo. Chriſtian, another marquis of Brandenburg, John, William, and Bernard, dukes of Saxe Weymar. William landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, Frederick marquis of Baden, Auguſtus prince of Anhault, Frederick count of Solmes, John, George, and Erneſt Lodowike, counts of Mansfeilt, and the depoſed dukes of Mecklenburg. The following princes ſent their deputies, the duke of Deuxponts, John Erneſt, another duke of Saxony, Frederick Ulrick, duke of Brunſwick, the duke of Lunenburg. ‡The ſeveral princes of the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, the lady of the abby of Quidlinburg, the biſhop adminiſtrator of Mecklenburg, the counts of Stolberg, the barons of Reuſſen and Schonberg. Theſe towns and ſtates ſent their agents alſo. Norimberg, Straſburg, Franckfort, Lubeck, Bremen, Brunſwick, Hildeſheim, Mulhauſen and Northauſen. *Duke Lodowic Frederick, adminiſtrator of the dukedom of Wirtemburg was newly dead, and duke Julius not yet ſettled; and therefore being not able to come himſelf, he ſent the vice-chancellor of the dukedom called dr. Loefler, and ſome other counſellors as deputies for that dutchy. And theſe are the proteſtant party in the empire: ſome whereof being Lutherans and ſome Calviniſts; they firſt of all agree to have that diſtinction of names (which had cauſed ſo much ſchiſm and hatred heretofore) to be utterly taken away, making a general decree, that both profeſſions ſhould from thenceforth be called by one name of Evangelical. The proteſtant party in the empire. That is, profeſſors of the goſpel.

‡ Duke of Saxe-Altenberg; add likewiſe John Caſimir duke of Saxe-Coburg, Auguſtus count Palatine, and Auguſtus prince of Anhault.

* Add the deputies of the arch-biſhoprick of Bremen.

1631. No man was ſuffered to ſtay within the town, whoſe buſineſs was not known: the ſtreets ends were chained up and barricaded, guards ſet at the ſeveral ports; and the keys of the gates every night brought into the duke's chamber. And all this, was to prevent ſpies and ſurpriſals. The duke, elector of Saxony, (on whoſe greatneſs and countenance, the party and action very much depended) makes a ſpeech firſt of all, which had reference unto his former letters of invitation unto them; proteſting withal, his own firmneſs and forwardneſs for the peace of the empire, and the maintenance of the Religon; and that he would be ready to venture both life and goods in the cauſe; ſo deſiring every man freely to give his counſel in ſuch manner as they might be able to render a fair account of it unto the emperor. Unto this meeting, the king of Sweden alſo ſends his ambaſſador, doctor Chemnitius, who in his maſter's name delivers them this aſſurance: that his majeſty's intentions were no other, than to reſtore the empire to her ancient peace, the princes to their liberties, and to defend the church in her religion; telling them moreover, that the French king was newly entered into a league with him for five years to come. The ambaſſador had both ſpeedy audience and honourable entertainment. The diet, to be brief, broke up on Palm-Sunday, the 3d of April following. The concluſions agreed upon, themſelves expreſs in their letters, in humble and complaining manner, enlarged in many ſheets of paper, ſent by an expreſs courier unto the emperor, in which their joint deſires were thus ſignified.

Saxony's oration.

Their humble remonſtrance unto the emperor.

Their complaint and remonſtrance, I reduce into theſe propoſitions.

That the Golden Bull and conſtitutions of the empire, had of late been all abuſed; that the emperor's late edict for reſtitution of the church lands, and his endeavours to root out the proteſtant religion, were the main cauſes of theſe late troubles. The firſt of theſe, breeding jealouſies and diſcontents betwixt the proteſtants and the papiſts, and the ſecond tending to the utter ruin of the two electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. Then they complain of injuſtice done unto particular princes and cities, ſome of which were injured by the violent taking away of their church lands; as the dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunſwick, the prince of Anhalt, the counts of Hoenloe, Stolberg, Lippe, Waldec, Werthimb, Erpach, &c. the town of Auſburg, and others; ſome hindered in the exerciſe of their religion, as Auguſtus and Frederick, princes Palatine, and younger brothers unto Wolfgang William, Palatine of Newburg, now turned papiſt. Others had their eſtates confiſcated, as the lady electreſs Palatine*, and her ſon Lewis, prince Palatine, the dukes of Mecklenburg, &c. for whom the whole college of electors had interceded in the late diet, but not prevailed. Others complain of the violent altering of the feods and tenures of their lands and lordſhips, as the laſt before-named princes and John Caſimir elector of Saxony, into whoſe lands the imperial commiſſaries have with force and arms intruded, changing the tenures of the tenants, and altering the religion. Erneſtus marquis and elector of Brandenburg, complains of the ſame wrongs offered unto his pupils, the young marquiſes of Onſpach †. Ulme duke of Brunſwick complains, firſt of the ravages of his lands done by Tilly, upon pretence of monies owing to the king of Denmark, and made over by the ſaid king unto the emperor, who employed Tilly thus to ſtrain for them. Secondly, of the ſeizure of his biſhoprick of Hildeſheim.

* The mother and brother of the king of Bohemia, Lewis being duke of Simmern.

† Which are of the houſe of Branden-

And

And thirdly, that the chief town of his own reſidence Wolfenbuttle, had been forced to take an imperial garriſon. 1631.

burg: their lands lying by Nuremberg.

Others complain, how they might not have the benefit of the law, but were driven away by threatnings and diſcourteſies. The electors and princes complain of contempts and indignities offered unto their perſons, ſome of them having been threatened the baſtinado by ſome of the emperor's ſoldiers. The cities and circles of the empire complain, that undue and exceſſive impoſitions and taxes had been laid upon them, not by the conſent of themſelves, (as the imperial laws command) but at the pleaſure of any of the emperor's commiſſaries. That, under colour of protecting them, they have been forced to afford quarter and maintenance, unto the imperial armies, who when they ſhould indeed have defended them, moſt cowardly ran away. That when they would not endure the ſoldiers inſolencies, they have been declared enemies of the empire, and forbidden to defend themſelves, that their lands have been given to ſoldiers, as if they had been conquered. That they have been forced to contribute to imaginary companies of ſoldiers, (perchance to four or five) as if they had been a compleat band. That the commiſſaries have aſſigned quarters and paſſages unto the ſoldiers, without ever aſking leave of the princes or countries; that people have been tortured for their money, had their cattle driven away, their houſes fired, and all commerce driven out of their country. That the ſoldiers neither obſerved martial diſcipline, nor moral honeſty, neither keeping the laws nor fearing God; that virgins and women have been raviſhed upon the high altars; that if the weekly contributions were not paid at the commiſſaries abſolute pleaſure, the ſoldiers then ſpoiled the country. The marquis of Brandenburg complains, that notwithſtanding the king of Sweden had two parts of his country, (the old and the new Mark) yet was he forced to pay a full contribution for the whole marquiſate to the Imperialiſts. That himſelf, by the ſoldiers being ſo long in his country, was left ſo poor, that he was not able to entertain a garriſon for the defence of his own palace, and was fain to abridge even the neceſſary proviſions of his own table and family; that the ſoldiers, entertained by the proteſtants for their own defence, have been turned againſt them, to take away the church lands; that trebly more contributions have been raiſed againſt no enemy, than ever were when the Turks were in Germany. That when the princes of the houſe of Saxony, as namely, Altenburg, Weymar, and Coburg, had excuſed themſelves of diſability to pay each of them 1454 dollars a month, which the commiſſary Oſſa had required of them; then Tilly threatened to draw 10,000 more dollars a month out of them. That conſidering all this, they could perceive nothing elſe, but that the emperor had intended their utter ruin: whereas he had dealt more gently with thoſe of his own hereditary dominions. That all this is moſt contrary unto the oath of the emperor, and unto the laws of the empire, inaſmuch as ſuch hath been complained of, by the ſeveral electors and princes, and by them proteſted againſt in the late diet of Ratiſbon; wherefore they now humbly petition to be relieved, proteſting otherwiſe, that they are no longer able to endure, but ſhall be enforced to defend their perſons, conſciences, eſtates, and ſubjects; reſolving notwithſtanding to continue their due loyalty and obedience unto the emperor, humbly now deſiring a fair and gracious anſwer from him. Leipſick, March 18, 1631.

Their

1631. Their conluſions were anſwerable unto their propoſitions.

Their concluſions publiſhed.

1. That conſidering it was their ſins which deſerved theſe puniſhments, they command publick prayers to be made unto Almighty God for the diverting of theſe miſeries:

2. That means might be thought upon, and a friendly treaty appointed with the catholick princes, for removing all jealouſies, and reſtoring good terms and concord betwixt them, as for ſeventy years before it had been.

3. That when the time and place for this treaty were once appointed, the proteſtants ſhould there appear a little before, to prepare themſelves what to ſay in it.

4. And the more fairly to diſpoſe both Cæſar and the catholicks unto their intentions, that their grievances ſhould in humble manner be before-hand by letter preſented, both unto the emperor and the three catholick electors.

5. That theſe grievances ſhould in thoſe letters be preſſed, to be contrary unto the emperor's oath, the imperial laws, the privileges of the princes, the honour and ſafety of the empire. That the wars would undo all, the inſolencies of commiſſaries and ſoldiers were ſo inſufferable, as that it ſtood neither with their conſciences, their ſafeties, nor their honours, to ſuffer themſelves and ſubjects to be any longer thus abuſed; and that they would hereupon deſire the benefit of the emperor's ſo often promiſed protection.

6. That ſeeing theſe greater and fuller aſſemblies were both chargeable and tedious, they agreed, that certain deputies ſhould as neceſſity required, be in the names of all the reſt appointed, both to treat and determine of what ſhould ſeem convenient for the common cauſe.

7. The decree of levies of ſoldiers (both of horſe and foot) to be made in their ſeveral dominions and diviſions, without croſſing the conſtitutions of the empire, or offence of any, and only in their own defence.

The dyet of Augſburg.

8. That whereas in a diet of the empire held 1555, it had been decreed; how that neighbouring princes ſhould live neighbourly, and if any oppreſſed others, the reſt ſhould relieve them; this relief they now promiſe one another, deſiring that if in theſe troubleſome times, the levies and other carriages could not poſſibly be every way agreeable to the conſtitutions of the empire, that it might not be interpreted to be done on purpoſe.

9. They decree the continuance of their loyalty and obedience unto his imperial majeſty.

10. They agree alſo upon the proportion of the levies.

Thus the elector of Saxony engages himſelf to raiſe ſix regiments, Brandenburg three. The ſeveral circles of Suabia, the Rhine, and Franconia, three regiments a-piece; and the circle of Lower Saxony agreed to furniſh monies for the raiſing and paying of one regiment. Each regiment of foot was to be 3000 ſtrong, and of horſe 1000. And thus the dyet being ended upon Palm Sunday with a ſermon, Saxony diſplays his defenſive banner, beats up his drums, begins his levies, and ſo at their coming home do the reſt of the princes.

Theſe concluſions and reſolutions of the proteſtants, were not a little boggled at at court, did not ſlightly diſpleaſe the emperor, and ſtartle the catholick leaguers, with their adherents. The proteſtants hear of it in both ears; for this are they both by words and writings, threatened and reviled; yea, their new league and ſtrength were by ſome confidents not a little ſcoffed and ſcorned at.

But

But they that had been uſed to hard deeds before, were ſufficiently hardened againſt foul words now; they were not to be diſcouraged this way, they did their buſineſs, and let the others talk their talks. Things going thus on, it was by the middle of May every where perceived, how that theſe leaguers of Leipſick, were now in very good earneſt. For now upon the taking of Magdeburg, the proteſtants ſtrongly ſuſpecting by the inhuman cruelty there uſed by the imperialiſts, that it was not a heat of war alone, but that there was a core of malice diſcovered in it; not an imperial, but a popiſh ſpite, unto that city above others, for having been one of the firſt that harboured Luther and his religion, they begin to make it their own caſe, and that for their religion's ſake, they were all not likely to be much better uſed. Some therefore of the neighbour princes (thoſe namely of Saxony and Suabia) demand of the cities of Ulm and Memmingen, &c. ſituate in Suabia by the river Danube (which were of the proteſtant league with them) to entertain for garriſons ſome of theſe new levied forces. Memmingen conſents, but Ulm being a greater city, relies upon her own ſtrength. Theſe things being done, command is given by the emperor unto Eggon count of Furſtenburgh, (appointed general of the circle of Suabia) to employ thoſe 8000 (lately come out of Italy, after that the wars of Mantua were ended) together with 8 or 10,000 more, againſt thoſe towns aforeſaid. Furſtenberg preſſes ſo hard upon Memmingen, that about the beginning of June, he enforceth it to renounce the new league, and to purchaſe the emperor's pardon, at the rate of 50,000 florins ready pay, and 25,000 monthly contribution. The proteſtant league being now noiſed abroad, and another meeting at the latter end of May at the ſame Leipſick intended, thither come the ambaſſadors of England, Sweden, Saxony, and Brandenburg; there is the uniting of their forces with the king of Sweden propounded, but not concluded; only the paſſage of Wirtemberg heretofore denied him by Saxony, is now yielded to, to be open for his army. Mr. Tilly about the ſame time diſpeeds a meſſage unto Saxony with overtures of a peace, promiſing ſhortly to come himſelf with ſufficient commiſſion to confirm it. This being ſuſpected to be a plot, either to divert or ſtagger the reſolution of the duke, or a trick to gain time, and that Tilly's commiſſion might perchance be in his ſcabbard, the meſſage was not accepted, notwithſtanding that Tilly did in mid June following, come in perſon indeed, and at Oldſleben had treaty with the duke's ambaſſadors. 1631.

When this would not do, and the emperor by the duke's ſecond letters (dated the day after the end of the late dyet) underſtanding the reſolution of the leaguers, which by their general levies he perceived them ready to maintain; and hearing withal, the king of Sweden to be victoriouſly already advanced quite through Pomerania and Mecklenburg, into ſome places of Brandenburg, out thunders he his imperial ban againſt the Leipſick leaguers, dated at Vienna May 14, peremptorily forbidding any place of the empire, to grant either relief, paſſage, or place of quarter, muſter, or rendezvous, unto any of their forces; commanding every man to deſtroy, kill, and perſecute them as enemies: and the eaſier to dehort the leaguers, his majeſty offers to releaſe them of their oaths taken in prejudice of him at Leipſick, and to grant pardon to as many as ſhould come in: upon pain of death forbidding all their ſubjects, either to contribute to their levies, or to ſerve under their enſigns, but to turn both their monies and perſons towards

The emperor's proclamation againſt them.

1631. towards the advancement of his imperial ſervice, promiſing the freedom of conſcience and eſtates to all that ſhould thus obey him.

Divers people are naturally afraid of thunder; ſome of the leaguers therefore, (and eſpecially the grave-headed burghers in the richer cities) began now to quake at the noiſe of this ſo hideous a proclamation: which fear of theirs, much cooled their bloods, made them the leſs zealous and warm in the reſolution; but he that hath not courage enough to fight, hath wit enough commonly to excuſe his cowardice. So fell it out here, divers of the backwardeſt palliating their own remiſſneſs, with the news they pretended to have heard, of the mammering of the chief man in the action, the duke of Saxony. And this had like to have arreſted the whole deſign. Saxony hearing of all this, notwithſtanding he was at this inſtant hard laid at by Hagen Muller the emperor's ambaſſador, to come over to his maſter; yet (to prevent a jealouſy) would he not ſo much as once ſpeak with him then at Torgau, but referred him for audience over unto his privy council.

Hagen Muller's propoſitions were theſe four:

1. To conſult how the buſineſs about the church lands might beſt be compounded.

2. How the inconveniences occaſioned by the wars might be eaſed.

3. That the agreement of Leipſick for ſtanding upon their own defence might be cancelled.

4. That he would adviſe how a peace might honourably be concluded with the Swede, and that the duke would mediate it. The anſwer of the duke's council is too long to inſert, and to be brief, the ambaſſador returns not well ſatisfied. Immediately hereupon, the duke diſpatches his letters unto the ſeveral leaguers, aſſuring them of his own conſtancy, and inviting them with all ſpeed to haſten their preparations.

Theſe letters of Saxony brought about the matter again, and he to ſhew that he meant to do more than write letters, lays ſure guards upon his own frontiers, ſome eight or ten thouſand men; proceeding warily hitherto, and all upon the defenſive. The proteſtant princes of Suabia (which lie along the Danube, between the dukes of Wirtenburg and Bavaria) do hereupon aſſemble at Eſſingen, reſolving to ſtick cloſe to the articles of Leipſick, reinforcing their levies thereupon. And now the fair city of Norimberg in the Upper Palatinate returns to her former reſolution, notwithſtanding the particular threatenings of the emperor, to give the ſpoil of it unto their great neighbour, the duke of Bavaria. The city of Straſbourg arms alſo, and the city of Ulm encouraged by the new adminiſtrator of Wirtenbourg, duke Julius, refuſes to give paſſage to the late troops coming that way out of Italy, and ſends three hundred muſqueteers to aid their neighbours of Memmingen againſt them.

The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel (againſt whoſe country it was generally reported that Tilly would forthwith come, and that he was already for that purpoſe upon his march as far as Duringen) beſtirs himſelf all this while, levies men, and fortifies his frontiers. Tilly ſends before he comes to him, and that theſe four demands.

Tilly's quarrel to Heſſe Caſſel.

1. To pay the arrear of the contribution due unto the emperor.

2. To give ſufficient hoſtages or ſecurity for the future, directly profeſſing him either a friend or a foe to the emperor.

3. Immediately to caſhier his army.

4. To lay open his paſſages for the emperor's forces, to receive imperial garriſons into Caſſel and Sichenheim, and to give quarter to five other regiments. 1631.

Hard terms all. Unto which the landgrave returns though a negative, yet a modeſt anſwer. This way not ſpeeding, it ſeems the way of practice and of treachery was attempted, for the landgrave preſently upon this diſcovers ſome correſpondency entertained by two or three of his own chief lords with Tilly, for the delivering up his two chief towns of Caſſel and Sigenheym, for which they are executed. Tilly after this in a rage ſends three ſeveral troops into his country, his own intended expedition againſt him being diverted by news of the king of Sweden.

All this while (namely until the latter end of June) was there no aſſurance of the proteſtant princes purpoſe to unite with the king of Sweden; but they all ſtood upon terms of neutrality, kept their obedience unto the emperor, ſtanding only upon the defenſive, without once offering any act of hoſtility, where they were not firſt provoked. Saxony had now 17,000 foot and 3000 horſe, all in a readineſs. Upon the ſame terms ſtands the marquis elector of Brandenburgh, who notwithſtanding the near alliance betwixt the king of Sweden and himſelf, (the king having married the ſiſter of the ſaid marquis) yet that he ſeemed far enough from uniting with him, appears by an action of his, which had like to have coſt him dearly. The elector denies a requeſt of the king's for two paſſages for his army, (now in the Brandenburghers country) and eſpecially for that the marquis now deſired his town of Spandau again, which upon ſome terms had at the firſt been lent unto the king; which the king taking very unkindly, (divers circumſtances perchance occurring) all of a ſudden beſieges the elector's town of Berlin, bending his cannon upon the very palace, threatening to pillage it. The difference is at length appeaſed by the electreſs, together with the promiſe of 30,000 rixdollars a month, and to have the town of Spandau (Cuſtrin he alſo deſired) again conſigned over unto him as before.

XXI.

Regis SUECICI de MAGDEBURGENSI excidio publica expurgatio.

Quocirca rex culpam amiſſæ, nec ſervatæ urbis, publico ſcripto à ſe amolitus eſt:
[*Chemnit. de Bello Sueco-Germ. Tom.* I. 134.]

ERRORE Magdeburgenſium, quo in ipſo turbarum limine, ad habendos delectus ſufficientem pecuniæ ſummam minime anticipando, impegerant, *ſub initium perſtrictio, luculenter deinde, & ad oculum demonſtrans:* ſummis quidem viribus ad ſuccurendum Magdeburgo contendiſſe, nec quicquam in eo feciſſe reliqui: ſed ineluctabilia obſtacula objecta, quæ conatus ſuos remorata fuerint; nec, niſi in præſens exitium ſeque ſuoſque præcipitare voluerit, priuſquam, hoſte Viadri & Wartæ ripâ ad Francofurtum Landſbergamve depulſo, quæ e tergo erant, in tuto collocaret, iter maturare potuiſſe. Nihilominùs, utut hoſtis poſt

1631. Francofurtanam cladem ad Glogoviam majorem ſe recollegerit, plus obſeſſæ urbis ſalutem ipſi cordi, quàm pericula, quæ ab hoſte, vires integrante, immine-rent, curæ fuiſſe, aut ſolicitudini: ideoque Cæſarianos, quos profligatos perſequi ratio belli dictitabat, ad præſens omiſſis, versùs Havelam & Albim ſigna, libe-randæ urbi, tranſtuliſſe. Quod autem propoſitum hoc effectu caruerit, electores vicinos unicè in cauſa. Quippe cum Saxo, cujus vel maximè interfuerit urbem ſervari incolumen, non modo arma regiis armis jungere, ſed & tranſitum, com-meatum, tormenta, rem tormentariam flagitanti præbere detrectârit: Branden-burgicus verò, nec commeatum, naves, ſimilia, ad tentandam rei adeò momen-toſæ aleam neceſſaria, quæ alibi reperire non erat, ſatis maturè ſubminiſtrarit aut ſubminiſtrare potuerit, nec idoneam cautionem, qua fiſus rex ulteriùs progrede-retur, præſtiterit tempori; partim quoque de iis, quorum rex certus eſſe vole-bat, ac ſenſum ſuum eouſque, dum Saxo mentem ſuam explicaret, ſuſpenderit. Summatim, uterque ita ſe geſſerint: ut rex, hoſtiline an amico in ſe eſſent animo, non ſatis noſſet, nec quicquam ſolidi aut firmi de iis ſibi poſſet polliceri.

XXII.

TRAICTE' de confederation & d'alliance pour huit ans entre LOUIS XIII. roy de France, & MAXIMILIEN electeur de Baviére, ſigné par le dit electeur á Munich, le 8 May, 1631.

QUANDOQUIDEM rex Galliæ & elector Bavariæ amicitiam bonam ac defenſionem reciprocam confirmare & inire deſiderant, ideò in ſequentes articulos ſub fide data ſecretos conſenſerunt.

Sit inter regem & electorem Bavariæ ſincera, bona & conſtans amicitia ac de-fenſiva utrique firma obligatio ad octo annos, virtute cujus rex obligatur novem millibus equitum, cum convenientibus tormentis bellicis, & propriis ſumptibus defendere electorum Bavariæ ejuſque provincias hæreditarias & acquiſitas, ſi hoſti-liter invadantur; poſſit tamen elector Bavariæ, in ejuſque optione conſiſtat, à rege vel militem, vel pecuniam tanto militi ſufficientem petere.

Eodem modo elector Bavariæ obligatur tribus millibus peditum, et mille equi-tibus ac convenientibus tormentis bellicis propriiſque ſumptibus defendere regem Galliæ, ejuſque provincias hæreditarias & acquiſitas, ſi hoſtiliter invadanter: ſimiliter tamen in arbitrio regis poſitum ſit, ab electore Bavariæ vel militem ip-ſum, vel pecuniam tanto militi æquipolentem poſcere.

Rex Galliæ promittit arma ſua nullo modo applicare vel conferre contra vel in electorem Bavariæ ejuſque ſupradictas provincias, nec directè nec indirectè aſſiſtere militibus aut pecunia iis qui volent electorem Bavariæ aut ejus provincias hoſti-liter invadere, nec eis permittere ut militem in regno Galliæ contra electorem & ſupradictas ejus provincias conſcribant, aut illis arma, tormenta, vel pulveres tormentarii ab illorum amicis ſubditis regiis ſubmittantur.

Viceverſa

Viceversa elector Bavariæ promittit sua arma nullo modo applicare, & conferre in & contra regem ejusque provincias hæreditarias, sive acquisitas, nec directè, nec indirectè assistere militibus; vel pecunia, nec permittere conscriptionem militum in suis provinciis; vel extractionem armorum, & pulveris tormentarii iis qui volent regem ejusque provincias invadere hostiliter. 1631.

Rex promittit agnoscere, defendere & manutenere dignitatem electoralem in persona ejusdem electoris & domo Bavariæ, contra omnes qui voluerint vel tentaverint illam dignitatem eis auferre, aut eos in exercitio dictæ dignitatis impedire.

Quandoquidem ex urgentissimis causis necessarium est, ut hæc amicitia & defensio hoc tempore tantum inter regem & electorem Bavariæ concluſa, nulli alii pateat, sed secretissima maneat, ideo utrinque de secreto observando in specie quoque cautum est.

Quos omnes articulos eò libentiùs rex Christianissimus & elector Bavariæ inter se comprobarunt, & sibi invicem promiserunt, quia & jure naturali liciti, & regiæ majestati, & electorali dignitati convenientes sunt: reservat ideo tamen ac excipit hic elector juramentum suum imperatori & imperio præstitum; reservatione autem sic excepta præfatus elector omnia, & singula quæ in hoc tractatu mutuæ amicitiæ & reciprocæ defensionis continentur sincerè, exactè, & bona fide se præstiturum promittit, regemque Galliæ ejusque provincias hæreditarias & acquisitas adversum quoscumque defendere tenebitur, eo modo quo in supradictis articulis continetur.

Vicissim verò quoque rex Galliæ omnia ea se denuo sincerè, ac bona fide præstare velle promittit quæ in supradictis articulis spopondit.

In fidem horum omnium elector Bavariæ propria manu subscripsit, eaque proprio sigillo communiri fecit.

Datum in urbe nostra monachio 8. die mensis Maii, anno Domini 1631, subsignavit Maximilianus, & infra Gulielmus Jocher, cum insignibus electoris Bavariæ.

Il eſt ainſi en l'original, que j'ay mis entre les mains de monſeigneur le cardinal duc de Richelieu. A Paris le 20 *Juin*, 1634.

Signé, BOUTHILLIER.

Il y en a un autre pareil ſigné par le roy à Fontainbleau le 30 *May*, 1631. LOUIS, *& plus bas*, BOUTHILLIER: *avec les armes de France; dont l'original a eſté remis des mains dudit ſeigneur cardinal duc de* RICHELIEU.

XXII.

HASSIÆ Landgravii cum Rege Fœdus, ejuſq; capita.

[*Quod fœdus velut norma fuit, ad quam reliqua pleraque poſtmodum amuſſitata; idcéque plenius & articulatim hiſtoriæ noſtræ intexere, operæ pretium duximus.*
Chemnitz. Bellum Sueco-Germ. T. I. ibid. &c.]

1631. 1. REX Landgravio in tutelam, protectionem, & clientelam recepto, quicunque offendere, aut armis impetere eum intenderent, pro hoſtibus haberet, non ſecus, ac ſi ipſimet, coronæve ſuæ injuriam ac bellum intuliſſent; pro virili parte, quantum occaſio permiſerit, hoſtiliter perſequeretur; landgravio conſilio, auxiliove adeſſet; nec cum quoquam alio, ſeu extra ſeu intra Romanum imperium, fœdus, quod huic deroget, iniret. Imprimis vero

2. Si landgravio aut ejus ſubditis vi hoſtili eripi quippiam, aut munitiones & arces ejus obſidio cingi contingeret, illis liberandis rex nil faceret reliqui; arma landgravii armis jungeret; ſummis viribus laboranti ſuccurreret, nec ulla cum ratione deſereret.

3. Cum Cæſare, & pontificii fœderis ſociis, aliiſve hoſtibus, de pace minimè gentium tranſigeret aut exueret arma; niſi landgravio pactis, & ita quidem incluſo; ut ei, ejuſque ſubditis nomine illorum, quibus, cum in conſcientia ſua, tùm aliàs gravatos ſe, juſtiſſimé, conquerebantur, ſatisfieret; de juſtitia adverſùs quemcumque equaliter adminiſtranda caveretur; et is in ſtatum, quo landgraviorum ſtirpis Caſſellanæ familia ante Bohemicas & Palatinas turbas fuerat, omnino reponeretur.

4. Sicubi rex, ejuſve miles a landgravio in munitiones, arces, urbes, exigente neceſſitate reciperetur, nihil, quod regalibus, privilegiis, utilitati, juribus landgravii præjudicio eſſet, tentaret; ſed neceſſitate & causâ receptionis ceſſante, loca iſthoec landgravio iterùm in manus conſignaret.

5. Sin tormenta quoque, & alia belli gerendi inſtrumenta, regi è landgravii munimentis præberentur (id autem non, niſi cautione priùs de reſtituendo præſtitâ, factum iri) poſtquam pro tempore ſatis uſus, reſtitueret.

6. Quod ſi landgravius propriis viribus ac marte aliquem pontificiorum ordinum, qui regis hoſtes ultrò ſemet profeſſi, opprimere, ejuſve ditiones, urbes, loca occupare potis eſſet, perinde ac ſi ipſe patraſſet, rex id rati haberet, & landgravium, ſiquidem eo nomine infeſtaretur, regiè propugnaret.

7. Si ipſemet rex landgravio, ut fœderato ſuo, præſens adeſſe, & abſolutæ belli gerendi directioni, a landgravio delatæ, vacare impediretur, egregium habilem expertæque prudentiæ ac virtutis ducem landgravio adjungeret: qui ipſius, ut capitis & principis in contracto fœdere, locò landgravii, copiis præeſſet, in militaribus, gerendove & continuando bello ſummi imperii clavum teneret, & hoc nomine data ſpeciatim fide obſtrictus, quæ belli ratio flagitat, ad communem fœderatorum ſcopum conſequendum, communi conſilio perageret ac exſequeretur. Quò rebus decenter & ordine geſtis, confuſioni, aliàs facilè irrepenti, omnis præcluderetur rima. Quos ſummi imperii faſces.

8. Rex

8. Rex ipſimet landgravio contulit ac permiſit. 1631.

9. Quò dexteriùs autem omnia adminiſtrarentur, & aliquis exercitui afforet, obſervantiæ fœderis (ne, aut huic, aut regis imperio quicquam committeretur adverſum) reique ſimul pecuniariæ intentus; utile viſum, ſummo armorum imperatori fidelem & prudentiâ clarum conſiliarium bellicum adjungere: qui illi, ut legatus ad confœderatos, adhæreret, conſilio opeve juvaret, & providam, ut dictum, omnium rerum curam gereret; cum quo etiam imperator è ſecretioribus quibuſque ſtatum rerum concernentibus, communicatum iret.

10. Quod landgravius haud abs re fore arbitrabatur, id nec regi diſplicuit; videlicet, hominem candidum & rerum intelligentem, legati ordinarii ſeu reſidentis titulo ad regem a landgravio mitti; qui, ut individuus comes, nunquam non eundem ſequeretur, landgravii petita, temporum ſucceſſu emergentia, ad eum deferret, & mutuæ communicationi per literas daret operam. Tandem

11. Rex landgravio alios principes, comites, barones, civitates, ordines, univerſitates in fœdus hoc recipiendi poteſtatem contulit: iiſdem illos legibus admittere, nec minùs, ac ſi cum ipſomet ea de re tractaſſent & tranſegiſſent, flagitantibus aſſiſtere pollicitus. Quod ſi alii eventum demùm rei operire, animum inducerent, & jam fœderatos cum belli periculis luctari ſolos ſinerent, poſt trium menſium decurſum haud potituros ampliùs optimis his conditionibus, ſed ad novos tractatus, & novas conditiones paciſcendas, remiſſum iri.

E. contra Landgravius data fide recepit

1. Eandem ſubire cum rege fortunam, nec eum deſerere, nec ulli tractatui cum illius hoſtibus præbere aures, multo minùs de pace tranſigere; niſi præſcio, volente, & conſentiente rege: ita ut ipſe, ejuſve corona pactis ſimul includeretur; ea penitus calculo ſuo approbaret; tractatui adhibitus, deque eo certior tempore factus foret; et omnia rati habuiſſet.

2. Ut fœderatum regis & clientem, ejuſdem, illiuſve fœderatorum ac regnorum damnum averteret, commodum autem promovere; nulli conſilio aut actioni immiſceri, quæ regi, aut ejus regnis, principatibus, dignitati adverſarentur; fideliter potius illi aſſiſtere, et pro viribus, ad bellum hoc debellandum, milite pecuniave adminiculari: munimenta autem ſua, quantum in ſe foret, communi fœderatorum bono conſervare; hoſtes in ea nequaquam admittere; ſed, quo inde excluderentur, laborare enixè & ſummis viribus.

3. Illa ipſa munimenta, provincias, arces, ac loca tranſitu opportuna, neceſſitate flagitante, regi, cum in adventu, tùm in receptu, abſque tergiverſatione reſerare, et permittere, ut aut ſingulatim, aut cohortatim & turmatim, aut integris legionibus pertranſiret, nec circa illa modò, ſed et in illis ipſiſmet hoſpitaretur. Militem tamen intromiſſum utrique fide addictum eſſe debere, et landgavio ſimul in fœderis hujus articulos ſacramento obligandum: omnemve à rege ac regiis hac in parte captionem abfore.

4. Si quando rex landgravio e copiis ſuis ſubſidio mitteret, jungere ſe illis, eas ſuſcipere; uterque pro alterutrius incolumitate laborare; et in communem hoſtem toto impetu ferri.

5. Exercitum aliquot millium, nulla interpoſita morâ, ſuis cogere impenſis, eundem, quantum poſſibile, citiùs aut ſeriùs, prout occaſio ferret, grandire; ſimul ac in procinctu ſtaret, ſeve, ſuaſve provincias tributo, hoſtibus penſitarii ſolito.

1631. solito, subtrahere; potentiam virefve eorum minuere ac supprimere; militem hostilem, in territorio suo hospitantem, concidere; diribitoria hostium disturbare, et ubicunque locorum posset, tum exigendo tributum, tum urbes, arces, ac loca situ commoda occupando, præsidiove militari firmando, quinimò, si daretur occasio, personas regias in possessionem redigendo, noxam illis inferre ac detrimentum.

6. Si, a rege clade affecti aut profligati in landgravii confinia recepsum quærerent, penitùs eos dissipare ac disjicere; ne coire illic locorum, aut gradum denuò firmare ullatenùs possent.

7. Comites, nobiles, alios quoscunque, seu fines ejus inhabitarent, seu extra eos haberent domicilium, vasallos, cum equestribus, ad quæ intuitu possessionum feudorum obstricti, servitiis, quotiescunque necessitas exigeret, ad regis postulatum & commune utriusque placitum convocare; imo subditos, ubicunque viderentur, viritim ad arma concire, militarive illorum opera, sub regis imperio uti. Quo in articulo rex landgravio vice versa cavit: Si forte vasalli aut reclamare cessarent, aut motatores, affore illi ope sua, in ordinem eos redacturum, pro hostibus habiturum, & privationis pœnam executioni adversùs contumaces fiscum; ita quidem, ut landgravio tanquam domino directo, dominium solum, tectum maneret; utilitas vero, seu reditus feudorum fisco & communi ærario inferrentur. Ubi tamen præstitutum scopum attigissent, aut maturiùs forsan, si inter utrumque de eo conveniret, utile quoque dominium ad dominum directum redundaturum, et cum proprietate consolidatum; landgravium autem a rege hoc in casu propugnatum, nec cuiquam, ejus ingratiis, veniam admissi concessum iri.

8. Cautum, ut neuter ab altero, sumtuum, qui bello gerendo, aut munitionibus exstruendis impenderentur, nomine, quicquam præter id, de quo expresse conventum, posceret, sed uterque conventionis legibus, et communi ærario, brevi instituendo, acquiescerent: pacta quoque hæc reliquis omnibus fœderibus, quæ cum aliis magnatibus, electorumque ac principum familiis essent inita (si hi forte alterutri fœderatorum, hujus fœderis & pice intentionis, animo illis propositæ, intuitu, hostes reddicerentur, aut ipsa fœdera, ut contraria, invicem se destruerent) quantum ipsorum scopum attinet, præferrentur, nec vetustiorum fœderum respectu alter ab altero resilire, nec nova, huic adversantia contrahere animum inducere.

9. Si rex landgravii munimenta, majoris securitatis ergò, novis adjectis operibus, munitiora reddi, & re communi arbitraretur, landgravius non permitteret hoc modò, sed subditos quoque, inevitabili necessitate flagitante, compelleret ad manus operi admovendum.

10. Regiis copiis landgravii ditionem transeuntibus, & illic divertentibus, pedes candelâ & ligno, eques stramine & fœno, servitiorum, quæ vocant, nomine præbitis, contenti, nulla ulterioris flagitationis molestiâ hospites vexarent: modò alia sustentationis media in promtu forent. Extra vero hunc casum, & in hostico, alimenta sua exinde, secundùm commune utriusque arbitrium, miles quæreret.

11. Si in landgravii territorio militum diribitoria instituere ratio boni publici necessariò exigeret, id quod landgravium æquo passurum animo: ultra duos tamen cum dimidio avenæ modios in equos singulos, unâ cum sex straminis margitibus, & fœni vehe, ipsisque equitibus, equitumve ductoribus, cujuscunque

que

que conditionis, loco alimentorum, ultra duos Joachimicos, usque ad armilu- 1631.
strium, quot mensibus minimè præbitum iri.

12. Rege arma in Austriam, aut aliàs in hosticum transferente, et hostem illic, ne fœderatorum terras infestare posset, occupante, landgravium tot militum millibus, quot securitate propria salva liceret, subsidio ei affuturum; militemve hunc communi utriusque impensâ sustentandum.

13. Quod si a rege unum, alterumve locum, extra illa, que pertinerent ad landgravium, aut in quibus jus aliquod haberet, expugnari contingeret, regi, donec de expensis eidem satisfieret, landgravium in manibus illa relicturum, & ne adversarii rursus evincerent, sedulam unà cum rege daturum operam.

14. Controversiâ aut lite intær federatos subortâ, duos a rege arbitros, & totidem neutri parti obnoxios, a landgravio nominandos; qui de tertio conveniant. Horum fidei negotium committendum: proposita pactorum formulâ, & in medium adductis, quæ causæ decisioni facere videantur. Quicquid autem hi æquum judicaverint, eo utrumque contentum fore, & acquieturum.

15. De transfugio utrinque conventum: ne quis alterius ductores, equites, pedites, aut facinorosos etiam, transfugientes, in stipendia sua reciperet, aut ullatenus toleraret; sed si quis ejus notæ, ubiubi tandem, seu intra seu extra jurisdictionis terminos, deprehenderetur, cujuscunque ordinis aut dignationis, in vincula conjicerent, deliteſcentes quoque summa industria, quantum pote, indagarent, alter alterum de iis redderent certiores, & comprehensos pœnis militaribus afficerent. Subditos autem, si qui, criminis hujus rei, pœnæ se subtrahere effugio niterentur, honorum, tribuum, jurium omnium ac bonorum privatione quisque eorum mulctaret, nec ullum, nisi alterius consensu, in integrum restitueret. Demum, ultimo, landgravius pollicebatur, primo quoque tempore contra subditos ac vasallos suos, hosti stipendia merentes, acerrima promulgare mandata avocatoria, confiscationis bonorum, tam allodialium, quam feudalium, amissionis insuper vitæ ac honoris pænâ præstituta: illaque stricte & rigide exsequi, si unus alterve, cujuscunque dignitatis aut conditionis, morem his gerere differret, præterlabi pateretur.

Werbenæ, pridié Iduum Augusti, 1631.

XXIV.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS Dei gratia SUECORUM, GOTHORUM, VANDALORUMQUE REX, magnus Princeps FINLANDIÆ, DUX ESTONIÆ et CARELIÆ, nec non INGRIÆ Dominus, Sereniſſimo & Potentiſſimo Principi Domino Carolo Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ.

SERENISSIME princeps, frater, consanguinee & amice chariſſime. Cum quæ serenitatis vestræ in rem communem et ergà nos constans propensio est; certi sumus ex illis, quæ nobis prosperè, et bono periclitantis rei Christianæ evenirent, serenitatem vestram partem sibi quoque sumere, intermittere noluimus,

1631. mus, quin de memorabili quam divina benignitas nobis (hiſce diebus) largita eſt victoriâ, vos certiores rederemus. Poſtquàm armis noſtris ſua elector Saxoniæ junxit, nobis cum utroque exercitu contra hoſtem progreſſis, hoſtilis exercitus generalis illius univerſas copias ſuas è caſtris Lypſicis ad Mileſimum lapidem eductas, ſeptimâ die Septembris oppoſuit. Prælio incepto magnâ contentione per 4 amplius horas res utrimque acta eſt, donec ſingulari Dei beneficio, hoſtilis exercitus (virtute indefeſsâ noſtrorum) in fugam verſus diſſipatuſque eſt; noſtris fugientem ſub mænia uſque urbis proſequis, tormenta ac res armamentariæ hoſtis nobis ceſſeret erepta ei vexilla derelicta à conturbato ad Lypſica caſtra cum impedimentis. Generalis accepto vulnere in epiſcopatum Halberſtadenſem diſceſſit; iis, quos deinceps inſequi ſumus gratiæ noſtræ et militiæ relictis. Occiſi ex hoſtibus in loco pugnæ jacuere plurimi, cum illis generalis vigilum, aliique apud hoſtem præfecti. Inter captivorum aliquot millia dux Holſtatiæ, & ex præcipuis alii, quorum ſucceſſuum laudes cum Deo optimo maximo tanquam authori debeantur, ejuſque divinæ benignitati tribuendum meritò ſit quod nunc non ſolum illa tot millium votis hactenus expetita reſtituendæ religionis et libertatis ſpes, ſed et erigendi afflictam regis Bohemiæ cauſam facilitas affulgeat. Non diffidimus quin ſerenitas veſtra non tantum gaudio et affectu proſequendam hanc victoriam, ſed etiam tam pulchrâ occaſione utendum, et omnia huc deinceps conferenda eſſe judicatura, atque ipſi rei Chriſtianæ ſuorumque ſaluti, heroicis ſuis conſiliis auxiliiſque conſultura regio ſtudio ſit. In nobis amplius aliquid deſiderari non patiemur, ſerenitatem vero veſtram divinæ protectioni ad auſpicata rerum omnium incrementa commendamus. Dat Halæ Saxonum 13 Sept. 1631.

Bonus frater et conſanguineus

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

XXV.

The famous *Armiſtice*, or *Treaty of Neutrality*, accorded by GUSTAVUS at the Interceſſion of FRANCE, to *the Princes of the League.*

[N. B. Having never been able to ſee the original of this treaty, we have thought it more proper to give the Engliſh tranſlation thereof made in the year 1632, than render into modern language the French tranſlation publiſhed in the ſame year, and preſerved by the author of the *Mercure* Francois *; ſince *that* ed. only proves to be the verſion of a verſion, and might depart ſtill more and more from the firſt meaning.]

HIS ſacred majeſty of Sweden, taking ſpecial notice of the deſire which the duke of Bavaria and the Catholic Leaguers have for obtaining a Neutrality; although by their making themſelves parties with the emperor in the

* Tom. XVIII. p. 135, &c.

wars,

wars, they had deſerved nothing of him but hoſtility: yet upon the earneſt interceſſion of the moſt chriſtian king preſented by his ambaſſadors; and to teſtify withal his own brotherly affection unto him; he is contented to conclude the Neutrality, upon theſe following conditions: 1631.

1. Let this Neutrality be religiouſly and inviolably kept with his ſacred majeſty of Sweden, his kingdoms, dominions and ſubjects, as well thoſe that are hereditary to him, as thoſe that have in Germany been conquered by him: as alſo with his confederates, the electors, princes, nobles, cities, common-wealths, commonalties and ſtates, and with the elector of Saxony in particular; by the duke of Bavaria and his aſſociates the catholic princes and ſtates of Germany: who ſhall alſo give ſufficient caution unto his majeſty for the ſure keeping of it. The true articles of the Neutrality. The king in eſpecial (I ſuppoſe) means Franconia; which himſelf incorporated and made a dukedom.

2. Let the ſaid duke of Bavaria and the catholick princes of Germany his conderates, forbear all acts of injury and hoſtility; both towards His ſacred majeſty of Sweden, his army and dominions now in his poſſeſſion; and towards his confederates the evangelical electors, princes, earls, nobles, cities, commonalties, ſtates, and all other evangelical profeſſors of what condition ſoever: and let them not by their ſoldiers be troubleſome hereafter unto them in their dominions, upon any pretext whatſoever; nor ſuffer them to be diſturbed by any forces of the emperor's. Yea his ſoldiers alſo called Mentz, the dukedom of Mentz, more frequently the biſhoprick of Mentz.

3. Let the duke of Bavaria and the ſaid catholick princes of Germany, as many as are of the League, reſtore unto the evangelical princes and ſtates of what condition ſoever, all and ſingular ſtrengths, fortreſſes, caſtles, cities, territories and countries how many ſoever, which in all the time of this war, begun in the year 1618, they have taken and kept from the evangelics in the Lower Saxony: and leave them in the ſame ſtate they were in, before the beginning of the war.

4. Let the duke of Bavaria, with the catholic princes of Germany his confederates, withdraw all their armies out of the countries of the evangelical electors, princes, and ſtates, ſo ſoon as may be; ſending for the ſoldiers into their own territories.

5. Let the army of the duke of Bavaria, and of the catholick princes of Germany his confederates, be reduced to the number of 10000 or 12000 men: all the reſt being preſently caſhiered. Which army, let it be diſtributed and enquartered here and there among the cities and proper dominions of the ſaid princes, and not be kept together in one entire body.

6. The duke of Bavaria and his aſſociates, the ſaid catholick princes of Germany, ſhall not with the ſaid ſoldiers (being either caſhiered or diſtributed among their territories) give aſſiſtance either openly or under-hand, unto the emperor or any other prince, enemy unto his ſacred majeſty of Sweden.

7. Nor let the duke of Bavaria and his confederates the catholic princes of Germany, give leave unto the houſe of Auſtria or any other whatſoever enemy of his ſacred majeſty of Sweden; to raiſe ſoldiers, appoint places of muſter or rendezvous, buy up arms, or make any other military proviſions within their dominions: but let them every where obſerve an inviolate and ſincere Neutrality.

8. Let all their paſſages be without deceit either open to either party, or ſhut up as it ſhall be agreed upon; provided it be without all injury and damage unto the owner.

1631. IX. His ſacred majeſty of Sweden with his confederates in like manner, ſhall in no ways offend the duke of Bavaria, nor any prince or ſtate of the catholick league, whoſe dominions he is not yet maſter of, excepting only the biſhop of Bamberg, nor ſhall he lay any other kind of military impoſitions upon them, but ſhall keep and obſerve a ſincere neutrality with them.

The biſhop of Bamberg excepted out of the treaty.

X. All thoſe places of the Lower Palatinate whatſoever, now taken away from the duke of Bavaria, will his ſacred majeſty reſtore unto the ſaid duke of Bavaria again; until by the mediation of the kings of Great-Britain and France, there be ſome friendly compoſition made betwixt the duke and the prince Palatine, for which ſome ſhort day ſhall be appointed. So likewiſe will his majeſty reſtore unto the arch-biſhops of Triers and Cologn, whatſoever places are taken from them, the city of Spiers and the places now remaining unto it, being left * intire unto itſelf.

By the landgrave of Heſſe, in Cologn's biſhoprick of Paderborn.

XI. All other countries and places of the catholick princes and ſtates (beſides thoſe forenamed) already poſſeſſed by his ſacred majeſty, ſhall not the duke of Bavaria, nor the catholick princes of Germany his confederates, make demand of again, in any kind, either by themſelves or by others, but ſhall leave them in his majeſty's hands until ſome general treaty.

*Salvâ civitate Spirenſi, ſibique relictâ.

XII. All ſtates, princes, earls, nobles, cities, and commonalties evangelical whoſoever will, may be under the protection of his ſacred majeſty of Sweden; nor ſhall they to the prejudice of the ſaid protection be diſturbed any manner of way, either directly or indirectly, by the ſaid catholick princes of Germany.

XIII. Let all commerce with his ſacred majeſty of Sweden, his ſubjects and evangelical confederates on the one party, and with the duke of Bavaria, and the catholick princes of Germany, his confederates on the other party, be free and open every where, and no ways hindered.

XIV. Let all priſoners on both ſides be delivered without ranſom, and in particular, let the adminiſtrator of Magdenburg, taken by Tilly, be forthwith ſet at liberty, without prejudice.

XV. For the better ſecurity, ſhall the moſt chriſtian king of France engage his royal word, that the duke of Bavaria, and all other catholick princes, ſtates, and cities of Germany his confederates, ſhall religiouſly obſerve this neutrality in all the articles of it, which if they ſhall infringe, then ſhall he declare himſelf for his ſacred majeſty of Sweden, and fall with all his power upon the violaters, until he hath compelled them unto ſatisfaction.

XXVI.

XXVI.

The SUBSCRIPTION of the French Ambaſſadors to the *treaty of neutrality* *.

NOUS ſoubſignez ambaſſadeurs du tres-chreſtien roy de France, ſçavoir faiſons, que le ſereniſſime & tres-puiſſant prince & ſeigneur Guſtave Adolphe par la grace de Dieu roy de Suede, &c. ayant voulu comprendre dans le traicté public de la neutralité avec l'electeur de Baviere, & la ligue catholique, que tout ce qui avoit eſté pris par droict de guerre par les dits electeurs & ligue catholique, ſur les princes & eſtats proteſtants & evangelique tant en la haute Allemagne qu'en la Baſſe Saxe, & qui eſt occupée parles garriſons des dits duc de Baviere & la ligue catholique, ſeroit rendu à tous les ſeigneurs & precedens poſſeſſeurs evangeliques: nous, pour eviter certains ſcrupules qui euſſent peu en provenir, & apporter difficulté à l'entretenement du traicté de la dite neutralité, avons de faire retrencher des articles du dit traicté, la caution & l'aſſeurance promiſe au nom du roy tres-chreſtien noſtre ſeigneur, & que nonobſtant cette clauſe tout ce qui avoit eſté pri par droict de guerre & eſtoit occupé par les garriſons du duc de Baviere & de la ligue catholique, ſur les prince & eſtats evangeliques & proteſtans, comme s'il eſtoit nommement ſtipulé & accordé par les actes du dit traicté, ſeroit rendu, & reſtitué auſdits evangeliques & proteſtans, auſquels il auroit eſté oſté: & pourtant nous promettons au nom du roy tres-chreſtien noſtre ſeigneur, que ſa dite majeſté royale fera en ſorte, que la reſtitution deſdits lieux pris par droict de guerre ſur les princes & eſtats evangeliques, ſera faite tout ainſi que ſile meſme avoit eſté promis par les articles de la neutralité: excepté toutes fois les lieux & places qui auparavant appartenoient au duc de Baviere en l'un & l'autre Palatinat. En foy de quoy &c. 1631.

A Mayence le 19 de Jan. 1632, St. Vet.

XXVII.

The KING's letter to GUSTAVUS HORN, (and probably to all his other generals) concerning *the Armiſtice* †.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, by the grace of God, king of the Swedes, &c. Right truſty and well beloved, &c. we will not conceal from you, how that the king of France hath made a kind brotherly ſuit unto us, by his ambaſſadors, for a neutrality betwixt us, and the elector of Bavaria and the catholick league. Foraſmuch as we have thereupon framed certain articles, and delivered

* Mercure Franc. tom. XVIII. p. 139, &c.

† From the copy printed in London 1632, 4to. Mercure François, tom. XVIII. p. 134.

1631. the ſame to the ſaid ambaſſadors, who have promiſed to bring us within the ſpace of fourteen days, a plain declaration and confirmation thereupon; and in the mean while, by virtue of their power to take order, that Pappenheim ſhall forthwith withdraw himſelf with his troops out of Weſtphalia and the biſhoprick of Magdeburg, and likewiſe, that the forces of the electors of Bavaria and of the catholick league, ſhould forthwith be called and drawn out of Bohemia, if any there ſhould be. For this reaſon, and for the furtherance of ſuch a work, and to gratify withal our ſaid good brother the king of France: we have thought good to yield them ſo ſmall a time, and to abſtain from all hoſtility, during the ſaid fourteen days, againſt the ſaid catholick league and the duke of Bavaria: if ſo be that (according to the ſaid promiſe) they do behave themſelves in like manner, withdraw their forces, and uſe no hoſtility againſt us, whereof we do hereby give you notice: and withal do will and command you, forthwith to publiſh this ſaid ceſſation of arms for fourteen days, throughout the army which you do command, (to which end we have diſpatched this trumpet unto you) and thereupon to ceaſe and abſtain from all hoſtility, pillage, robbing, and other deeds of enmity, againſt the ſaid elector of Bavaria and the catholick league, and during the ſaid time to remain quiet *. But yet we have expreſsly excepted (as the ſaid ambaſſadors do know) and we do intend, that ſuch towns, places, and caſtles, which are now by us beſieged and blocked up, ſhall ſo remain beſieged and blocked up; and that the beſieged ſhall have liberty during the ſaid time, to treat, conclude, and compound with us, to deliver up the ſaid places, and to depart from thence according to the agreement that ſhall be made with them. This you are to obſerve, and to govern yourſelf accordingly. And if ſome one or other place be at this preſent by you beſieged or blocked up, you are by no means to remove or depart from the ſame, but rather to continue and finiſh the deſign, with all your beſt endeavours, as being a thing no ways contrary unto the ſaid ceſſation of arms by us granted, &c. Given at Hoëchſt the 10th of January, 1631.

XXVIII.

TRAICTE' de Loüis XIII. roy de France, &c. avec PHILIPPES CHRISTOFLE archeveſque de TREVES, electeur & eveſque de SPIRE: Par lequel le roy s'oblige d'aſſiſter ledit electeur, contre ceux qui le voudront opprimer; *& de plus, de faire ſortir deſdits archevéché & evéché les gens de guerre du roy de* SUEDE. A Ehrenbreiſtein, l'an 1632, le 9 Avril.

NOS Philippus Chriſtophorus Dei gratia archiepiſcopus Trevirenſis, ac princeps elector, epiſcopus Spirenſis, adminiſtrator Prumienſis perpetuus, & præpoſitus Weiſſemburgenſis, & Ludovicus de Brianſon de la Saludie, magiſter

* Pourveuu qve le duc de Baviére ſe comporte de meſme. Merc. Franç.

de

de campo chriſtianiſſimæ regiæ majeſtatis Franciæ, cum plenipotentia miſſus legatus; notum facimus atque fatemur: poſtquàm chriſtianiſſima regia majeſtas ſe intra ſereniſſimum & potentiſſimum regem Sueciæ, ac ſereniſſimos, illuſtriſſimos ac reverendiſſimos electores principes, alioſque catholicæ unionis ſtatus, pro ſalute ac pace publica in Germania reintegranda ac reſtabilienda uti mediatorem, fide juſſorem ac ſponſorem interpoſuit, illa intentione ut neutralitas in regiam majeſtatem Sueciæ, & prædictos unionis catholicæ ſtatus erigeretur, quæ neutralitas à parte utraque non fuerit concluſa, approbata & confirmata, ſed potius contrariis factis caſſata, idcirco nos cum regiæ majeſtatis Franciæ legato ſupradicto, ſequentes pacis articulos concluſimus, approbavimus, ſigilliſque noſtris & manuum ſubſcriptione munivimus, ſequentis tenoris. 1632.

I. Nos Philippus Chriſtophorus archiepiſcopus Trevirenſis & princeps elector, in manus & cuſtodiam chriſtianiſſimæ regiæ majeſtatis Galliarum fortalitium de Ehrenbreiſtein noſtræ archidiœceſis Trevirenſis primum deponemus eo uſque donec pax generalis in Germania ſit concluſa; ex tunc enim chriſtianiſſima regia majeſtas militem abducat, ac dictum fortalitium in liberas noſtras noſtrorumque ſucceſſorum manus in eo ſtatu quo tempore depoſitionis inductioniſque militis fuit, iterum tradat & reſtituat.

II. Pro qua cuſtodia & aſſiſtentia chriſtianiſſima regia majeſtas mille peditum & centum equitum ſelectorum Gallorum mittet, ut ingrediantur ſupradictum fortalitium.

III. Qua militia ita introducta ex Chriſtianiſſimæ majeſtatis permiſſione & mandato, quod in ſimul tranſmittetur nobis jurabit.

IV. Rogamus tamen chriſtianiſſimam regiam majeſtatem, ut eadem propter devaſtationem modernam archiepiſcopatus Trevirenſis, ad ſuſtinendum militem tertiam partem expenſarum & ſtipendiorum eo uſque exſolvere dignetur donec ſubditi noſtri contributiones neceſſarias præbere poſſint & valeant.

V. Et ad ſtatim atque depoſitum fuerit ſupra nominatum fortalitium, chriſtianiſſima regia majeſtas ex archiepiſcopatu Trevirenſi exturbabit, expulſabitque non ſolum copias regiæ majeſtatis Sueciæ, ſed & omnes alias quas tum inveniat; in quem effectum expreſſam ordinantiam ante ingreſſum pro majori aſſecuratione oſtendet, curabitque & omnia loca ſatrapiæ, civitates, pagi & territoria occupata quantocius deoccupentur, milites in totum abducantur, ac ad liberas noſtras manus tradantur; ac conditione ut iiſdem in locis ceſſis, aut deoccupatis nos uti ante occupationem diſponere, proprioque militi ibidem quarterium abſque ullo impedimento concedere poſſimus.

VI. Eadem regia majeſtas chriſtianiſſima non ſolum predicto modo noſtrum fortalitium Ehrenbreiſtein cuſtodiat, ſed etiam nobis noſtriſque ſubditis, contra hoſtilitates, oppreſſiones offenſioneſque reali aſſiſtentia ſuccurret, omnia quartiria & preſſuras avertet, omnibuſque quibus poteſt modis ac viis defendet.

VII. Quo in caſu chriſtianiſſima majeſtas ex regia liberalitate ſumptus expendet, nec à nobis pluſquam ſubditi territoriumque noſtrum Trevirenſe in commeatu præſtare poſſint poſtulabit, neque ullam aliam actionem contra noſtram archidiœceſin, nos ac ſucceſſores noſtros in futurum prætendet.

VIII. Et quam primum fortalitium Ehrenbreiſtein prædicto modo cuſtoditum, & reliqua juxta articulos præmiſſos aſſecurata fuerint, tunc ſupra poſitis conditionibus eodemque plane modo nos fortalitium noſtrum Philipſburgum in chriſtianiſſimæ majeſtatis manus depoſitum, mille peditibus & centum equitibus

ſelectis

1632. ſelectis intromiſſis, quoque trademus; ita tamen ut ſupradicto modo totus epiſcopatus Spirenſis, ac omnia loca ſatrapiæ, civitates, pagi, & territoria ex tunc quantocius à regia majeſtate Sueciæ ejuſque adhærentibus deoccuperentur, milites in totum abducantur, ac ad liberas noſtras manus tradantur, hoc modo ut nos iiſdem in locis ceſſis & deoccupatis uti ante occupationem diſponere, proprioque militi ibidem quartirium abſque ullo impedimento concedere poſſimus.

IX. Eadem quoque chriſtianiſſima regia majeſtas non ſolum, uti predictum noſtrum fortalitium Philipſburgum cuſtodiet, ſed etiam nobis noſtriſque ſubditis contra hoſtilitates oppreſſioneſque quaſcunque reali aſſiſtentia ſuccurret, omniaque quartiria & preſſuras avertet, omnibuſque quibus poteſt modis ac viis defendet.

X. Hæc tamen cum clauſula ut in utroque fortalitio cum aulicis noſtris, ordinaria guardia & cancellaria noſtra pro libitu noſtro manere, ibique rebus noſtris vacare poſſimus.

XI. Ulterius caſu quo metropolis noſtra civitas Trevirenſis à milite regiæ majeſtatis Sueciæ occuparetur, tunc illa ad manus noſtras mediante chriſtianiſſima majeſtate tradenda erit, ac in eandem nullum aliud præſidium quam noſtrum prædicto modo plane iiſdem ſub conditionibus introducatur ac ſuſtenteur.

XII. Ultimo tranſitus omnes utrique parti militanti ſine fraude ſint aperti, ſine injuria & damno proprietarii.

Igitur nos Philippus Chriſtophorus archiepiſcopus Trevirenſis ac princeps elector promittimus obſervare, & obſervari facere ſincerè, realiter & cum effectu, abſque aliqua ſiniſtra interpretatione, & ego Ludovicus de Brianſon Baro de la Saludie, magiſter de campo chriſtianiſſimæ regiæ majeſtatis cum plenipotentia legatus miſſus, prædictos articulos nomine ejuſdem chriſtianiſſimæ majeſtatis totidem verbis pro more ſtipulatus ſum, polliceorque me certò effecturum chriſtianiſſimam regiam majeſtatem omnes & ſingulos articulos & conditiones, uti & hanc noſtram concluſionem, ſubſcriptionem ac ſigillationem, manu propria & ſigillo regio confirmaturam, realique aſſiſtentia adimpleturam. In quorum fidem has præſentes propriis manibus ſubſcripſimus, & ſigillo noſtro communivimus.

Acta conventaque hæc omnia in fortalitio noſtro Ehrenbreiſtiniano, die nona menſis Aprilis, 1632, ainſi ſigné, Philippus Chriſtophorus archiepiſcopus Trevirenſis, & la Saludie, avec le cachet dudit ſieur electeur.

XXIX.

ODE ſur la mort du GRAND GUSTAVE. Par M. ARNAUD D'ANDILLY.

I.

PLUS vîte que l'eclair, plus craint que le tonnere
Portant avec moi la terreur & la mort,
J'ay paſſé comme un Mars des rivage du nord
Par tout où m'appelloit la juſtice & la guerre.

II. 1632.

L'Allemagne m'a vû briſer comme du verre
Tout ce qui s'opoſoit à mon puiſſant effort;
Et mon ſecours fatal lui ſervit de ſuport
Lorſqu'il ne ſembloit plus qu'elle en eût ſur la terre.

III.

Le plus ſage au conſeil, le premier aux hazards;
Mes vertus ont terni le luſtre des Céſars,
Et rendu l'univers étonné de ma gloire.

Quel ſiécle vit jamais un ſi grand conquérant?
Vivant j'ay triomphé, je triomphe en mourant,
Et choiſis pour tombeau le champ de ma victoire.

FINIS.

INDEX.

N. B. Articles with this mark * after them refer to the notes.

When figures follow I. and II. they refer to the reſpective volume.

A.

ADMINISTRATOR of Magdeburg, a note concerning him, I. 301—Treats with GUSTAVUS, 239—Well received by his people, 240—Behaves gallantly during the ſiege, 306—His bold ſpeech to Tilly, 307—Carried over the empire as a trophy, II. 28—Ungrateful to Sweden, and turns catholic, 3, 74—Attempts to reconcile GUSTAVUS and the emperor, 231.

——— of Wirtemberg treats with the Swedes, I. 425—Acts againſt Montecuculi, II. 271.

AINSA (don Joſeph) protects Theodanus and his wife, I. 318—Killed, 415.

ALBERT (prince of Poland) made biſhop of Warmia at 12 years old, I. 63.

ALDRINGAR (John, baron de) leads an army to join Tilly, I. 371—An account of his riſe and parts, 371, 372*—Unites himſelf with Tilly, II. 4—Behaves gallantly at the battle of the Lech, 145—Hath his temples grazed by a cannon ball, II. 146—His death, I. 172.*—Over-reaches GUSTAVUS by ſtratagem, 236, 237—Hiſtoriographer of the empire, Eſſay 24—Originally a valet de chambre, Eſſay 30.

ALIGHERI, conſpires againſt the king's life, I. 228, 229—Has not courage to ſhoot him, ibid.—Eſcapes at Damin, 269—Killed at Magdeburg, 305.

ALTENBERG, (vid. Battles) attended with no one event, II. 245.

AMBUSCADOS, ſee STRATAGEMS.

ANER, a Saxon lieutenant, enters Franckfort by Scalado; well rewarded, I. 279.

ANHALT (Lewis prince of) made governor of Halle, &c. I. 430.

——— (Erneſt) killed at Lützen. II. 337.

——— (Caſpar) grandmaſter of the Teutonic order, flies, I. 436.

——— (Princes of) treat with the king, 422.

ANHALTINE cancellaria, a book ſo called, and why? I. 159. II. 68.

ANHOLT (count) not to be confounded with Anhalt, I. 191.*

ANSTRUTHER (ſir Robert) ambaſſador to GUSTAVUS, I. 22. and FERDINAND the ſecond, 190—In the Daniſh intereſts, 22—Appears at Ratiſbon, and performs little, 190, 192, 198, 350. II. 63, &c.—His abject oration at Vienna, I. 195, 198. [See the Original in the Appendix.]

APPELMAN, a Dantzic admiral, killed, I. 99.

ARCHERS, why uſed by GUSTAVUS, I. 98.

ARMIES (great ones) diſliked by GUSTAVUS, d'Alva, and Turenne, Eſſay 13—Falſely encouraged by the French and Engliſh, ibid.

ARMISTICE, of 14 days, II. 92—Its hiſtory, ibid. and 95. [See the Original in the Appendix.]

ARMY (Engliſh auxiliary), its number, I. 358—Alarms Germany unduly, ibid.—Ill troops, that ſoon dwindled to nothing, 366.

———(Saxon) too fantaſtic in dreſs, I. 383.

———(Swediſh) remarks on its excellence, I. 176, &c.

ARNHEIM (John George) general and prime director to the elector of Saxony, inſincere to the Polanders, I. 135, 139—Full account of his artifices, hiſtory, and character, 296, 297*—Receives ſtrange orders from Walſtein about driving GUSTAVUS out of Poland, 125—Withdraws his army, 135—Joins Conoſpoliſki, and fights GUSTAVUS, 127—Negotiates with GUSTAVUS, 376—Suſpected as a ſoldier, 381—As a ſtateſman, II. 199—His fine retreat, ibid.—Promiſed vaſt rewards to become falſe, 287—Over-reaches Dubalt, 288—His baſeneſs after the king's death, ibid.—Writes a ſuſpicious letter, ibid.—Fearful to ſell his maſter, ibid.—Inſincere to Sweden in Bohemia, 178—and Sileſia, 256, 257—Again, 259—Confers with Oxenſtiern at the diet of Torgau, 189.—His inſincerity, 288—Yet refuſes an high bribe, 287—Suſpected by his maſter, 288—Eſcapes, 287, &c.

ARQUEBUSE A CROC; a ſort of muſquet about 10 feet long, with a reſt or hook to faſten it.

ARTILLERY, the great quantity GUSTAVUS poſſeſſed, I. 170.

AUCHI (baron de) Spaniſh ambaſſador traverſes GUSTAVUS in Poland, I. 100, 101, &c.
AUGSBURG; its confeſſion, II. 136. *
AUSTRIA; rebellion of the peaſants there, Eſſay 37. II. 253, &c.
AUSTRIANS encouraged Sigiſmond originally, I. 39—Send him military aſſiſtances, 95, 143—Ruined their affairs by diſbanding their veterans, 259—Again, 413—And after the peace of Utrecht, ibid. *.

B.

BAGNI (Cardinal) negotiates between France and Bavaria, II. 68.
BAMBERG, a prelate of duplicity, I. 437.
BANIER reſcues GUSTAVUS, I. 6.
——(John) knighted for his bravery, I. 54—Commands a part of the fleet, 174—Takes Dam, 221, and Gripſwald, 327—Blockades Wolgaſt, 228—Aſſiſts at the treaty of Bernwalt, 262, &c.—Storms Havelberg, 257—Treats Hamilton haughtily, 262—Blockades Magdeburg, ibid. &c.—Joins GUSTAVUS before the battle of Leipſic, 382—The heroiſm of his wife, II. 192—His fine retreat, 199, and 249 *—Shot in the arm, 236—Loved from a child by the king, and why? 258—A conſummate general, 249 *—His fine retreat, ibid.—His whimſical marriage, ibid.—Raiſes the ſiege of Rayne, 304.
BAPTISTA (John) beheaded for conſpiring againſt the king's life, I. 230.
BARRE (le) his hiſtory commended, II. 112 *—Highly commended, 314.
BATTAGLIA (ſerjeant major di battaglia) his office and employment, Eſſay 20. *
BATTLES.
——between GUSTAVUS and young Sapieha, I. 70
——between the ſame and old Sapieha at Walhoff, 71.
——between GUSTAVUS and Sigiſmond near Dirſchau, 85.
——Again, 94.
——Of Mew, 86, 87.
——between GUSTAVUS and Conoſpoliſki, 98.
——Again at Marienverder, 127, &c.
——Again, 134, &c.
——two fought by Wrangel, 109.
——of Colbergen, ſtrangely circumſtanced, 247, 250.
——of Werben, 343, 347.
——of Leipſic, 388, 415.
——of Bamberg, II. 119, 121.
——of the Lech, 137, 149.
——of Freyſtadt, 224, 226.
——Altenberg, 237, 245.
——of Lignitz, 258.
——of Maeſtricht, 264, 268.
——Lützen, 317, 336.
——(Sea) between the Swedes and Dantzickers, I. 96, 99, 105.
BAVARIA (Maximilian, elector) not over-reached by France, I. 137—Wanted to procure the whole Palatin library, 79, &c.—Some account of him, 211 *—A politician of the firſt claſs, 157—Wrote Latin extremely well, 211—His vaſt expences at the diet of Ratiſbon, 191 *—Helps to degrade Walſtein, 211, &c.—Receives a letter from Pappenheim, 286—Holds a diet at Ingoldſtadt, II. 83—Deſerts France, ibid.—Sends Pappenheim 15000 l. iii.—Declines acting vigorouſly at the battle of the Lech, 147—His artful manifeſto, 180—Flies from the king at Munich, 170—Enters the upper Palatinate, 198—Diſſembles exquiſitely with Walſtein, 295—Complains of his vaſt expences, ibid.
——(Albert, duke of) treats fruitleſsly with the king, II. 158—diſſatisfied with Walſtein, 295.
BAUDITZEN, makes a miſtake in a battle, I. 273—His bravery, ibid. and at Werben, 345—Storms Piritz, 264, and Werben, 337—Takes Colbergen, 273—Diſcovers an aſſaſſin againſt GUSTAVUS, 343—His fortunate marriage, 431 *—Diſgraced for plundering, ibid.—His campaign in lower Saxony, II. 269, &c.—Flies before Pappenheim, 292—Compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Paderborn, 291.
BAUMGARTEN (an imperial general) killed at Leipſic, I. 415.
BIRKENFIELD (Palatin of) commands when the king left Bavaria, II. 289, 299—Retakes Landſberg, 304.
BERNARDI (ſecretary to Tilly) treats with the Saxons, I. 373—Taken priſoner, 415.
BERNSTEIN (colonel) a brave officer killed, I. 389.
BETHLEM (Gabriel) brings the Turks on Poland, I. 39—His capriciouſneſs, bizarrery, and unaccountable hiſtory, 171 *—Betrays the elector Palatin, 205.
BLACKSMITH (boldneſs of one) made burgomaſter of Landſberg, I. 286.
BORTIUS (colonel) fortifies Colbergen, I. 273—Killed at the battle of Altenberg, II. 242.
BOHEMIA (king) ſee ELECTOR PALATIN.
——— (queen) ſee ELECTRESS PALATIN.
BOTVID, firſt chaplain to GUSTAVUS, I. 87.
BRAHÉ, (Tycho) his predictions concerning GUSTAVUS, I. 30. * II. 300.
———, (count) behaves well at Dirſchau, I. 85.
BRANDEIS, defends Hanau well, II. 12.
BRANDENBURG (George William, elector of) his character, I. 46 *—Allowed by GUSTAVUS ſix months to conſider, 108—Has a private interview

view with him, 288—Again, 322, &c.—Makes difficulties about Cuſtrin and Spandau, 288—Matters compoſed by the ladies, 288, 289—Pleads poverty, 189—Privately favours Gustavus, 77—Yet ſhy and cold, 289—Redemands Spandau, 311, 321—Sends Arnheim to treat, 322—Withdraws before the battle of Leipſic, 381—His eſcape when a caſtle was falling, 256.

——(Electreſs) negotiates with Gustavus, Eſſay 26. I. 289.

——(Margrave) negotiates with the king, I. 425.

Braunborn, his prophecy, II. 300.

Bremen (archbiſhop) treats with the king, I. 262. —Some account of his conduct, II. 2. *

Brezé (de) French ambaſſador—Sent to Mentz, II. 63, 65—Exaſperates the king, by propoſing an interview with Richelieu, 91—Negotiates the Armiſtice, 71, 92—Intercedes for the Leaguers, 94—Hath worſe intelligence than Gustavus, ibid.

Brigade or Columns of Gustavus, I. 390, 393, 396. II. 326, &c.—New brigades made, 13—Reduced in quantity, 14—Expired ſoon after the death of Gustavus, 328.

Brulart, French ambaſſador at Ratiſbon, I. 190—His buſineſs, 207.

Brunswic, (duke) treats with Sweden, I. 422.

Bucela (Innocentio) diſcovers the king's body II. 342.

Buchanan, his poems admired by Gustavus, I. 81.

Buckingham (duke) ſuppoſed to have made a romantic ſcheme of ſettling in the Weſt Indies under the protection of Gustavus, I. 76*—Ambaſſador to the Hague, ibid.—Some anecdotes concerning his peculgace, ibid.—Shows ſpirit in a letter to Richelieu, 76, 77.

Burnet, (biſhop) author apologiſes for diſagreeing with him, I. 348.

Butler, (colonel Walter) makes a fine reſiſtance at Franckfort, I. 280—Taken priſoner, ibid.

C.

Cadretta, Spaniſh ambaſſador to Dreſden, II. 16.—His rhodomontade of a memorial, 17.

Callenbach (colonel) killed at Leipſic, I. 415.

Camerarius, makes a fine Speech of the reking's dictating at the Hague, I. 244, 245. See Appendix.

Camisado, what? I. 18. *

Camisados, ſee Stratagems and Surprises. —By the Danes on the Swedes, I. 18. —On an iſland by Gustavus, 6.
—On Stutgard, 222.
—Ribnitz, 234.
—Rugenwalt, 253.
—Malchin, 264.
—Ratzburg, 242.
—On the Imperialiſts by Braun, 265.
—Havelberg, by Banier, 337.
—Of Horn on the Imperialiſts, II. 121.
—Of Dewbatel on Freyſtadt, 223, &c.

Campaign (a good campaign), one judicious predispoſition of events, I. 341. II. 291, 298.
——Winter one preferred by Gustavus, I. 252.
——What conſtitutes a good one, II. 275.

Carua (Ferdinando di) his brave defence of Gartz, I. 254—His ſuperſtition, ibid.

Carlsbad, its famous baths, II. 37.

Carve (Thomas), an account of his curious itinerary, II. 39. *

Cham (a Town in the upper Palatinate) The mock-Guſtavus takes the Pſeudo-Tilly priſoner there, I. 334, 335.

Chaplains, two to each Swediſh regiment, Eſſay, 6.

Chappelle, (the father) a Swediſh colonel, I. 54.
——(the ſon) killed at Riga, ibid.

Charles I. acts on his father's principles with reſpect to the Palatinate, I. 68, 137, 138, 144, 352—His diffidence and fluctuation, 138, 144—Sends Gustavus the order of the garter, 95, 96, 138—Allows the elector Palatin's eldeſt ſon to turn papiſt, 257—Gives timorous inſtructions to Anſtruther, 194—Offers propoſals, which Gustavus rejects, 379—Wants to collect pictures from Munich, 364—Thinks Roe over warm, 349—Miſſes favourable moments, ibid. and 367—Diſpirits the proteſtant princes by his coldneſs, 356—Uncertain whether he ſhall throw himſelf into the arms of France, 365—Pays the German contingent remiſsly, 362—Fearful in declaring for Sweden, 361.

Charles V. ſome account of him, I. 148. *

Charles IX. ſon of Guſtavus Erichſon, duke of Sudermania, and father of Gustavus Adolphus, I. 4, 35—Replaces Sigiſmond as king of Sweden unwillingly, 34, 35—propoſes Gustavus to Elizabeth princeſs of England (afterwards electreſs Palatin and queen of Bohemia,) 4—Challenges the king of Denmark, 7—His ſtrange anſwer to a Polliſh challenge, 8—His character and ideas of trade and commerce, 8, 9—Speech on his death-bed concerning Gustavus, 9—His offspring, 9, 10.

Charles (Philip), brother to Gustavus Adolphus, ſtands a chance to be choſen czar, I. 26—Commands at the ſiege of Riga, 50—Dies regretted, 57.

Joins a military counſellor with the Britiſh general, 352, 362.
Offers the Engliſh an independent commander, if they will ſend 16000 men, 367.
Refuſes all participants in ſupreme military power, 377.
Convenes the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to a council of war, 380.
Sets a value on himſelf in the moſt dangerous criſis, 382.
Gains a march on Tilly, ibid.
Advances toward Leipſic, 383.
Advice to his cavalry on attacking, 388, 390.
Plans and then arranges his army in perſon, 390.
Sends a note to Tilly, propoſing a battle, ibid.
Firſt officer of infantry in the world, 392.
His brigade or column deſcribed, 392, 396.
Tries to gain a point of wind and ſun, 404.
Divides troops into ſmaller portions than formerly, 398.
His fine idea of the circulation of aſſiſtances in the day of battle, ibid.
Scientifically ſpeaking, could not ſuffer a total overthrow, ibid.
His anxiety about recovering a pair of colours, 275.
Overthrows Tilly, and purſues him, 408, 415, &c.
Paſſes the whole night in his coach on the field of battle, 389.
Strikes a modeſt medal upon the occaſion, 409.
His excellent method of dividing the ſpoil of the imperial campaign, 414.
Allows the elector of Saxony to beſiege Leipſic, 420.
His ſcheme of operations for his own troops, and the Saxons, 423.
Poſſeſſes Erfurt by ſtratagem, 427.
Enters Franconia—His idea of that circle and the enterpriſe, 430.
His fine march through the Duringer-Walt, 431, &c.
His great anxiety about ſaving a ſmall body of men, II. 9, 10, &c.
Oppoſes 50000 Imperialiſts, &c. with 8000 ſoldiers, 10.
Rarely changed a military diſpoſition, 11.
Forms more brigades, 13.
In doubt whether he ſhould march to Nurenberg or Francfort on the Mayne, 22—Prefers the latter, ibid.—His pacific march, 23.
Takes Aſchaffenberg and Steinheim, 23.
Joined by the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, 27.
Croſſes the Mayne, 57—And beſieges Oppenheim, 58.
Paſſes the Rhyne in the firſt wherry, 59.
Erects a triumphal column, ibid.
Takes Mentz, 61, &c. and makes excellent fortifications there, 62, 63, 81.
Makes himſelf maſter of Koningſtein caſtle, 82.
Immenſity of his conqueſts at the end of the year 1031, 85, 86.
Beſieges Creützpach, 113, &c.—Builds Guſtavuſburg, 117.
Inveſts Baccarah, ibid.
Marches to ſupport Horn, 124.
Changes his plan, and enters Bavaria, 124, &c.
Determines to beſiege Donawert, 131.
Takes it by ſtorm, 133.
Examines the paſſages of the Lech, 138, 139.
His perſeverance whilſt the troops croſſed it, 141.
His compoſure and coolneſs, 146—Again, 216.
Takes Rayne, 153.
Beſieges Augſburg and gains the town, 155.
Inveſts Ingolſtadt, 159, &c.
Raiſes the ſiege of Biberach, 181.
Always ſeized the critical moment, 191.
Attempts to relieve Weiſſemberg, 192.
His wonderful encampment againſt Walſtein, 196.
Shows there the brighteſt part of his talents, ibid. and 211.
Offers battle by way of feint, 216.
Allows not the French army to enter the electorate of Tryers, 207.
Engages with Spar, and defeats the Imperialiſts, 224, 225.
Hates partizan-war, 222, 227.—His fine encampment at Nurenberg, 217, &c.
Takes Hertzoy-Anrach, 234.
Alarmed, but not dejected, 219.
Joins his ſeveral armies, ibid.
Fights the battle of Altenberg, 235, 243.
Miſled by falſe intelligence, 236, 237.
Hates Croatians; cuts a regiment to pieces, 222, 247.
Wants England to declare a ſeawar againſt Spain, 229.
His great ſkill in chooſing his ground, 249, 250.
Always walked and muſed when diſtreſſed and puzzled, I. 367. II. 250.
Decamps firſt from Nurenberg, II. 277—Making Kniphauſen governor, ibid.—Diſdains to ſteal a march, 278—Propoſes to enter Bavaria, 280—Over perſuaded by Oxenſtiern in that reſpect, 281—Recalled by a letter from him, ibid.—Returns to his point, ibid.—Joined by 5000 Switzers, 282.
Plans all marches for his abſent generals, ibid.
Croſſes the Lech a ſecond time, 284.
Retakes Rayne and Landſberg, ibid.
Beheads colonel Mitzval, 285.
Propoſes to beſiege Ingolſtadt, ibid.
Haſtes to ſuccour the elector of Saxony, 286.
Reduces the Engliſh and Scots to one brigade, 301.
Marches to join the elector of Saxony, and duke of Lunenberg, ibid.
Deceived in the diſtance of Lutzen, 316.

Attacks